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SEVENTH EDITION

THE Making OF THE West

PEOPLES AND CULTURES

VOLUME II Since 1500

HUNT • MARTIN • ROSENWEIN • SMITH

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Succeed in your history course.

Taking your first college history course might seem like a challenge. These excerpts from the **Bedford Tutorials in History** will give you tools for succeeding in your history course.

Taking Effective Notes

Lectures and reading assignments present large amounts of information that can be overwhelming. Here are a few tips for taking effective notes.

- ***Establish Shortcuts to Facilitate Taking Legible Notes***
  To speed up your note-taking and yet still have notes you can read, use abbreviations and symbols to indicate commonly used words and ideas. Text-messaging conventions are transferrable to note-taking—for example, use “w/o” for “without” and “b/c” for “because.” In your history class, you can use “c.” for “century” and establish other shortcuts for commonly used historical terminology.

- ***Organize Your Notes and Be Selective***
  Every time you begin a new set of notes, include the date and subject at the top of the page. Focus on the big ideas and include the concrete examples and details needed to illustrate and support those ideas. Your goal is to create notes that are brief yet understandable.

Working with Primary Sources

A primary source is a document, object, or image created during the time period under study. Sometimes, historical documents can be difficult to understand because of their form or language. Here are questions you can ask when analyzing primary sources.

- ***Who produced this document, when, and where?***
  Identifying the author of a primary source is important because it helps expose the author’s point of view. We need to know something about how the author or artist viewed the world and how they came to produce the document or visual source.

- ***Who was the intended audience of the document?***
  There is often a close connection between a document and its intended audience. The historical importance of a document is partly determined by who read it.

- ***What are the main points of the document?***
  While reading, start to make connections between the main points of the document and the specific choices the author made in style, organization, content, and emphasis.

- ***What does this document reveal about the time and place in which it was written?***
  Often there is no single right answer to this question because readers bring their own goals and purposes to their analyses and use the evidence found in the document to draw their own conclusions about the document’s historical meaning.

(Continued on the inside back cover)

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In this book, long descriptions are present for complex images and graphs that may be helpful to understanding content. These long descriptions can be accessed via a link on this icon:

ℹ

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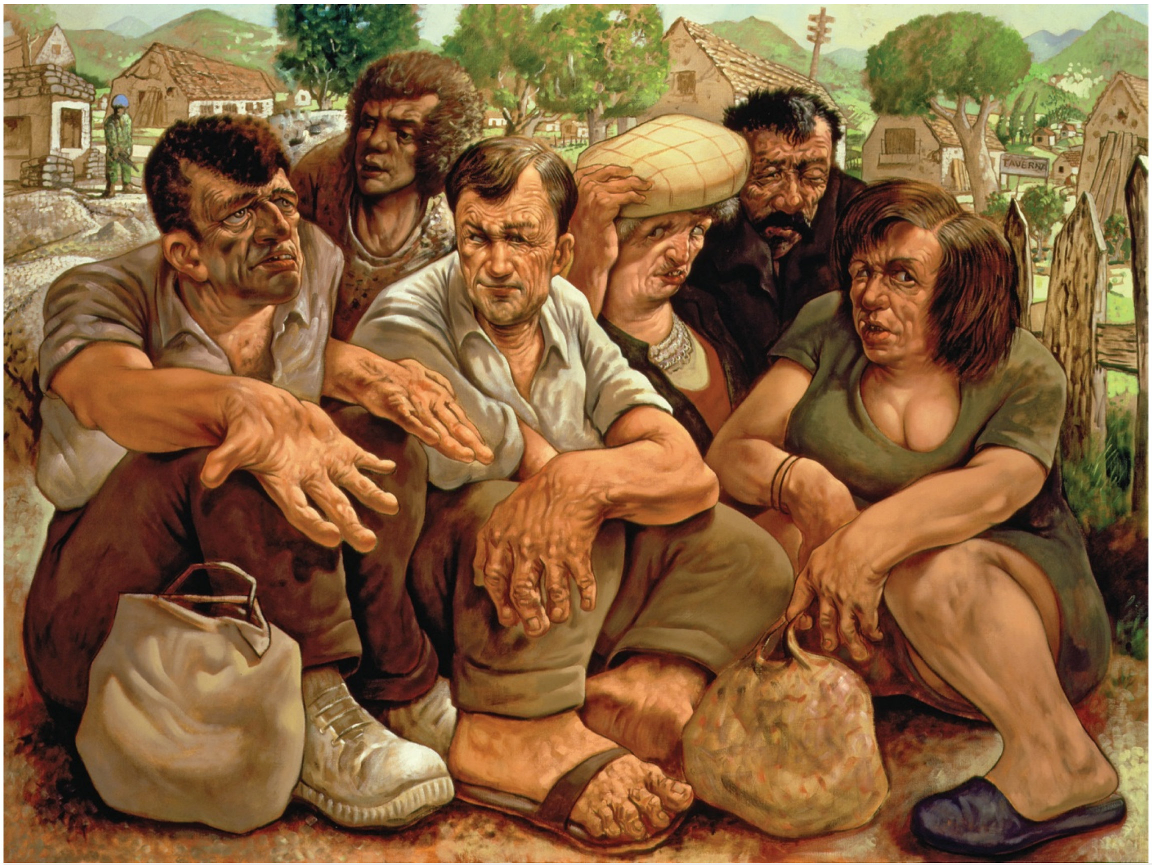
About the Cover Image

Cleansed, 1994 (oil on canvas), Peter Howson

The Scottish painter Peter Howson was commissioned by the Imperial War Museum as official war artist for the Bosnian War (1992–1995). He was sent to Bosnia and Herzegovina to record the work of the United Nations (UN) peacekeeping forces. In this painting he deliberately exaggerates the features of a group of Bosnian Muslim refugees, who have been forced from their homes by armed Croatians and now sit by the side of the road outside a village in Bosnia. They are waiting with their belongings next to a UN camp hoping to seek refuge inside, only to be denied entry.



Cleansed, 1994 (oil on canvas) by Peter Howson (b. 1958). © Imperial War Museum (Art.IWM ART 16521)

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Preface: Why This Book This Way

We are delighted to present the seventh edition of *The Making of the West: Peoples and Cultures.* With this edition, *The Making of the West* combines the best of digital and print platforms while staying true to the fundamental approach that has made this book a popular choice for both instructors and students. *The Making of the West* is now available for the first time in **Achieve**, Macmillan Learning's innovative and engaging new complete course platform, built with instructors and students in mind and developed with the expert guidance of our Learning Science and Insights team. **Achieve for *The Making of the West*** comes loaded with the full-color e-book plus **LearningCurve**, an adaptive learning tool; the popular ***Sources of The Making of the West*** documents collection; **additional primary sources**; a wealth of **assessment options; chapter summative quizzes**; a robust reporting tool, and more to help students develop and grow their historical skills.

Also new for this seventh edition, we have expanded the coverage of environmental history, most visibly through our brand new visual **Environment Matters** feature in each chapter. We continue to **link the history of the West to wider developments in the world**, reinforcing students' historical comprehension skills, and we have updated many of our maps to facilitate these connections. We continue to offer a **synthetic approach to history** — from military to gender — that integrates different approaches rather than privileging one or two. We continue to believe that students benefit from a **solid chronological framework**, brought to life with our **new visual timelines** at the start of each chapter, which enhance the development of chronological thinking skills. And we continue to keep *The Making of the West* relevant and fresh with new primary sources and images and updated scholarship throughout. This new edition is priced affordably, to save students money and keep the overall course budget manageable.

Helping Instructors Teach with Digital Resources

We are pleased to offer *The Making of the West* in **Achieve**, Macmillan Learning's new learning platform that offers an intuitive, interactive e-book and complete course space. Available at a low price when used alone or packaged with a bound text, Achieve is ready to use as is, or it can be edited and customized with your own material and assigned right away.

Developed with extensive feedback from history instructors and students and backed by research and efficacy studies, **Achieve for *The Making of the West*** uses learning objectives linked to each piece of content as both a starting point for designing your course and as a window into your students' learning journey. Achieve's features provide many ways to track your students, from broad course-level reporting all the way down to the unit, subunit, and even individual student level. Your Achieve course includes the complete narrative of the print book, the companion reader *Sources of The Making of the West* by Katharine Lualdi, **LearningCurve** adaptive quizzing that is designed to get students to read before they come to class, and a variety of assessment and assignment options that will keep your students engaged.

With LearningCurve, students move through questions based on the narrative text at their own pace and accumulate points as they go in a gamelike fashion. Feedback for incorrect responses explains why the answer is incorrect and directs students back to the text to review. The end result is a better understanding of the key elements of the text. Quizzes in Achieve that have been designed for the features such as the new “Environment Matters” boxes, “Contrasting Views” (which compares two primary sources), and the “Mapping the West” maps will enable instructors to check their students’ comprehension of assigned exercises.

Skill-Building Features in Both Digital and Print

Whether you find the Achieve digital platform, the print book, or some combination of the two most suitable for your course, your students will have access to features that are crucial to student learning. The following four **features appear in each chapter of the book, whether digital or print**, and provide a solid introduction to historical argument and critical thinking skills. In Achieve, all skill-building features include an autograded multiple-choice quiz.

- **Primary Source Analysis** gives students a more direct experience of the past through original voices. Whether it is an excerpt from an anonymous Sophist’s handbook of the late fifth century B.C.E. (Chapter 3), twelfth-century letters between two anonymous lovers

(Chapter 11), an article on slavery written by Louis de Jaucourt (Chapter 18), a popular Turkish poem expressing nationalism (Chapter 24), or an account of an Austrian family left penniless by the Depression (Chapter 26), primary documents offer windows into the thoughts and actions of the past. Each document is introduced by a headnote and followed by Questions to Consider.

- **Contrasting Views** compares two or more conflicting primary sources focused on a central event, person, or development — such as the Roman attitudes toward Cleopatra (Chapter 4), the Mongols (Chapter 12), Peter the Great of Russia (Chapter 17), and decolonization in Africa (Chapter 27) — enabling students to understand history from a variety of contemporaneous perspectives. Each document pairing is introduced with a headnote and is followed by Questions to Consider.
- **NEW! Environment Matters** gives students a closer look at an aspect of environmental history that has helped to shape our world, including Roman sanitation (Chapter 5), the plague in Europe (Chapter 13), the Great Fire of London (Chapter 16), and the effects of war on East African forests (Chapter 25). Each Environment Matters box includes a visual and context, followed by Questions to Consider.
- **Terms of History** looks not only at the origin of a term — such as *democracy* (Chapter 3), *barbarian* (Chapter 7), *gothic* (Chapter 11), *revolution* (Chapter 19), and *globalization* (Chapter 29) — but also at the changing meaning of the term over time, which further underscores historical skill building.

About *The Making of the West*

Our primary goal in this new edition of *The Making of the West* remains the same: to demonstrate that the history of the West is the story of an ongoing process, not a finished result with one fixed meaning. There is not one Western people or culture that has existed from the beginning until now. Instead, the history of the West includes many different peoples and cultures. To convey these ideas, we have written a sustained story of the West's development in a broad, global context that reveals the cross-cultural interactions fundamental to the shaping of Western politics, societies, cultures, and economies. To highlight the importance of this broad notion of the West, the first chapter opens with a section on the origins and contested meaning of the term *Western civilization*.

New Coverage and Current Scholarship

As always, we have also **incorporated the latest scholarly findings** throughout the book so that students and instructors have a text on which they can confidently rely, including **updated Suggested References** at the end of each chapter, which guide students along the way as they develop their historical research skills. In the seventh edition, we have included **new and updated discussions** of topics such as the role of epidemic infection in causing the crisis of 1200 to 1000 B.C.E. that ended Mycenaean civilization, the migrations of the Jews in the early Middle Ages, expanded coverage of slavery in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (which includes a new primary source and new passages), and a host of recent developments from the past few years. The final chapter now includes coverage of the global impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, the expansion of eastern nations among the world's top economies, and the ongoing challenges faced by refugees and immigrants.

Chronological Framework

We know from our own teaching that introductory students need a solid chronological framework, one with enough familiar benchmarks to make the material easy to grasp and to reinforce the development of their own chronological thinking skills. Each chapter is organized around the main events, people, and themes of a period in which the West significantly changed; thus, students learn about political and military events and social and cultural developments as they unfolded. This **chronological integration** also makes it possible for students to see the **interconnections among varieties of historical experience —** between politics and cultures, between public events and private experiences, between wars and diplomacy and everyday life. For teachers, our chronological approach ensures a balanced account and provides the opportunity to present themes within their greater context. But perhaps best of all, this approach provides a text that reveals history as a process that is constantly alive, subject to pressures, and able to surprise us.

An Expanded Vision of the West

Cultural borrowing between the peoples of Europe and their neighbors has characterized Western civilization from the beginning. Thus, we have insisted on an **expanded vision of the West** that includes the

United States and fully incorporates Scandinavia, eastern Europe, and the Ottoman Empire. Now this vision encompasses **an even wider global context** than before, as Latin America, Africa, China, Japan, and India also come into the story. We have been able to offer sustained treatment of crucial topics, such as Islam, and to provide a more thorough examination of globalization than any competing text. The study of Western history provides essential background to current events, from debates over immigration to conflicts in the Middle East. Instructors have found this synthesis essential for helping students understand the West amid today's globalization.

Study Aids to Support Active Reading and Learning

We know from our own teaching that students need all the help they can get to absorb and make sense of information, to think analytically, and to understand that history itself is often debated and constantly revised. With these goals in mind, we retained the class-tested learning and teaching aids that worked well in the previous editions, but we have also done more to help students distill the central story of each age.

Focused Reading

Each chapter begins with a vivid **anecdote** that draws readers into the atmosphere of the period and introduces the chapter's main themes, accompanied by a full-page illustration. The **Chapter Focus** poses an overarching question at the start of the narrative to help guide students' reading. Strategically placed at the end of each major section, a **Review**

Question helps students assimilate core points in digestible increments. **Key Terms** and names that appear in boldface in the text have been updated to concentrate on likely test items; these terms are defined in the **Glossary of Key Terms and People** at the end of the book. To make the reading as meaningful as possible to students, each chapter includes a pointed question, **What Would You Do?** It encourages the students to think about how they might have reacted to a crisis in the past and would have made choices with immense consequences. It is our hope that such questions will help bring history to life.

Reviewing the Chapter

At the end of each chapter, the **Conclusion** further reinforces the central developments covered in the chapter. The **Chapter Review** begins by asking students to revisit the key terms, identifying each and explaining its significance. **Review Questions** are also presented again so that students can revisit the chapter's core points. **Making Connections** questions then follow and prompt students to think across the sections of a given chapter. A chronology of **Important Events** enables students to see the sequence and overlap of important events in a given period and asks students a guiding question that links two or more events in the chapter. Finally, a list of author-selected and updated **Suggested References** directs students to print and online resources for further investigation.

Geographic Literacy

The map program of *The Making of the West* has been praised by reviewers for its comprehensiveness. In each chapter, we offer three types of maps, each with a distinct role in conveying information to students as they build their geographic literacy skills. Up to five **full-size maps** show major developments, up to four **“spot” maps** — small maps positioned within the discussion right where students need them — serve as immediate locators, and a **Mapping the West summary map** at the end of each chapter provides a snapshot of the West at the close of a transformative period and helps students visualize the West’s changing contours over time. These Mapping the West summary maps are each accompanied by a map quiz in Achieve to reinforce learning. In this edition, we have carefully considered each of the existing maps, simplifying them where possible to better highlight essential information, and clarifying and updating borders and labels where needed.

Images and Illustrations

We have integrated art as fully as possible into the narrative. Over **240 images and illustrations** were carefully chosen to reflect this edition’s broad topical coverage and geographic inclusion, reinforce the text, and show the varieties of visual sources from which historians build their narratives and interpretations. All artifacts, illustrations, paintings, and photographs are contemporaneous with the chapter; there are no anachronistic illustrations. The captions for the maps and art help students learn how to read visuals, and we have frequently included specific questions or suggestions for comparisons that might be developed.

Acknowledgments

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Our students' questions and concerns have shaped much of this work, and we welcome all our readers' suggestions, queries, and criticisms. Please contact us at our respective institutions or via history@macmillanhighered.com.

Lynn Hunt
Thomas R. Martin
Barbara H. Rosenwein
Bonnie G. Smith

Versions and Supplements

Adopters of *The Making of the West* and their students have access to abundant digital and print resources and tools, including documents, assessment and presentation materials, the acclaimed *Bedford Series in History and Culture* volumes, and much more. *The Making of the West* is now available for the first time in Achieve, Macmillan's new complete course platform, which provides access to the narrative as well as a wealth of primary sources and other features, along with assessments and robust diagnostic reports at the ready, all in one affordably priced product. Achieve also includes a downloadable e-book for offline reading. See the following text for more information, visit the book's catalog site at **macmillanlearning.com**, or contact your local Bedford/St. Martin's sales representative.

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The Making of the West is available as an e-book for use on computers, tablets, and e-readers. See **macmillanlearning.com/ebooks** to learn more.

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Assign Achieve — A Comprehensive Course Platform with E-book, Skill-Building Assessments, and Analytics for Instructors

Affordably priced, intuitive, and easy to use, Achieve is a breakthrough solution for building students' skills and confidence in history courses. Achieve for *The Making of the West* includes the rich resources and skill-building content of the e-books for the complete, comprehensive text companion reader, *Sources of The Making of the West*, alongside a robust set of summative and formative assessments — many autograded — that help students build confidence in their mastery of the material, reflect on their learning, and build critical, higher-level thinking skills. Achieve for *The Making of the* West includes LearningCurve adaptive quizzing that — when assigned — helps ensure students do the reading before class; autograded exercises that help students develop their skills in understanding chronology; quizzes that check student comprehension of primary sources and boxed features; chapter summative quizzes that test knowledge after they've completed the reading; tutorials with quizzing that build skills such as working with primary sources and avoiding plagiarism; assignable chapter reflections questions that encourage students to engage with their learning; active reading activities that help students read actively for key concepts; class activity guides that can be used in both synchronous and asynchronous courses; and iClicker polling questions that engage students during class. These features — plus additional primary source documents, map quizzes, customizable test banks, and detailed reports on student progress — make Achieve an invaluable asset for any instructor.

Achieve easily integrates with course management systems, and with fast ways to build assignments and organize content, it lets teachers build the courses they want to teach while holding students accountable. For more information, or to arrange a demo or class test, contact us at historymktg@macmillan.com.

Assign LearningCurve So Your Students Come to Class Prepared

Students using Achieve receive access to LearningCurve for *The Making of the West*. Assigning LearningCurve in place of reading quizzes is easy for instructors, and the reporting features help instructors track overall class trends and spot topics that are giving students trouble so they can adjust their lectures and class activities. This online learning tool is popular with students because it was designed to help them rehearse content at their own pace in a nonthreatening, gamelike environment. The feedback for wrong answers provides instructional coaching and sends students back to the book for review. Students answer as many questions as necessary to reach a target score, with repeated chances to revisit material they haven't mastered. When LearningCurve is assigned, students come to class better prepared.

iClicker, Active Learning Simplified

iClicker offers simple, flexible tools to help you give students a voice and facilitate active learning in the classroom. Students can participate with the devices they bring to class using our iClicker student app (which work with smartphones, tablets, or laptops) or iClicker remotes. We've now integrated iClicker with Macmillan's Achieve to make it easier than ever to synchronize grades and promote engagement — both in and out of class. iClicker can be used synchronously through its polling feature, or asynchronously for assignments. To learn more, talk to your Macmillan Learning representative or visit us at **www.iclicker.com**.

Take Advantage of Instructor Resources

Bedford/St. Martin's has developed a rich array of teaching resources for this book and for this course. They range from lecture and presentation materials and assessment tools to course management options. Most can be found in Achieve or can be downloaded or ordered at **macmillanlearning.com**.

Instructor's Resource Manual

The instructor's manual offers both experienced and first-time instructor tools for presenting textbook material in engaging ways. It includes content learning objectives, annotated chapter outlines, and strategies for teaching with the textbook, plus suggestions on how to get the most out of LearningCurve and a survival guide for first-time teaching assistants.

Guide to Changing Editions

Designed to facilitate an instructor’s transition from the previous edition of *The Making of the West* to this new edition, this guide presents an overview of major changes across the book and of changes in each chapter.

Online Test Bank

The test bank includes a mix of fresh, carefully crafted multiple-choice, short-answer, and essay questions for each chapter. Some of the multiple-choice questions feature a map as the prompt. All questions appear in an easy-to-use test bank software that allows instructors to add, edit, re-sequence, filter by question type, and print questions and answers. Instructors can also export questions into a variety of course management systems.

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Look good and save time with *The Bedford Lecture Kit*. This resource includes fully customizable multimedia presentations built around chapter outlines that are embedded with maps, figures, and images from the textbook and are supplemented by more detailed instructor notes on key points and concepts.

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This companion reader provides written and visual sources to accompany each chapter of *The Making of the West*. A broad range of source types and themes illuminate historical experience from a diversity of perspectives. With a visual source as well as a comparative source pairing in every chapter, this reader offers instructors even more opportunities to promote classroom discussion of primary documents and to help students develop essential historical thinking skills. This companion reader is an exceptional value for students and offers plenty of assignment options for instructors, and is included in the Achieve e-book with autograded quizzes for each source. *Sources of The Making of the West* is also available on its own as a downloadable e-book.

Bedford Document Collections

These affordable, brief document projects provide five to seven primary sources, an introduction, historical background, and other pedagogical features. Each curated project –– designed for use in a single class period and written by a historian about a favorite topic — poses a historical question and guides students through analysis of the sources. Examples include "The Silk Road: Travel and Trade in Pre-Modern Inner

Asia," "The Spread of Christianity in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," "The Singapore Mutiny of 1915: Understanding World War I from a Global Perspective," and "Living through Perestroika: The Soviet Union in Upheaval, 1985–1991." These primary source projects are available in a low-cost, easy-to-use digital format or can be combined with other course materials in Bedford Select to create an affordable, personalized print product. For more information on using Bedford Select to customize your course materials with these and other resources, visit macmillanlearning.com/bedfordselect.

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Designed to provide resources relevant to individual courses, this collection of over a dozen brief units, each sixteen pages long and loaded with examples, guides students through basic skills such as using historical evidence effectively, working with primary sources, taking effective notes, avoiding plagiarism and citing sources, and more. For more information, visit macmillanlearning.com/historytutorials.

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Documents, by David M. Gordon; *Politics and Society in Japan's Meiji Restoration: A Brief History with Documents*, by Anne Walthall and M. William Stele; and *The Congo Free State and the New Imperialism: A Brief History with Documents*, by Kevin Grant. For a complete list of titles, visit macmillanlearning.com. Package discounts are available.

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A Pocket Guide to Writing in History

Available in a low cost e-book as well as in print and updated to reflect changes made in the 2017 *Chicago Manual of Style* revision, this portable and affordable reference tool by Mary Lynn Rampolla provides reading, writing, and research advice useful to students in all history courses. Concise yet comprehensive advice on approaching typical history assignments, developing critical reading skills, writing effective history papers, conducting research, using and documenting sources, and avoiding plagiarism — enhanced with practical tips and examples throughout — has made this slim reference a best seller. Deep discounts are available when bundled with a survey textbook.

A Student's Guide to History

Available in a low-cost e-book as well as in print and updated to reflect changes made in the 2017 *Chicago Manual of Style* revision, this complete guide to success in any history course provides the practical help students need to be successful. In addition to introducing students to the nature of the discipline, author Jules Benjamin teaches a wide range of skills, from preparing for exams to approaching common writing assignments, and explains the research and documentation process with plentiful examples. Deep discounts are available when bundled with a survey textbook.

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The Green Revolution and Its Consequences

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The German Reichstag: Reborn and Green

Authors’ Note

The B.C.E./C.E. Dating System

When were you born? What year is it? We customarily answer questions like these with a number, such as “1991” or “2008.” Our replies are usually automatic, taking for granted the numerous assumptions Westerners make about how dates indicate chronology. But to what do numbers such as 1991 and 2008 actually refer? In this book the numbers used to specify dates follow a recent revision of the system most common in the Western secular world. This system reckons the dates of solar years by counting backward and forward from the traditional date of the birth of Jesus Christ, more than two thousand years ago.

Using this method, numbers followed by the abbreviation B.C.E., standing for “before the common era” (or, as some would say, “before the Christian era”), indicate the number of years counting backward from the assumed date of the birth of Jesus Christ. The abbreviation B.C.E. therefore indicates the same chronology marked by the traditional abbreviation B.C. (“before Christ”). The larger the number preceding B.C.E. (or B.C.), the earlier in history is the year to which it refers. The date 431 B.C.E., for example, refers to a year 431 years before the birth of Jesus and therefore comes earlier in time than the dates 430 B.C.E., 429 B.C.E., and so on. The same calculation applies to numbering other time intervals calculated on the decimal system: those of ten years (a decade), of one hundred years (a century), and of one thousand years (a millennium). For example, the decade of the 440s B.C.E. (449 B.C.E. to 440

B.C.E.) is earlier than the decade of the 430s B.C.E. (439 B.C.E. to 430 B.C.E.). “Fifth century B.C.E.” refers to the fifth period of 100 years reckoning backward from the birth of Jesus and covers the years 500 B.C.E. to 401 B.C.E. It is earlier in history than the fourth century B.C.E. (400 B.C.E. to 301 B.C.E.), which followed the fifth century B.C.E. Because this system has no year “zero,” the first century B.C.E. covers the years 100 B.C.E. to 1 B.C.E. Dating millennia works similarly: the second millennium B.C.E. refers to the years 2000 B.C.E. to 1001 B.C.E., the third millennium to the years 3000 B.C.E. to 2001 B.C.E., and so on.

To indicate years counted forward from the traditional date of Jesus’s birth, numbers are followed by the abbreviation C.E., standing for “of the common era” (or “of the Christian era”). The abbreviation C.E. therefore indicates the same chronology marked by the traditional abbreviation A.D., which stands for the Latin phrase *anno Domini* (“in the year of the Lord”). The abbreviation A.D. properly comes before the date being marked. The date A.D. 1492, for example, translates as “in the year of the Lord 1492,” meaning 1492 years after the birth of Jesus. Under the B.C.E./C.E. system, this date would be written as 1492 C.E. For dating centuries, the term *first century C.E.* refers to the period from 1 C.E. to 100 C.E. (which is the same period as A.D. 1 to A.D. 100). For dates C.E, the smaller the number, the earlier the date in history. The fourth century C.E. (301 C.E. to 400 C.E.) comes before the fifth century C.E. (401 C.E. to 500 C.E.). The year 312 C.E. is a date in the early fourth century C.E., while 395 C.E. is a date late in the same century. When numbers are given without either B.C.E. or C.E., they are presumed to be dates C.E. For example, the term *eighteenth century* with no abbreviation accompanying it refers to the years 1701 C.E. to 1800 C.E.

No standard system of numbering years, such as B.C.E./C.E., existed in antiquity. Different people in different places identified years with varying names and numbers. Consequently, it was difficult to match up the years in any particular local system with those in a different system. Each city of ancient Greece, for example, had its own method for keeping track of the years. The ancient Greek historian Thucydides, therefore, faced a problem in presenting a chronology for the famous Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta, which began (by our reckoning) in 431 B.C.E. To try to explain to as many of his readers as possible the date the war had begun, he described its first year by three different local systems: "the year when Chrysis was in the forty-eighth year of her priesthood at Argos, and Aenesias was overseer at Sparta, and Pythodorus was magistrate at Athens."

A Catholic monk named Dionysius, who lived in Rome in the sixth century C.E., invented the system of reckoning dates forward from the birth of Jesus. Calling himself *Exiguus* (Latin for "the little" or "the small") as a mark of humility, he placed Jesus's birth 754 years after the foundation of ancient Rome. Others then and now believe his date for Jesus's birth was in fact several years too late. Many scholars today calculate that Jesus was born in what would be 4 B.C.E. according to Dionysius's system, although a date a year or so earlier also seems possible.

Counting backward from the supposed date of Jesus's birth to indicate dates earlier than that event represented a natural complement to reckoning forward for dates after it. The English historian and theologian Bede in the early eighth century was the first to use both forward and backward reckoning from the birth of Jesus in a historical work, and this system gradually gained wider acceptance because it provided a basis for standardizing the many local calendars used in the Western Christian world. Nevertheless, B.C. and A.D. were not used regularly until the end of the eighteenth century; B.C.E. and C.E. became common in the late twentieth century.

The system of numbering years from the birth of Jesus is far from the only one in use today. The Jewish calendar of years, for example, counts forward from the date given to the creation of the world, which would be calculated as 3761 B.C.E. under the B.C.E./C.E. system. Under this system, years are designated A.M., an abbreviation of the Latin *anno mundi*, "in the year of the world." The Islamic calendar counts forward from the date of the Prophet Muhammad's flight from Mecca, called the *Hijra*, in what is the year 622 C.E. The abbreviation A.H. (standing for the Latin phrase *anno Hegirae*, "in the year of the Hijra") indicates dates calculated by this system. Anthropology commonly reckons distant dates as "before the present" (abbreviated B.P.).

History is often defined as the study of change over time; hence the importance of dates for the historian. But just as historians argue over which dates are most significant, they disagree over which dating system to follow. Their debate reveals perhaps the most enduring fact about history — its vitality.

SEVENTH EDITION

The Making of the West

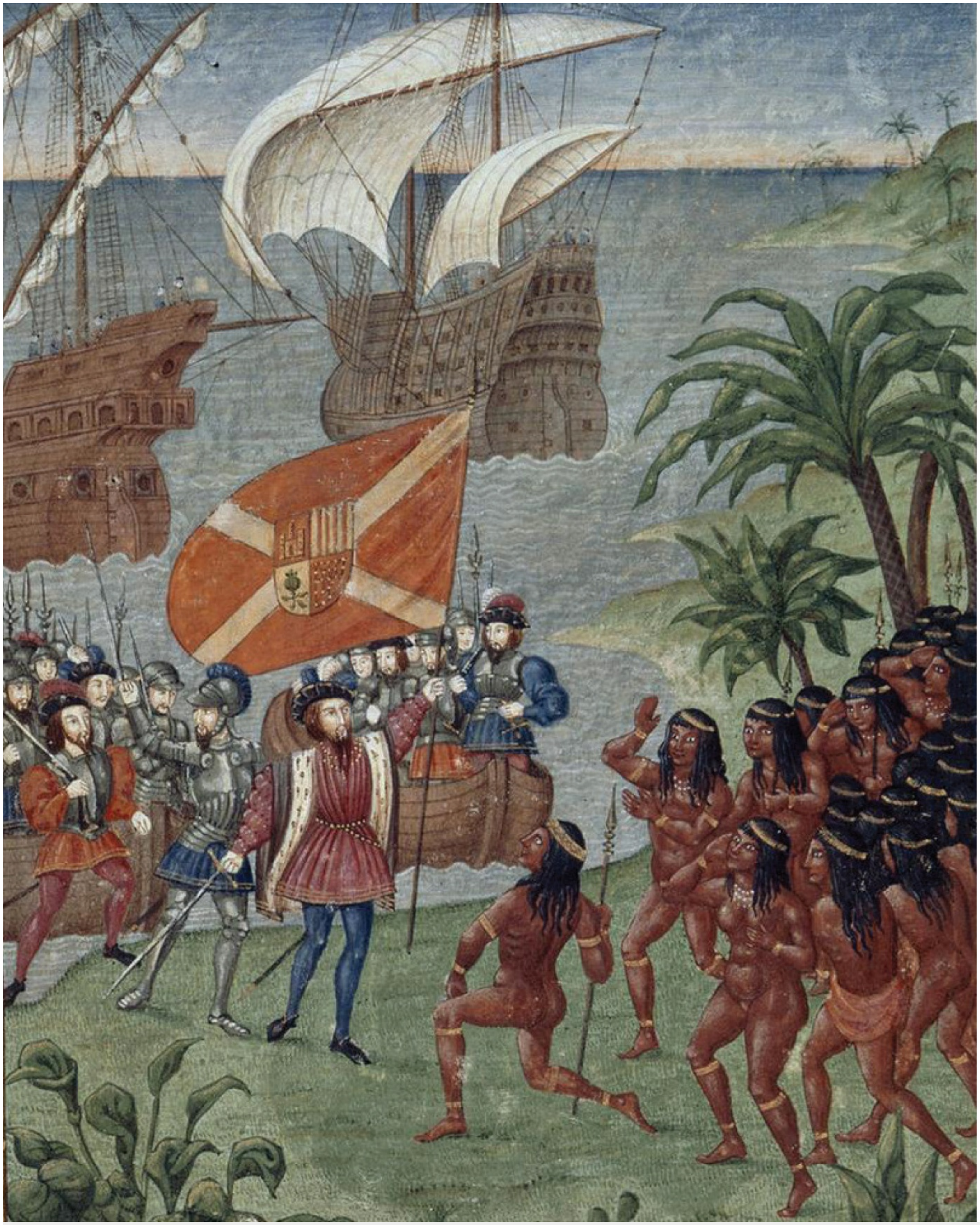
Peoples and Cultures

VOLUME II: SINCE 1500

Chapter 14

Global Encounters and the Shock of the Reformation

1492–1560



Abu Castor/Alamy Stock Photo.

Cortés In this Spanish depiction of the landing of Hernán Cortés in Mexico in 1519, the ships and arms of the Spanish are a commanding presence, especially in comparison to the nakedness of the native Americans and the kneeling stance of their leader. A Spanish artist painted this miniature, which measures only 6⅛ inches by 4¼ inches. It probably accompanied an account of the Spanish conquest of Mexico. On the back of the picture is a small map of the west coast of Europe and Africa and the east coast of Central America. Europeans relied on such images, and especially on maps, to help them make sense of all the new information flooding into Europe from faraway places. Many Spaniards viewed Cortés's conquests as a sign of divine favor toward Catholicism in a time of religious division. Some even believed that Cortés was born the same day, or at least the same year, as Martin Luther, the German monk who had initiated the Protestant Reformation just two years before Cortés's landing (in fact, Luther was born two years before Cortés).

CHAPTER PREVIEW

The Discovery of New Worlds

Which European countries led the way in maritime exploration, and what were their motives?

The Protestant Reformation

How did Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and Henry VIII each challenge the Roman Catholic church?

Reshaping Society through Religion

How did the forces for radical change unleashed by the Protestant Reformation interact with the urge for social order and stability?

Striving for Mastery

How did religious divisions complicate the efforts of rulers to maintain political stability and build stronger states?

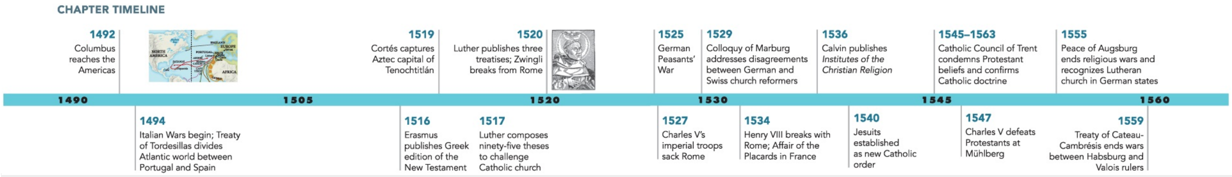
In 1539 in Tlaxcala, New Spain (present-day Mexico), native Americans newly converted to Christianity performed a pageant organized by Catholic missionaries. It featured a combined Spanish and native American army fighting to protect the pope, defeat the Muslims, and win control of the holy city of Jerusalem. All the parts were acted by local Tlaxcalans. In the play, after a miracle saves the Christian soldiers, the Muslims give up and convert to Christianity. Although it is hard to imagine what the locals made of this spectacle about places and people far away, the event reveals a great deal about the Europeans: the Catholic missionaries hoped that their success in converting native

Americans in the New World signaled God’s favor for Catholicism the world over.

Led first by the Portuguese and then Spanish explorers, Europeans sailed into contact with peoples and cultures previously unknown to them. European voyagers subjugated native peoples, declared their control over vast new lands, and established a new system of slavery linking Africa and the New World. Millions of native Americans died of diseases unknowingly imported by the Europeans. The discovery of new crops — corn, potatoes, tobacco, and cocoa — and of gold and silver mines brought new patterns of consumption, and new objects of conflict, to Europe. Historians now call this momentous spiral of changes in ecology, agriculture, and social patterns the Columbian exchange, after Christopher Columbus, who started the process.

While the Spanish were converting native Americans in the New World, a different kind of challenge confronted the Catholic church in central and western Europe. Religious reformers attacked the leadership of the pope in Rome and formed competing groups of Protestants (so-called because they protested against some beliefs of the Catholic church). The movement began when the German Catholic monk Martin Luther criticized the sale of indulgences in 1517. Other reformers raised their voices, too, but did not agree with the Lutherans. Before long, religious division engulfed the German states and reached into Switzerland, France, and England. In response, Catholics undertook their own renewal, which strengthened the Catholic church. Catholic missionaries continued to dominate efforts to convert indigenous peoples for a century or more.

These two new factors — the development of overseas colonies and divisions between Catholics and Protestants within Europe — reshaped the long-standing rivalries between princes and determined the course of European history for several generations.


CHAPTER TIMELINE
1490
1492 Columbus reaches the Americas
1494 Italian Wars begin; Treaty of Tordesillas divides Atlantic world between Portugal and Spain
1505
1516 Erasmus publishes Greek edition of the New Testament
1517 Luther composes ninety-five theses to challenge Catholic church
1519 Cortés captures Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán
1520
1520 Luther publishes three treatises; Zwingli breaks from Rome
1525 German Peasants' War
1527 Charles V's imperial troops sack Rome
1529 Colloquy of Marburg addresses disagreements between German and Swiss church reformers
1530
1534 Henry VIII breaks with Rome; Affair of the Placards in France
1536 Calvin publishes *Institutes of the Christian Religion*
1540 Jesuits established as new Catholic order
1545
1545–1563 Catholic Council of Trent condemns Protestant beliefs and confirms Catholic doctrine
1547 Charles V defeats Protestants at Mühlberg
1555 Peace of Augsburg ends religious wars and recognizes Lutheran church in German states
1559 Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis ends wars between Habsburg and Valois rulers
1560

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CHAPTER FOCUS

How did the conquest of the New World and the Protestant Reformation transform European governments and societies in this era?

The Discovery of New Worlds

Portugal's and Spain's maritime explorations brought Europe to the attention of the rest of the world. Inspired by a crusading spirit against Islam and by riches to be won through trade in spices and gold, the Portuguese and Spanish sailed across the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific Oceans. The English, French, and Dutch followed later in the sixteenth century, creating a new global exchange of people, crops, and diseases. As a result of these European expeditions, the people of the Americas for the first time confronted forces that threatened to destroy not only their culture but even their existence.

Portuguese Explorations

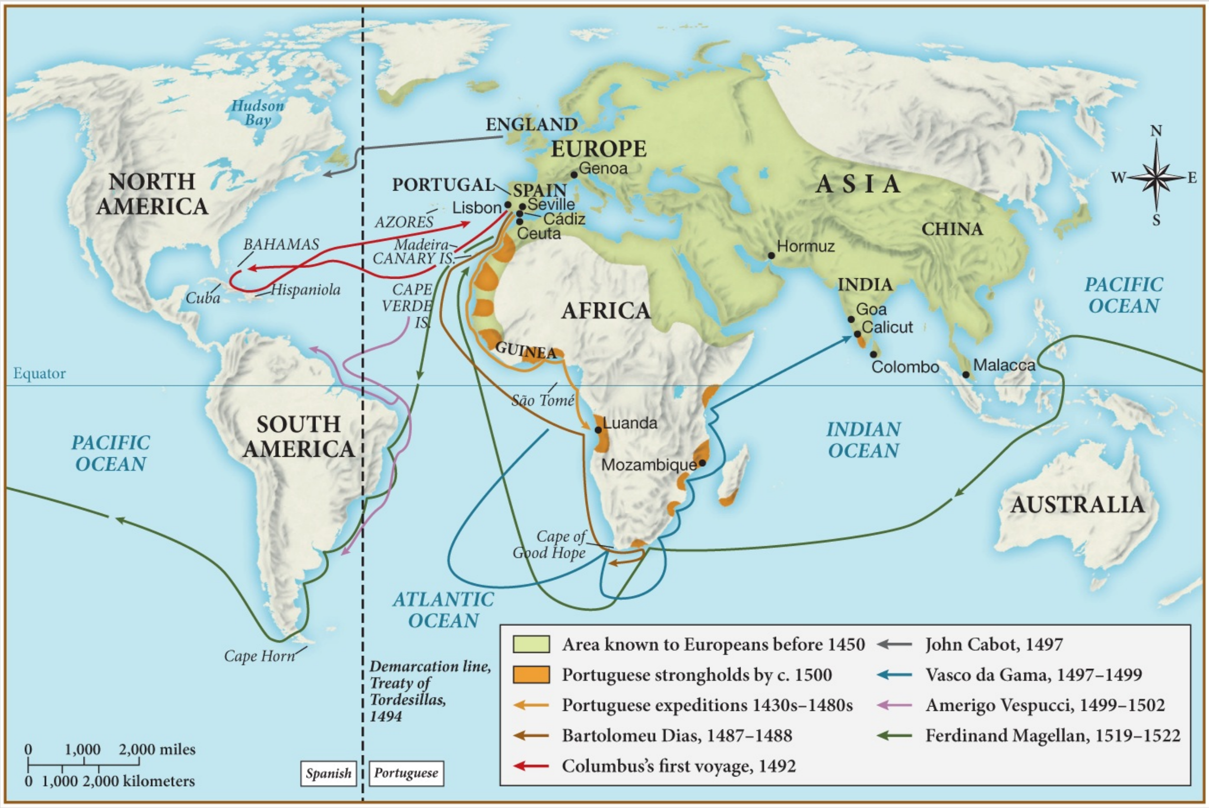
The first phase of European overseas expansion began in 1434 with Portuguese exploration of the West African coast. The Portuguese hoped to find a sea route to the spice-producing lands of South and Southeast Asia in order to bypass the Ottoman Turks, who controlled the traditional land routes between Europe and Asia. Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal (1394–1460) personally financed many voyages with revenues from a noble crusading order. The first triumphs of the Portuguese attracted a host of Christian, Jewish, and even Arab sailors, astronomers, and cartographers to the service of Prince Henry and King

John II (r. 1481–1495). They compiled better tide calendars and books of sailing directions for pilots that enabled sailors to venture farther into the oceans and reduced — though did not eliminate — the dangers of sea travel. Success in the voyages of exploration depended on the development in the late 1400s of the caravel, a sixty-five-foot, easily maneuvered, three-masted ship that used triangular lateen sails adapted from the Arabs. (The sails permitted a ship to tack against headwinds and therefore rely less on currents.)

Searching for gold and then slaves, the Portuguese gradually established forts down the West African coast. In 1487–1488, they reached the Cape of Good Hope at the tip of Africa; ten years later, Vasco da Gama led a Portuguese fleet around the cape and reached as far as Calicut, India, the center of the spice trade. His return to Lisbon with twelve pieces of Chinese porcelain for the Portuguese king set off two centuries of porcelain mania. Until the early eighteenth century, only the Chinese knew how to produce porcelain. Over the next two hundred years, Western merchants would import no fewer than seventy million pieces of porcelain, still known today as “china.” By 1517, a chain of Portuguese forts dotted the Indian Ocean (Map 14.1). In 1519, Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese sailor in Spanish service, led the first expedition to circumnavigate the globe.

The Voyages of Columbus

One of many sailors inspired by the Portuguese explorations, **Christopher Columbus** (1451–1506) opened an entirely new direction for discovery and exploitation. Most likely born in Genoa of Italian parents, Columbus sailed the West African coast in Portuguese service between 1476 and 1485. Fifteenth-century Europeans already knew that the world was round. Columbus wanted to sail west to reach “the lands of the Great Khan” because he hoped to find a new route to the East’s gold and spices. After the Portuguese refused to fund his plan, Columbus turned to the Spanish monarchs Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, who agreed to finance his venture.



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin’s

MAP 14.1 Early Voyages of World Exploration

Over the course of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, European shipping dominated the Atlantic Ocean after the pioneering voyages of the Portuguese, who also first sailed around the Cape of Good Hope to the Indian Ocean and Cape Horn to the Pacific. The search for spices and the need to circumnavigate the Ottoman Empire inspired these voyages.

On August 3, 1492, with ninety men aboard two caravels and one larger merchant ship for carrying supplies, Columbus set sail westward. His contract obliged him to claim Castilian sovereignty over any new land and inhabitants and share any profits with the crown. Reaching what is today the Bahamas on October 12, Columbus mistook the islands to be part of the East Indies, not far from Japan. As the Spaniards explored the Caribbean islands, they encountered communities of peaceful natives, the Arawaks, who were awed by the Europeans' military technology, not to mention their appearance. Although many positive entries in the ship's log testified to Columbus's personal goodwill toward the native Americans, the Europeans' objectives were clear: find gold, subjugate the native Americans, and propagate Christianity (see Primary Source Analysis). Excited by the prospect of easy riches, many flocked to join Columbus's second voyage. When Columbus departed the Spanish port of Cádiz in September 1493, he commanded a fleet of seventeen ships carrying some fifteen hundred men. Failing to find the imagined gold mines and spices, Columbus and his crew began capturing Caribs, enemies of the Arawaks, with the intention of bringing them back as slaves. The Spaniards exported enslaved native Americans to Spain, and slave traders sold them in Seville. When the Spanish monarchs realized the vast potential for material gain from their new dominions, they asserted direct royal authority by sending officials and priests to the Americas, which were named after the Italian navigator Amerigo Vespucci, who led a voyage across the Atlantic from 1499 to 1502.

To head off looming conflicts between the Spanish and the Portuguese, Pope Alexander VI helped negotiate the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494. It divided the Atlantic world between the two maritime powers, reserving for Portugal the West African coast and the route to India and giving Spain the oceans and lands to the west (see Map 14.1 on page 496). The agreement allowed Portugal to claim Brazil in 1500, when it was accidentally "discovered" by Pedro Alvares Cabral (1467–1520) on a voyage to India.

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

Columbus Describes His First Voyage (1493)

In this famous letter to Raphael Sanchez, treasurer to his patrons, Ferdinand and Isabella, Columbus recounts his initial journey to the Bahamas, Cuba, and Hispaniola (today Haiti and the Dominican Republic) and tells of his achievements. This passage reflects the first contact between native Americans and Europeans; already the themes of trade, subjugation, gold, and conversion emerge in Columbus's own words.

Indians would give whatever the seller required; … Thus they bartered, like idiots, cotton and gold for fragments of bows, glasses, bottles, and jars; which I forbad as being unjust, and myself gave them many beautiful and acceptable articles which I had brought with me, taking nothing from them in return; I did this in order that I might the more easily conciliate them, that they might be led to become Christians, and be inclined to entertain a regard for the King and Queen, our Princes and all Spaniards, and that I might induce them to take an interest in seeking out, and collecting, and delivering to us such things as they possessed in abundance, but which we greatly needed. They practise no kind of idolatry, but have a firm belief that all strength and power, and indeed all good things, are in heaven, and that I had descended from thence with these ships and sailors, and under this impression was I received after they had thrown aside their fears. Nor are they slow or stupid, but of very clear understanding; and those men who have crossed to the neighbouring islands give an admirable description of everything they observed; but they never saw any people clothed, nor any ships like ours. On my arrival at that sea, I had taken some Indians by force from the first island that I came to, in order that they might learn our language, and communicate to us what they know respecting the country; which plan succeeded excellently, and was a great advantage to us, for in a short time, either by gestures and signs, or by words, we were enabled to understand each other. These men are still travelling with me, and although they have been with us now a long time, they continue to entertain the idea that I have descended from heaven.

Source: Christopher Columbus, *Four Voyages to the New World*, trans. R. H. Major (New York:

Corinth Books, 1961), 8–9.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. In what ways were Columbus's early impressions of native Americans both respectful and condescending?
2. Why did Columbus need the help of native Americans?

A New Era in Slavery

The European voyages of discovery initiated a new era in slavery. Slavery had existed since antiquity and flourished in many parts of the world. Some enslaved people were captured in war or by piracy; others — Africans — were sold by other Africans and Bedouin traders to Christian buyers; in western Asia, parents sold their children out of poverty into servitude; and many in the Balkans were enslaved when the Ottomans expanded into southeastern Europe. Enslaved people could be Greek, Slav, European, African, or Turkish. Many served as domestics in European cities of the Mediterranean such as Barcelona and Venice. Others sweated as galley slaves in Ottoman and Christian fleets. In the Ottoman army, slaves even formed an important elite military contingent.

From the fifteenth century onward, Africans increasingly filled the ranks of enslaved people. Exploiting warfare between groups within West Africa, the Portuguese traded in gold and "pieces," as African enslaved people were called, a practice condemned at home by some conscientious clergy. Critical voices, however, could not deny the potential for profits that the slave trade brought to Portugal. Most enslaved people toiled in the sugar plantations that the Portuguese established on the Atlantic islands and in Brazil. African freedmen and enslaved people — some thirty-five thousand in the early sixteenth century — constituted almost 3 percent of the population of Portugal, a percentage that was much higher than in other European countries.

In the Americas, slavery would expand enormously in the following centuries. Even outspoken critics of colonial brutality toward indigenous peoples defended the development of African slavery. The Spanish Dominican Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474–1566), for example, argued that Africans were constitutionally more suitable for labor than native Americans and should therefore be imported to the plantations in the Americas to relieve the indigenous peoples, who were being worked to death.

Conquering the New World

The native peoples of the Americas lived in a great diversity of social and political arrangements. Some were nomads roaming large, sparsely inhabited territories; others practiced agriculture in complex organized states. Among the settled peoples, the largest groupings could be found in the Mexican and Peruvian highlands. Combining an elaborate religious culture with a strict social and political hierarchy, the Aztecs in Mexico and the Incas in Peru ruled over subjugated native American populations in their respective empires. From their large urban capitals, the Aztecs and Incas controlled large swaths of land and could be ruthless as conquerors.

The Spanish explorers organized their expeditions to the mainland of the Americas from a base in the Caribbean. Two prominent commanders, **Hernán Cortés** (1485–1547) and Francisco Pizarro (c. 1475–1541), gathered men and arms and set off in search of gold. With them came Catholic priests intending to bring Christianity to supposedly uncivilized peoples. When Cortés first landed on the Mexican coast in 1519, the natives greeted him with gifts, thinking that he might be an ancient god returning to reclaim his kingdom. Native groups like the Tlaxcalans, who resented their subjugation by the Aztecs, joined Cortés and his soldiers. With a band of fewer than three hundred Spanish soldiers and thousands of native allies, Cortés captured the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán (present-day Mexico City), in 1519. With 200,000 inhabitants, Tenochtitlán was bigger than any European capital. Two years later, Mexico, then named New Spain, was added to the empire of the new ruler of Spain, Charles V, grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella. To the south, Pizarro conquered the Peruvian highlands between 1532 and 1533. The Spanish Empire was now the largest in the world, stretching from Mexico to Chile.

The gold and silver mines in Mexico proved a treasure trove for the Spanish crown, but the real prize was the discovery of vast silver deposits in Potosí (today in Bolivia). When the Spaniards began importing the gold and silver they found in the New World, inflation soared in a fashion never before witnessed in Europe.

Not to be outdone by the Spaniards, other European powers joined the scramble for gold in the New World. In North America, the French went in search of a “northwest passage” to China. The French wanted to establish settlements in what became Canada, but permanent European settlements in Canada and the present-day United States would succeed only in the seventeenth century. By then the English and Dutch had also entered the contest for world mastery.

The Columbian Exchange

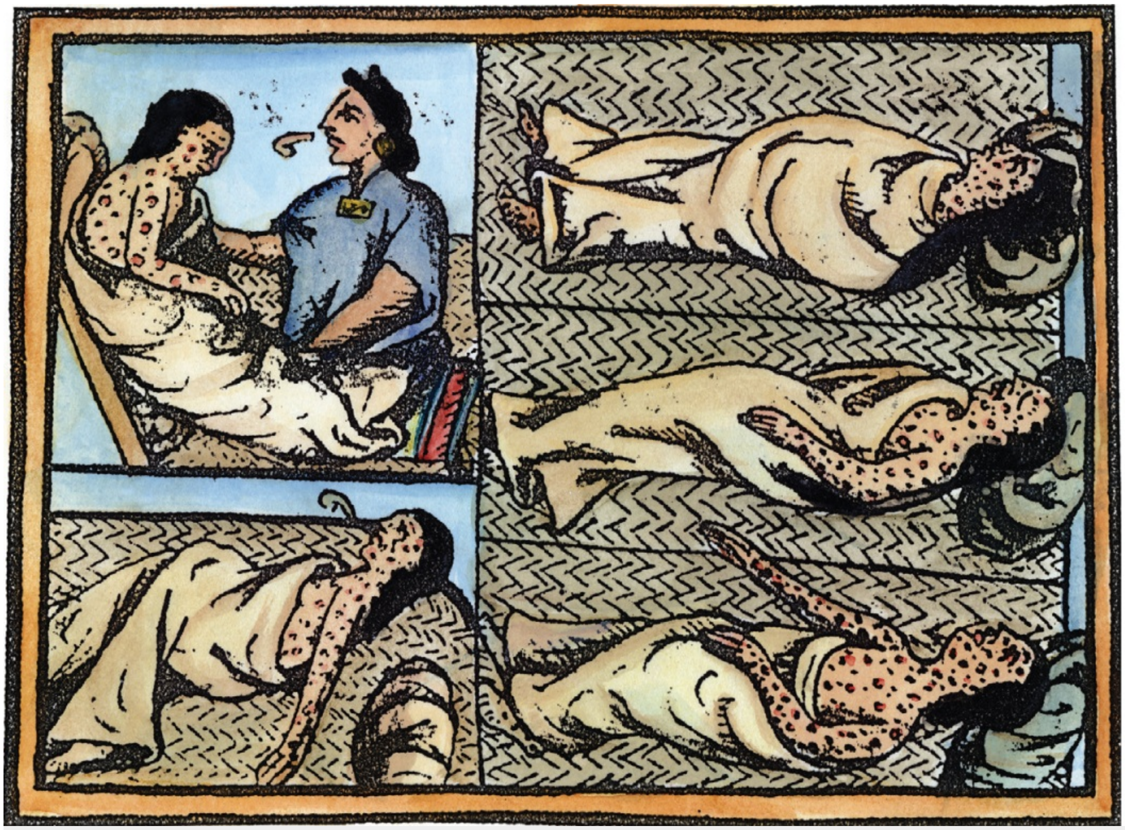
The movement of peoples, animals, plants, manufactured goods, precious metals, and diseases between Europe, the New World, and Africa — the Columbian exchange — was one of the most dramatic transformations of ecology, agriculture, and ways of life in all of human history . Columbus started the process when he brought with him firearms, unknown in the Americas, and on his second voyage, horses, which had become extinct in the Americas, as well as pigs, chickens, goats, sheep, cattle, and various plants including wheat, melons, and sugarcane. Enslaved Africans, first brought to the Caribbean in 1503 to 1505, worked on sugarcane plantations, foreshadowing the development of a massive slave economy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see Chapter 17).

The Europeans also brought with them diseases. Amerindians died in catastrophic numbers because they lacked natural immunity from previous exposure. Smallpox first appeared in the New World in 1518; it and other epidemic diseases killed as many as 90 percent of natives in some places, though the precise numbers are unknown (see Environment Matters). Syphilis, or a genetic predecessor to it, came back with the explorers to Europe.

The Spanish also brought back tobacco, cacao (chocolate), sweet potatoes, maize, and tomato seeds, changing consumption patterns in Europe. (Their native American wives, concubines, and domestics taught them to drink chocolate in the native fashion: frothy, red in color, and flavored with peppers.) At the same time, Spanish and Portuguese slave traders brought these crops and others — such as manioc, capsicum peppers, pineapples, cashew nuts, and peanuts — from the Americas to West Africa, where their cultivation altered local agriculture and diets. The slavers bought African yams, sorghum, millet, and especially rice to feed the enslaved people in transit, and those enslaved then grew those crops in the Americas. Thus the exchange went in every conceivable direction.

ENVIRONMENT MATTERS

Smallpox Kills Native Peoples



Sarin Images/Granger

This sixteenth-century manuscript illustration shows Nahuas (one of the native peoples of Mexico) stricken with smallpox. Smallpox killed many people in Europe but its effects were even more staggering in the Americas, where the aboriginal peoples had never been exposed to it before the invasion of Europeans. In some places, virtually everyone died. There was no one left to take care of the sick. The importation of European diseases, animals, crops, and ways of life dramatically altered the environment of the aboriginal Americans, but none was more devastating than epidemic diseases.

Questions to Consider

1. What does the aboriginal artist choose to emphasize when depicting smallpox?
2. How does this early example of a pandemic compare to COVID-19?

Review Question

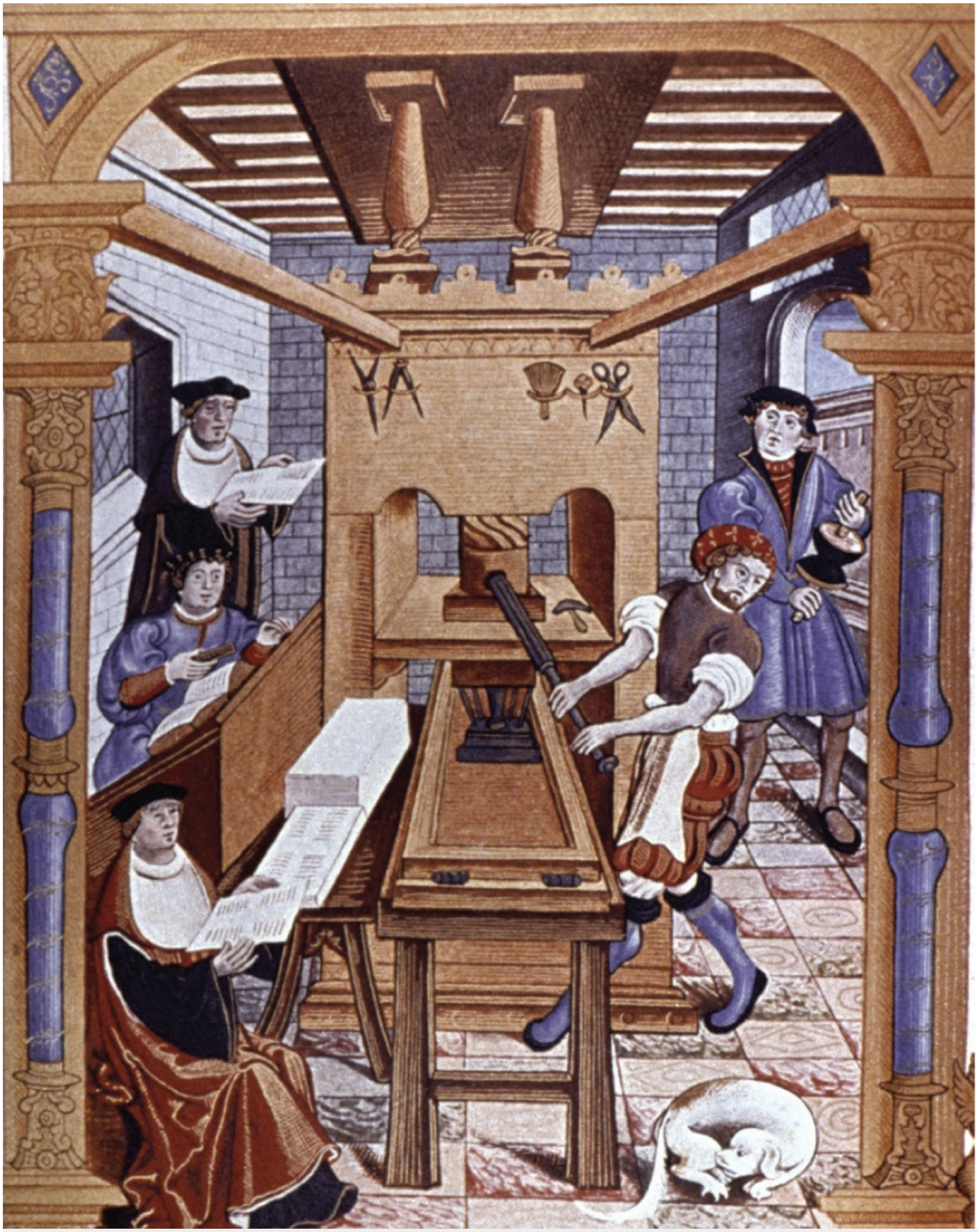
Which European countries led the way in maritime exploration, and what were their motives?

The Protestant Reformation

When Columbus’s patrons Ferdinand and Isabella expelled all Jews from Spain in 1492 and chased the last Muslims from Granada in 1502, it appeared as if the triumph of the Catholic church had been assured. Only fifteen years later, however, Martin Luther started a movement for religious reform that would fracture the unity of Western Christianity. Instead of one Catholic church, there would be many different kinds of Christians. The invention of printing with movable type helped spread the Protestant message, which grew in part out of waves of popular piety that washed over Europe in the closing decades of the 1400s. Reformers had also been influenced by Christian humanists who focused attention on clerical abuses.

The Invention of Printing

Printing with movable type, first developed in Europe in the 1440s by Johannes Gutenberg, a German goldsmith, marked a revolutionary departure from the old practice of copying works by hand or stamping pages with individually carved woodblocks. The Chinese invented movable type in the eleventh century, but they preferred woodblock printing because it was more suitable to the Chinese language, with its thousands of different characters. In Europe, with only twenty-six letters to the alphabet, movable type allowed entire manuscripts to be printed more quickly than ever before. Single letters, made in metal molds, could be emptied out of a frame and new ones inserted to print each new page.



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Printing Press This illustration from a French manuscript of 1537 depicts typical printing equipment of the sixteenth century. An artisan is using the screw press to apply the inked type to the paper. Also shown are the composed type secured in a chase, the printed sheet (four pages of text printed on one sheet) held by the seated proofreader, and the bound volume. When two pages of text were printed on one standard-sized sheet, the bound book was called a folio. A bound book with four pages of text on one sheet was called a quarto (“in four”), and a book with eight pages of text on one sheet was called an octavo (“in eight”). The octavo was a pocket-size book, smaller than today’s paperback.

In 1467, two German printers established the first press in Rome; within five years, they had produced twelve thousand volumes, a feat that in the past would have required a thousand scribes working full-time. Printing also depended on the large-scale production of paper. Papermaking came to Europe from China via Arab intermediaries. By the fourteenth century, paper mills in Italy were producing paper that was more fragile but also much cheaper than parchment or vellum, the animal skins that Europeans had previously used for writing. Early printed books attracted an elite audience. Their expense made them inaccessible to most literate people, who comprised a minority of the population in any case. Gutenberg’s famous two-volume Latin Bible was a luxury item, and only 185 copies were printed. Gutenberg Bibles remain today a treasure that only the greatest libraries possess.

The invention of mechanical printing dramatically increased the speed at which people could transmit knowledge, and it freed individuals from having to memorize everything they learned. Printed books and pamphlets, even one-page flyers, would create a wide community of scholars no longer dependent on personal patronage or church sponsorship for texts. Printing thus encouraged the free expression and exchange of ideas, and its disruptive potential did not go unnoticed by political and religious authorities. Rulers and bishops in the German states, the birthplace of the printing industry, moved quickly to issue censorship regulations, but their efforts could not prevent the outbreak of the Protestant Reformation.

Popular Piety and Christian Humanism

The Christianizing of Europe had taken many centuries to complete, but by 1500 most people in Europe believed devoutly. However, the vast majority of them had little knowledge of Catholic doctrine. More popular forms of piety — such as processions, festivals, and marvelous tales of saints' miracles — captivated ordinary believers.

Urban merchants and artisans, more likely than peasants to be literate and critical of their local priests, yearned for a faith more meaningful to their daily lives and for a clergy more responsive to their needs. They donated money to establish new preaching positions for university-trained clerics. The merchants resented the funneling of the Catholic church's rich endowments to the younger children of the nobility who took up religious callings to protect the wealth of their families. The young, educated clerics funded by the merchants often came from cities themselves. They formed the backbone of **Christian humanism** and sometimes became reformers too.

Humanism had originated during the Renaissance in Italy among highly educated individuals attached to the personal households of prominent rulers. North of the Alps, however, humanists focused more on religious revival and the inculcation of Christian piety, especially through the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life. The Brethren preached religious self-discipline, specialized in the copying of manuscripts, and were among the first to print the ancient classics. Their most influential pupil was the Dutch Christian humanist Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1466–1536). The illegitimate son of a man who became a priest, Erasmus joined the Augustinian Order of monks, but the pope allowed him to leave the monastery and pursue the life of an independent scholar. An intimate friend of kings and popes, he became known across Europe. He devoted years to preparing a critical edition of the New Testament in Greek with a translation into Latin, which was finally published in 1516.

Erasmus strove for a unified, peaceful Christendom in which charity and good works, not official church ceremonies, would mark true religion and in which learning and piety would dispel ignorance. He elaborated many of these ideas in his *Handbook of the Militant Christian* (1503), an eloquent plea for a simple religion devoid of greed and the lust for power. In *The Praise of Folly* (1509), Erasmus used satire to show that modesty, humility, and poverty represented the true Christian virtues in a world that worshipped pomposity, power, and wealth.

Erasmus instructed the young future emperor Charles V to rule as a just Christian prince. A man of peace and moderation, Erasmus soon found himself challenged by angry younger men and radical ideas once the Reformation took hold; he eventually chose Christian unity over reform and schism. His dream of Christian pacifism crushed, he lived to see dissenters executed — by Catholics and Protestants alike — for speaking their conscience. Erasmus spent his last years in Freiburg and Basel, isolated from the Protestant community, his writings condemned by many in the Catholic church. After the Protestant Reformation had been secured, the saying arose that “Erasmus laid the egg that Luther hatched.” Some blamed the humanists for the emergence of Luther and Protestantism, despite the humanists’ decision to remain in the Catholic church.

Martin Luther’s Challenge

The crisis of faith of one man, **Martin Luther** (1483–1546), started the international movement known as the Protestant Reformation (see Terms of History on page 504). The son of a miner and a deeply pious mother, Luther abandoned his studies in the law and, like Erasmus, entered the Augustinian Order. There he experienced his religious crisis: despite fervent prayers, fasting, intense reading of the Bible, a personal pilgrimage to Rome (on foot), and study that led to a doctorate in theology, Luther did not feel saved.

Luther found peace inside himself when he became convinced that sinners were saved only through faith and that faith was a gift freely given by God. “Since faith alone justifies,” he wrote, “it is clear that the inner man cannot be justified, freed, or saved by any outer work or action at all.… Wherefore it ought to be the first concern of every Christian to lay aside all confidence in works and increasingly to strengthen faith alone and through faith to grow in the knowledge, not of works, but of Christ Jesus, who suffered and rose for him.” This emphasis on inner conviction directly challenged the role of the Catholic church and its teachings.

Just as Luther was working out his own personal search for salvation, a priest named Johann Tetzel arrived in Wittenberg, where Luther was a university professor, to sell indulgences. In the sacrament of penance, according to Catholic church doctrine, the sinner confessed his or her sins to a priest, who offered absolution and imposed a penance. Penance normally consisted of spiritual duties (prayers, pilgrimages, or "works" in Luther's terms), but the church also sold the monetary substitutions known as indulgences. A person could even buy indulgences for a deceased relative to reduce that person's time in purgatory and release his or her soul for heaven.

In the ninety-five theses that he proposed for academic debate in 1517, Luther denounced the sale of indulgences as a corrupt practice. Printed, the theses became public and unleashed a torrent of pent-up resentment and frustration among the laypeople. What began as a theological debate in a provincial university soon engulfed the Holy Roman Empire. Luther's earliest supporters included younger Christian humanists and clerics who shared his critical attitude toward the church establishment. None of these Evangelicals, as they called themselves, came from the upper echelons of the church; many were from urban middle-class backgrounds, and most were university trained. But illiterate artisans and peasants also rallied to Luther, sometimes with an almost fanatical zeal. They and he believed that they were living in the last days of the world, and that Luther and his cause might be a sign of the approaching Last Judgment. In 1520, Luther burned his bridges with the publication of three fiery treatises. In *Freedom of a Christian,* Luther sharply distinguished between true Gospel teachings and invented church doctrines. He advocated "the priesthood of all believers," insisting that the Bible provided all the teachings necessary for Christian living and that a professional caste of clerics should not hold sway over laypeople. These principles — “by faith alone,” “by Scripture alone,” and “the priesthood of all believers” — became central features of the reform movement.

akg-images/Newscom.

Explaining the Reformation to the People This woodcut by Lucas Cranach the Elder shows the pope himself selling indulgences to ordinary people. Luther and many other reformers believed that the sale of indulgences was corrupting the Catholic church by substituting money for true repentance. Prints such as this one from 1521 helped spread the Protestant message.

In his second treatise, *To the Nobility of the German Nation*, Luther denounced the corrupt Italians in Rome and called on the German princes to defend their nation and reform the church. Luther's third treatise, *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, condemned the papacy as the embodiment of the Antichrist. He had discovered a talent for polemics and made the most of it.

From Rome's perspective, the Luther Affair, as church officials called it, concerned only one unruly monk (see Contrasting Views on pages 506–507). When the pope ordered him to obey his superiors and keep quiet, Luther tore up the decree. Spread by the printing press, Luther's ideas circulated widely, letting loose forces that neither the church nor Luther could control. Social, nationalist, and religious protests fused with lower-class resentments, much as in the Czech movement that the priest and professor Jan Hus had inspired a century earlier. Like Hus, Luther appeared before an emperor: in 1521, he defended his faith at the Imperial Diet of Worms before **Charles V** (r. 1519–1556), the newly elected Holy Roman Emperor who, at the age of nineteen, ruled over the Low Countries, Spain, Spain's Italian and New World dominions, and the Austrian Habsburg lands. Luther shocked Germans by declaring his admiration for the Czech heretic. But unlike Hus, Luther enjoyed the protection of his lord, Frederick the Wise, the elector of Saxony (called an elector because he was one of seven princes charged with electing the Holy Roman Emperor). To become Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V had bribed Frederick and therefore had to treat him with respect.

Lutheran propaganda flooded German towns and villages. Sometimes only a few pages in length, these broadsheets were often illustrated with crude satirical cartoons. Magistrates began to curtail clerical privileges and subordinate the clergy to municipal authority. From Wittenberg, the reform movement quickly swelled and threatened to swamp all before it. Lutheranism spread northward to Scandinavia when reformers who studied in Germany brought back the faith and converted the kings from Catholic to Protestant beliefs.

TERMS OF HISTORY

Protestant Reformation

Martin Luther started the Protestant Reformation in 1517 when he criticized the sale of indulgences and then went on to demand a whole series of reforms in Catholic church doctrine and practices. He did not call his movement the Protestant Reformation, and neither did his opponents, who condemned him as a heretic, much like the heretics of the past. In his edict of 1521, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V denounced Luther as a “reviver of the old and condemned heresies and inventor of new ones,” who had propagated “numberless and endless errors.” Luther’s supporters only began to be called Protestants when several members of an imperial diet in 1529 published a “protest” against the decision to ban Luther and prohibit the spread of his ideas. The term Protestant then spread in usage across Europe to refer to those willing to break with the Catholic church over reform.

Luther did not anticipate either the spread of “Protestantism” or the diverse and often conflicting forms that it would take under the influence of other reformers. As divisions grew within the Protestant camp, some began to distinguish between Lutheran Protestants and Reformed Protestants, meaning the followers of Zwingli and Calvin. The term *Protestant Reformation*, like the term *Protestantism*, appeared in English in the 1600s to emphasize the similarities between the different Protestant sects and their essential difference from the “papists” or Catholics. Since “Reformation,” especially when capitalized, thus became associated with anti-Catholic prejudice in the Anglophone world, some scholars began to insist that the Catholic movement for internal reform should be labeled something other than “Counter- Reformation,” which implied that Catholic reform efforts originated exclusively in a reaction to “Protestantism.” Given the struggles, both mental and military, that were ignited by Luther’s actions, it is not surprising that the labels attached to the various sides generated such lasting controversy.

CONTRASTING VIEWS

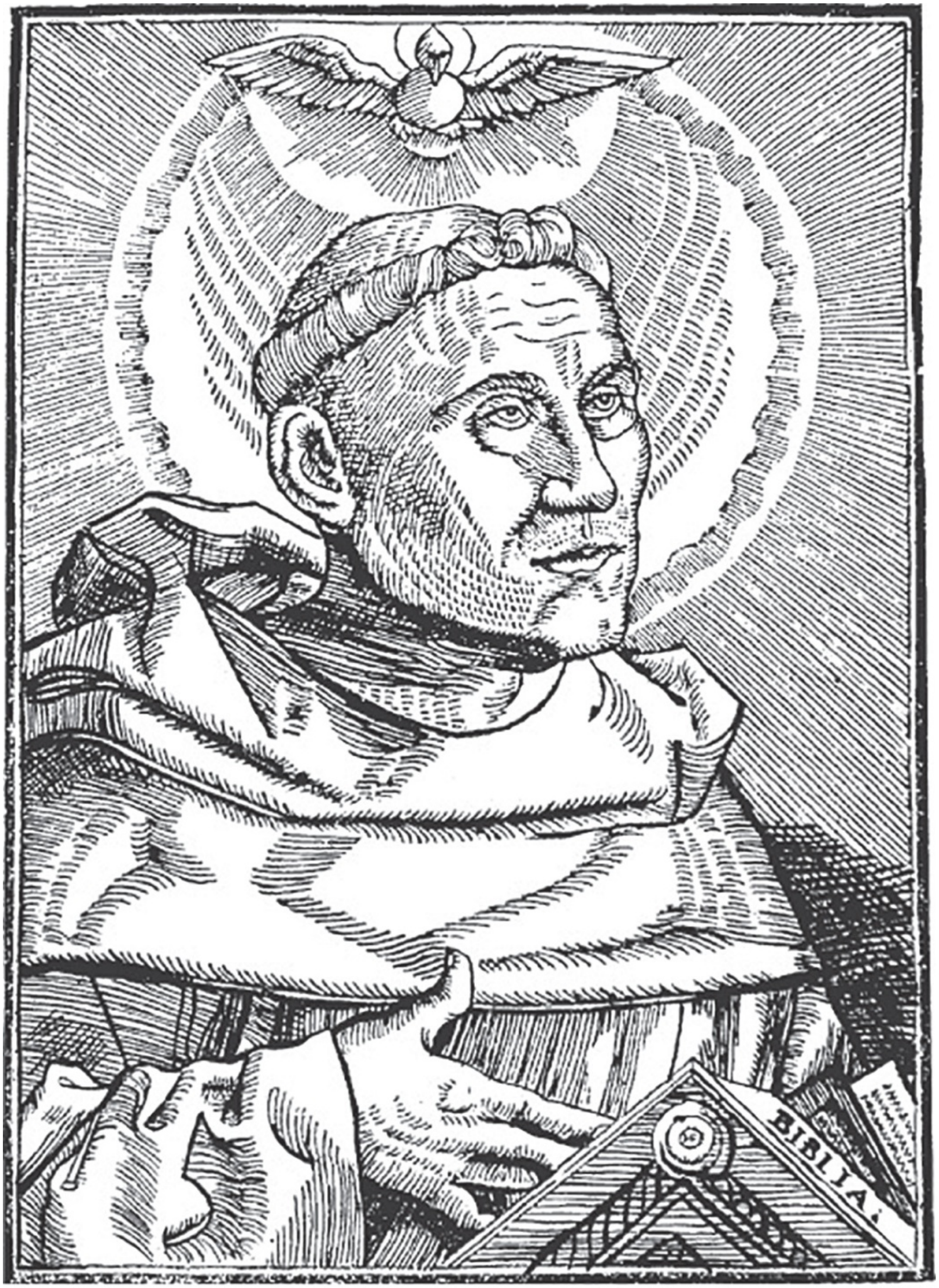
Martin Luther: Holy Man or Heretic?

When Martin Luther criticized the papacy and the Catholic church, some hailed him as a godly prophet and others condemned him as a heretic. Both Protestants and Catholics used popular propaganda to argue their cause. They spread their message to a largely illiterate or semiliterate society through pamphlets, woodcuts, and broadsheets in which visual images took on increasing importance, to appeal to a wide public. These polemical works were distributed in the thousands to cities and market towns throughout the Holy Roman Empire. A few were even translated into Latin to reach an audience outside of Germany.

A positive image of Luther, published in 1521, depicts him as inspired by the Holy Spirit (Document 1). The 1523 woodcut shows Luther arguing against his Catholic opponents, who are portrayed as devils hiding in clerical robes (Document 2). An anti-Luther image from a few years later represents him as a seven-headed monster (Document 3), signifying that the reformer is the source of discord within Christianity. This image appeared in a book published in 1529 by the Dominican friar Johannes Cochlaeus, one of Luther’s vociferous opponents.

Visual examples of religious propaganda worked effectively to demonize enemies and to contrast good and evil. The 1520s saw the most intense production of these cheap polemical visual prints, but the use of visual propaganda would continue for more than a century in the religious conflict.

1. Luther as Monk, Doctor, Man of the Bible, and Saint (1521)

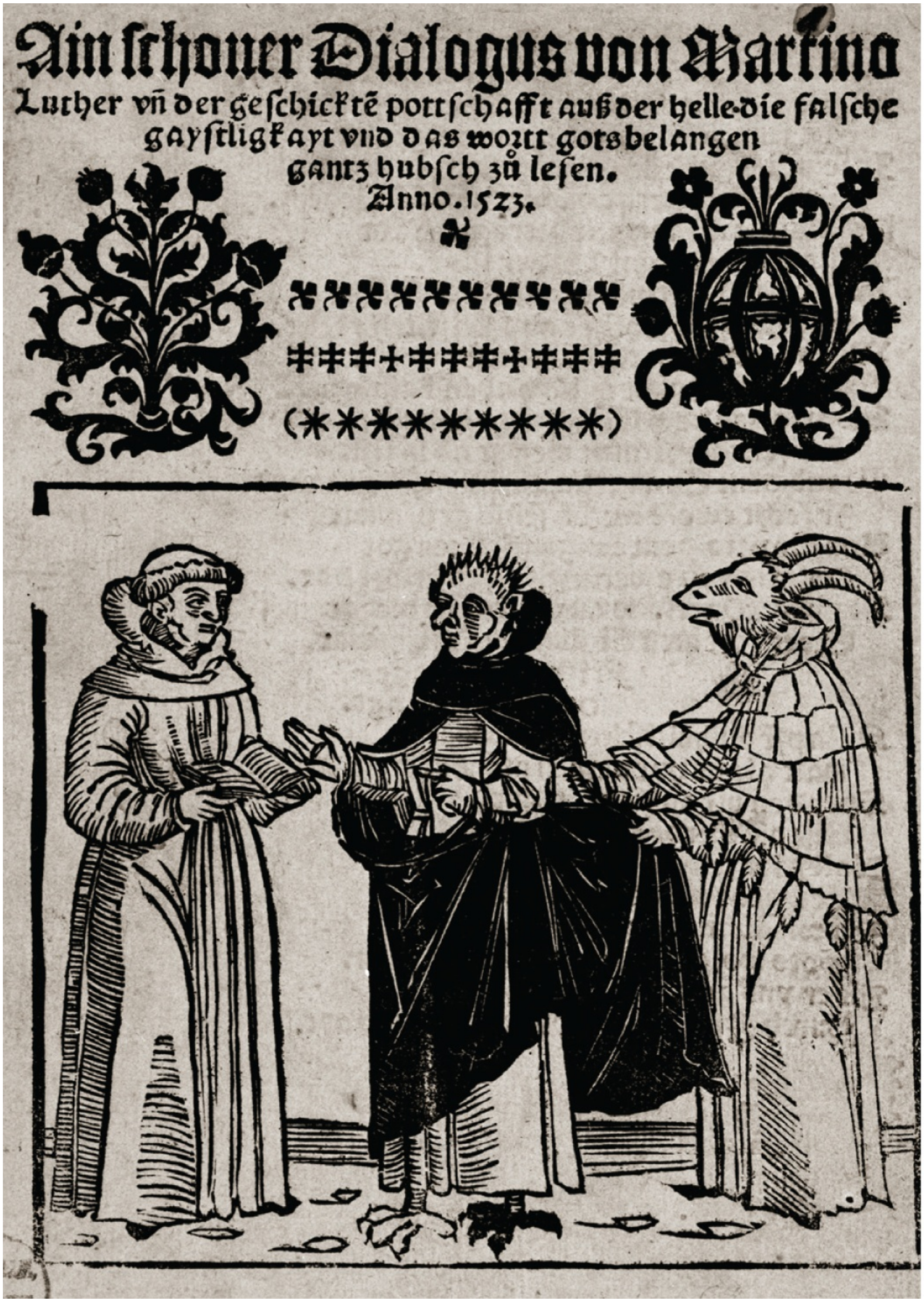


Granger

This woodcut by an anonymous artist appeared in a volume that the Strasbourg printer Johann Schott published in 1521. In addition to being one of the major centers of printing, Strasbourg was also a stronghold of the reform movement. Note the use of traditional symbols to signify

Luther's holiness: the Bible in his hands, the halo, the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, and his friar's robes. Although the cult of saints and monasticism came under severe criticism during the Reformation, the representation of Luther in traditional symbols of sanctity stressed his conservative values instead of his radical challenge to church authorities.

2. Luther Takes On His Devilish Catholic Opponents (1523)

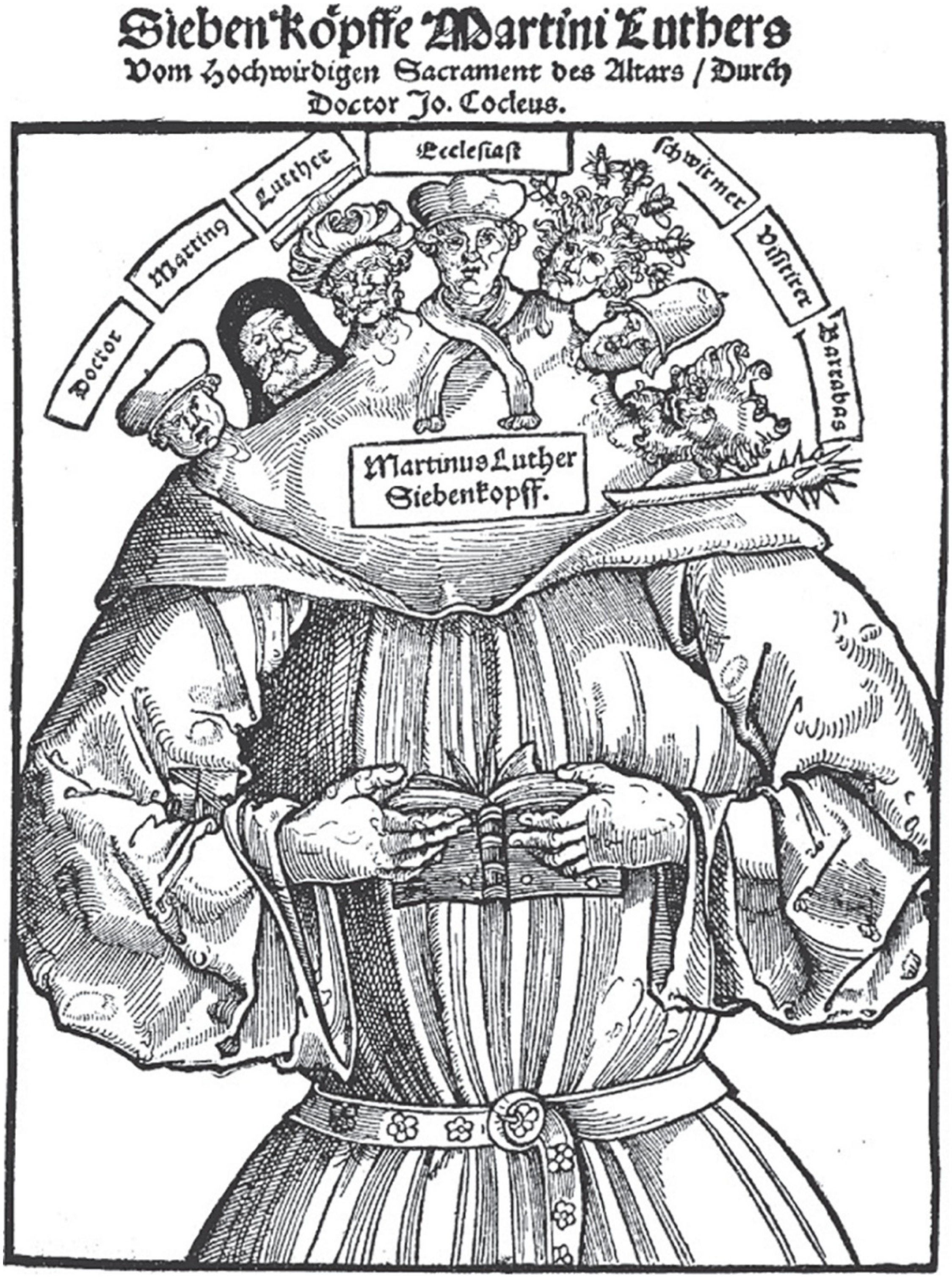


Ain ſchoner Dialogus von Martino
Luther vñ der geſchicktē pottſchafft auß der helle·die falſche
gayſtligkayt vnd das woꝛtt gots belangen
gantz hubſch zů leſen.
Anno.1523.

akg-images/Newscom

All three figures are wearing monk's robes, but only Luther appears as trustworthy in this woodcut printed by Melchior Ramminger. The image appears on the title page of an anonymous pamphlet called *A Pretty Dialogue between Martin Luther and Messengers Sent from Hell*. Ramminger was one of many Protestant printers in Augsburg, a free imperial city that served as a major commercial, financial, and printing hub for the Holy Roman Empire.

3. The Seven-Headed Martin Luther by Johannes Cochlaeus (1529)



Granger

The seven heads are labeled (from left to right) doctor, Martin, Luther, ecclesiast, enthusiast, visitirer, and Barrabas. *Enthusiast* was a term of abuse, applied usually by the Catholic church to Anabaptists and religious radicals of all sorts. *Visitirer* is a pun in German on the word Tier, meaning “animal.” Cochlaeus also mocks the new practice of Protestant clergy visiting parishes to check up on pastors' and parishioners' adherence to Reformed church doctrines and rituals in order to enforce Christian discipline. From left to right, Luther's many heads gradually reveal him to be a rebel: according to the Bible, the Romans had condemned the rabble-rouser Barrabas to die but instead freed him and crucified Jesus in his place. The number seven also alludes to the seven deadly sins.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. Why did Johannes Cochlaeus condemn Martin Luther? How did he construct a negative image of Luther?
2. Evaluate the visual representations of Luther as a godly man. Which one is more effective?

Protestantism Spreads and Divides

Other Protestant reformers soon challenged Luther's doctrines even while applauding his break from the Catholic church. In 1520, just three years after Luther's initial rupture with Rome, the chief preacher of Zurich, Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531), openly declared himself a reformer. Like Luther, Zwingli attacked corruption in the Catholic church hierarchy, and he also questioned fasting and clerical celibacy. Zwingli disagreed with Luther on the question of the Eucharist, the central Christian sacrament that Christians partook of in communion. The Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation held that when the priest consecrated them, the bread and wine of communion actually turned into the body and blood of Christ. Luther insisted that the bread and wine did not change their nature: they were simultaneously bread and wine and the body and blood of Christ. Zwingli, however, viewed the Eucharistic bread and wine as symbols of Christ's union with believers, not the real blood and body of Christ. This issue aroused such strong feelings because it concerned the role of the priest and the church in shaping the relationship between God and the believer.

In 1529, troubled by these differences and other disagreements, Protestant princes and magistrates assembled the major reformers in the Colloquy of Marburg, in central Germany. After several days of intense discussions, the reformers managed to resolve some differences over doctrine, but Luther and Zwingli failed to agree on the meaning of the Eucharist. The issue of the Eucharist would soon divide Lutherans and Calvinists as well.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

Assume that you had been reading some of the pamphlets printed by the various reform movements. Would you choose to become a follower of Luther, Zwingli, or Calvin? Or would you decide it was better in the end to remain a Roman Catholic? What reasons would you cite to members of your family for your choice? Would you go in a different direction from your mother and father?

Under the leadership of **John Calvin** (1509–1564), another wave of reform challenged Catholic authority. Born in Picardy, in northern France, Calvin studied in Paris and Orléans, where he took a law degree. Experiencing a crisis of faith, like Luther, Calvin sought salvation through intense theological study. Gradually, he, too, came to question fundamental Catholic teachings.

On Sunday, October 18, 1534, Parisians found church doors posted with crude broadsheets denouncing the Catholic Mass. Smuggled into France from the Protestant and French-speaking parts of Switzerland, the broadsheets provoked a wave of royal repression in the capital. In response to this so-called Affair of the Placards, the government arrested hundreds of French Protestants, executed some of them, and forced many more, including Calvin, to flee abroad.

Calvin made his way to Geneva, the French-speaking Swiss city-state where he would find his life's work. Genevans had renounced their allegiance to the Catholic bishop, and local supporters of reform begged Calvin to stay and labor there. Although it took some time for Calvin to solidify his position in the city, his supporters eventually triumphed, and he remained in Geneva until his death in 1564.

Under Calvin's leadership, Geneva became a Christian republic on the model set out in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* first published in 1536. No reformer prior to Calvin had expounded on the doctrines, organization, history, and practices of Christianity in such a systematic and wide-ranging manner. Calvin followed Luther's doctrine of salvation to its ultimate logical conclusion: if God is almighty and humans cannot earn their salvation by good works, then no Christian can be certain of salvation. Developing the doctrine of **predestination**, Calvin argued that God had ordained every man, woman, and child to salvation or damnation — even before the creation of the world. Thus, in Calvin's theology, God saved only the "elect" (a small group).

Predestination could terrify, but it could also embolden. For Calvinists, a righteous life might be a sign that a person had been chosen for salvation. Thus, Calvinist doctrine demanded rigorous discipline. Fusing church and society into what followers named the Reformed church, Geneva became a theocratic city-state dominated by Calvin and the elders of the Reformed church. Its people were rigorously monitored; detractors said that they were bullied. From its base in Geneva, the Calvinist movement spread to France, the Low Countries, England, Scotland, the German states, Poland, Hungary, and eventually New England.

The Progress of the Reformation

1517	Martin Luther disseminates ninety-five theses attacking sale of indulgences and other church practices
1520	Reformer Huldrych Zwingli breaks with Rome
1525	Peasants’ War in German states divides reform movement
1529	Lutheran German princes protest condemnation of religious reform by Charles V
1534	The Act of Supremacy establishes King Henry VIII as head of the Church of England, severing ties to Rome
1534–1535	Anabaptists take over German city of Münster in failed experiment to create a holy community
1541	John Calvin establishes himself permanently in Geneva, making that city a model of Christian reform and discipline

In Geneva, Calvin tolerated no dissent. While passing through the city in 1553, the Spanish physician Michael Servetus was arrested because he had published books attacking Calvin and questioning the doctrine of the Trinity, the belief that there are three persons in one God — the Father, the Son (Jesus), and the Holy Spirit. Upon Calvin’s advice, the authorities executed Servetus. Calvin was not alone in persecuting dissenters. Each religious group believed that its doctrine was absolutely true and grounded in the Bible and that therefore violence in its defense was not only justified but required. Catholic and Protestant polemicists alike castigated their critics in the harshest terms, but they often saved their cruelest words for the Jews. Calvin, for example, called the Jews “profane, unholy, sacrilegious dogs,” but Luther went even further and advocated burning down their houses and their synagogues. Religious toleration was still far in the future.

The Contested Church of England

England followed yet another path, with reform led by the king rather than by men trained as Catholic clergy. Despite a tradition of religious dissent that went back to the fourteenth-century theologian John Wycliffe, Protestantism gained few English adherents in the 1520s. King **Henry VIII** (r. 1509–1547) changed that when he broke with the Roman Catholic church. The resulting Church of England retained many aspects of Catholic worship but nonetheless aligned itself in the Protestant camp.

At first, Henry opposed the Protestant Reformation, even receiving the title Defender of the Faith from Pope Leo X for a treatise he wrote against Luther. With the aid of his chancellors Cardinal Thomas Wolsey and Thomas More, Henry vigorously suppressed Protestantism and executed its leaders. More had secured a reputation as a Christian humanist, publishing a controversial novel about an imaginary island called *Utopia* (1516), the source of the modern word for an ideal community. Unlike his friend Erasmus, More chose to serve the state directly and became personal secretary to Henry VIII, Speaker of the

House of Commons, and finally Lord Chancellor.

By 1527, the king wanted to annul his marriage to Catherine of Aragon (d. 1536), the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain and the aunt of Charles V. The eighteen-year marriage had produced a daughter, Mary (known as Mary Tudor), but Henry desperately needed a male heir to consolidate the rule of the still-new Tudor dynasty. Moreover, he had fallen in love with Anne Boleyn, a lady at court and a supporter of the Reformation. Henry claimed that his marriage to Catherine had never been valid because she was the widow of his older brother, Arthur. Arthur and Catherine's marriage, which apparently was never consummated, had been annulled by Pope Julius II to allow the marriage between Henry and Catherine to take place. Now Henry asked the reigning pope, Clement VII, to declare his marriage to Catherine invalid.

Around "the king's great matter" unfolded a struggle for political and religious control. When Cardinal Wolsey failed to secure papal approval of the annulment, Henry dismissed him and had him arrested. Wolsey died before he could be tried, and More took his place as Lord Chancellor. However, More resigned in 1532 because he opposed Henry's new direction; Henry then had him executed as a traitor in 1535. Henry now turned to two Protestants, Thomas Cromwell (1485–1540) as chancellor and Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556) as archbishop of Canterbury. Under their leadership, the English Parliament passed a number of acts that severed ties between the English church and Rome. The most important of these, the Act of Supremacy of 1534, made Henry the head of the Church of England. Other legislation invalidated the claims of Mary Tudor to the throne, recognized Henry’s marriage to Anne Boleyn, and allowed the English crown to embark on the dissolution of the monasteries. In an effort to consolidate support behind his version of the Reformation, Henry sold off monastic lands to the local gentry and aristocracy. His actions prompted an uprising in 1536 in the north of the country called the Pilgrimage of Grace. Though suppressed, it revealed that many people remained deeply Catholic in their sympathies.

Henry grew tired of Anne Boleyn, who had given birth to a daughter, the future Queen Elizabeth I, but had produced no sons. After a trial, Anne was beheaded in 1536 on the charge of adultery. The king would go on to marry four other wives but father only one son, Edward. When Henry died in 1547, much would now depend on who held the crown. Henry himself held ambiguous views on religion: he considered himself Catholic but would not accept the supremacy of the pope; he closed the monasteries and removed shrines but kept the Mass and believed in clerical celibacy.

Review Question

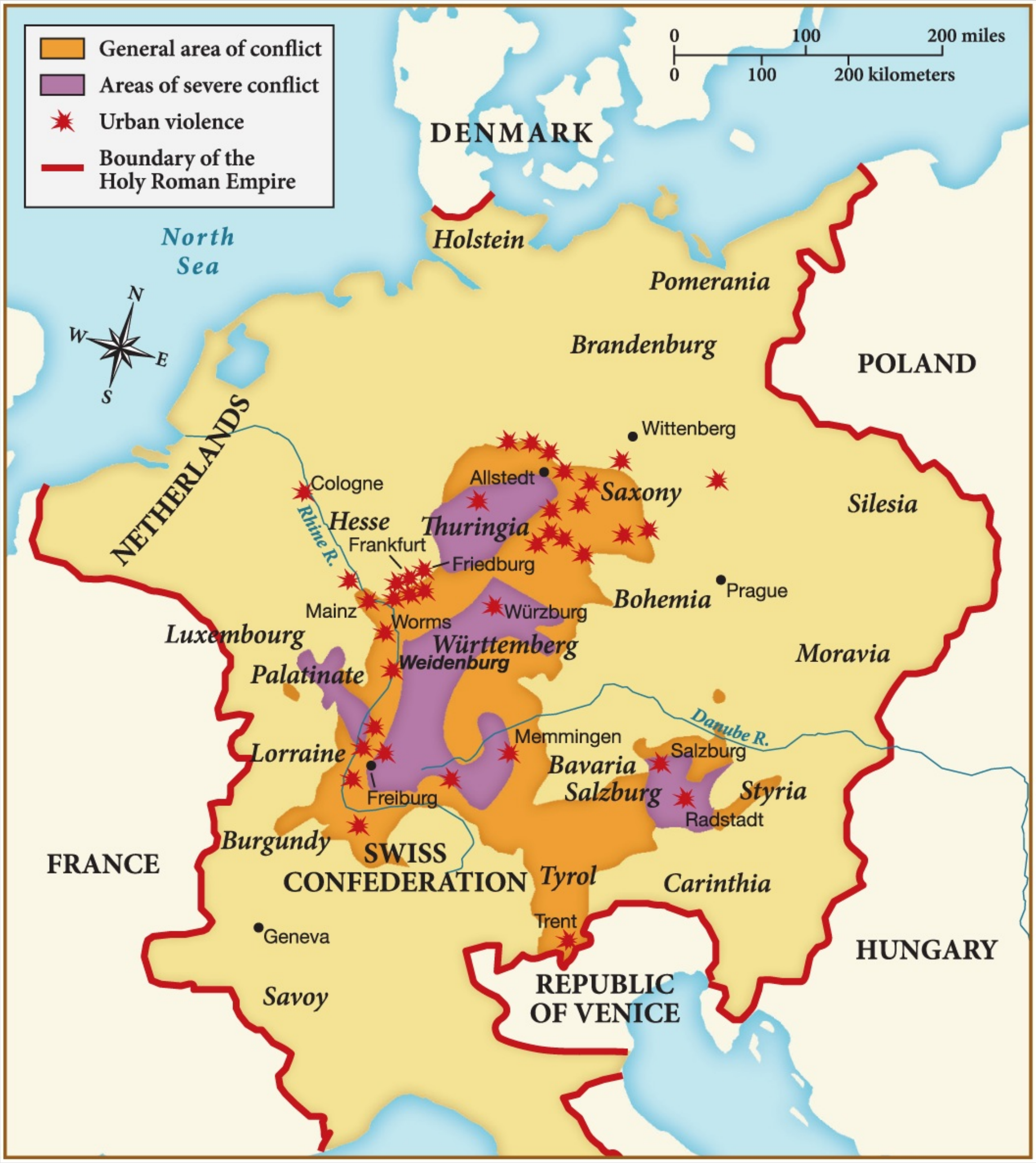
How did Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and Henry VIII each challenge the Roman Catholic church?

Reshaping Society through Religion

The religious reformers and their followers challenged political authority and the social order, yet in reaction to any extreme manifestation of disorder, they underlined the need for discipline in worship and social behavior. Some Protestants took the phrase “priesthood of all believers” quite literally and sided with the poor and the downtrodden. Like Catholics, Protestant authorities then became alarmed by the subversive potential of religious reforms. They viewed the Reformation as a way of instilling greater discipline in individual worship and church organization. At the same time, the Roman Catholic church undertook reforms of its own and launched an offensive against the Protestant Reformation that is sometimes called the Counter-Reformation.

Protestant Challenges to the Social Order

When Luther described the freedom of the Christian, he meant an entirely spiritual freedom. But others interpreted his call for freedom in social and political terms. In the spring of 1525, peasants in southern and central Germany rose in a rebellion known as the Peasants’ War and attacked nobles’ castles, convents, and monasteries (Map 14.2). Urban workers joined them, and together they looted church properties in the towns. In Thuringia (central/eastern Germany), the rebels followed an ex-priest, Thomas Müntzer (1468?–1525), who promised to chastise the wicked and thus clear the way for the Last Judgment.



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 14.2 The Peasants' War of 1525

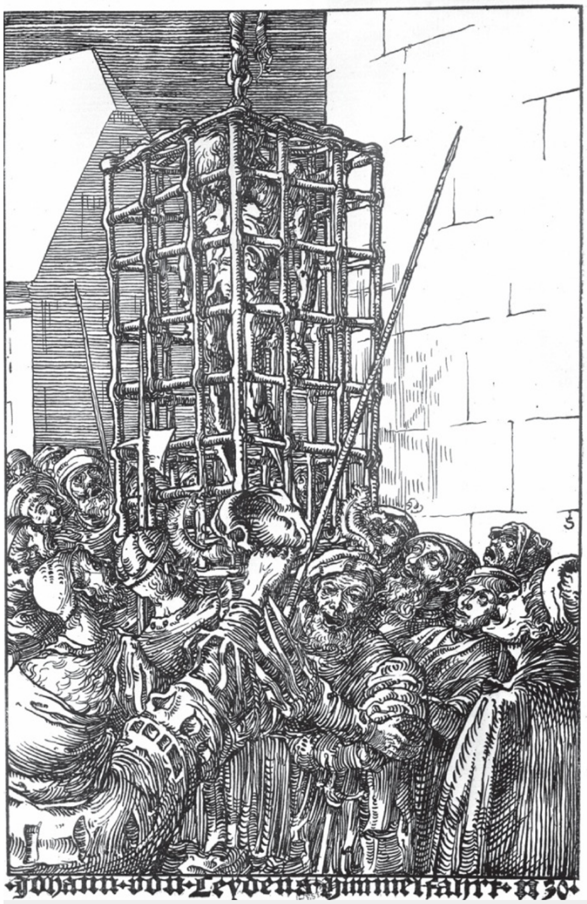
The centers of uprisings clustered in southern and central Germany, where the density of cities encouraged the spread of discontent and allowed for alliances between urban masses and rural rebels. The proximity to the Swiss Confederation, a stronghold of the Reformation movement, also inspired antiestablishment uprisings.

The Peasants' War split the reform movement. Princes and city officials, ultimately supported by Luther, turned against the rebels. Catholic and Protestant princes joined forces to crush Müntzer and his supporters. All over the empire, princes trounced peasant armies and hunted down their leaders. By the end of the year, more than 100,000 rebels had been killed. Initially, Luther had tried to mediate the conflict, but he believed that God ordained rulers, who must therefore be obeyed even if they were tyrants. Luther considered Müntzer's mixing of religion and politics the greatest danger to the Reformation, nothing less than "the devil's work." Fundamentally conservative in its political philosophy, the Lutheran church henceforth depended on established political authority for its protection.

Some followers of Zwingli also wanted to pursue their own path to reform. They believed that true faith came only to those with reason and free will. How could a baby knowingly choose Christ? Only adults could believe and accept baptism; hence, the **Anabaptists** ("rebaptizers") rejected the validity of infant baptism and called for adult rebaptism. Many were pacifists who also refused to acknowledge the authority of law courts. The Anabaptist movement drew its leadership primarily from the artisan class and its members from the middle and lower classes — men and women attracted by a simple but radical message of peace and salvation.

Zwingli immediately attacked the Anabaptists for their refusal to bear arms and swear oaths of allegiance, sensing accurately that they were repudiating his theocratic (church-directed) order. When persuasion failed to convince the Anabaptists, Zwingli urged Zurich magistrates to impose the death sentence. Thus, the Evangelical reformers themselves created the Reformation's first martyrs of conscience.

Despite the Holy Roman Emperor's condemnation of the movement in 1529, Anabaptism spread rapidly from Zurich to many cities in southern Germany. In 1534, one Anabaptist group, believing the end of the world was imminent, seized control of the city of Münster. Proclaiming themselves a community of saints, the Münster Anabaptists abolished private property in imitation of the early Christians and dissolved traditional marriages, allowing men, like Old Testament patriarchs, to have multiple wives, to the consternation of many women. Besieged by a combined Protestant and Catholic army, the city fell in June 1535. The Anabaptist leaders died in battle or were executed, their bodies hung in cages affixed to the church tower. Their punishment was intended as a warning to all who might want to take the Reformation away from the Protestant authorities and hand it to the people. The Anabaptist movement in northwestern Europe nonetheless survived under the determined pacifist leadership of the Dutch reformer Menno Simons (1469–1561), whose followers were eventually named Mennonites.



Roger-Viollet, Paris/Bridgeman Images.

Torture and Execution of an Anabaptist Leader Not long after their capture in 1535, the Anabaptist leaders of Münster were tortured with hot tongs before being killed. Their bodies were placed in cages and hung from a church steeple. This print shows the cage with the body of John of Leiden. He was a tailor's apprentice from the Dutch town of Leiden.

New Forms of Discipline

Faced with the social firestorms ignited by religious reform, the middle-class urbanites who supported the Protestant Reformation urged greater religious conformity and stricter moral behavior. Protestants did not have monasteries or convents or saints' lives to set examples; they sought moral examples in their own homes, in the sermons of their preachers, and in their own reading of the Bible. Some of these attitudes had medieval roots, yet the Protestant Reformation fostered their spread, and Catholics soon began to embrace them.

Although the Bible had been translated into German before, Luther's translations (of the New Testament in 1522 and of the Old Testament in 1534) quickly became authoritative. A new Bible-centered culture began to take root, as more than 200,000 copies of Luther's New Testament were printed over twelve years, an immense number for the time. Peppered with witty phrases and colloquial expressions, Luther's Bible not only made the sacred writings more accessible to ordinary people but also helped standardize the German language. Bible reading became a common pastime undertaken in solitude or at family and church gatherings. To counter Protestant success, Catholic German Bibles soon appeared, thus sanctioning Bible reading by the Catholic laity, a sharp departure from medieval church practice.

© Brooklyn Museum of Art/Museum Collection Fund/
Bridgeman Images.

The Role of Women Protestants and Catholics alike worried about the sources of social order, especially within the family. The German artist who made this woodcut, Erhard Schön (1491–1542), was one of many who satirized women who tried to take power away from men. Having first produced popular woodcuts for Catholic devotional books, Schön began to print pro-Lutheran works in the 1520s.

The new emphasis on self-discipline led to growing impatience with the poor. Between 1500 and 1560, rapid economic and population growth created prosperity for some and stress — heightened by increased inflation — for many. Wanderers and urban beggars were by no means novel, but now moralists, both Catholic and Protestant, denounced vagabonds as lazy and potentially criminal.

The Reformation provided an opportunity to restructure relief for the poor. Instead of decentralized, private initiatives often overseen by religious orders, Protestant magistrates appointed officials to head urban agencies that would certify the genuine poor and distribute welfare funds to them. Catholic authorities did the same. In 1531, Henry VIII asked justices of the peace (unpaid local magistrates) to license the poor in England and to differentiate between those who could work and those who could not. In 1540, Charles V imposed a welfare tax in Spain to augment that country's inadequate system of private charity.

In their effort to establish order and discipline, Protestant reformers denounced sexual immorality and glorified the family. The early Protestant reformers like Luther championed the end of clerical celibacy and embraced marriage. Luther, once a celibate priest himself, married a former nun. Protestant magistrates closed brothels and established marriage courts to handle disputes over marriage promises, child support, and divorce (allowed by Protestants in some rare situations). The magistrates also levied fines or ordered imprisonment for violent behavior, fornication, and adultery.

Prior to the Reformation, despite the legislation of church councils, marriages had largely been private affairs between families; some couples never even registered with the church. The Catholic church recognized any promise made between two consenting adults (with the legal age of twelve for females, fourteen for males) in the presence of two witnesses as a valid marriage. As the Reformation took hold, Protestants asserted government control over marriage, and Catholic governments followed suit. A marriage was legitimate only if registered by both a government official and a member of the clergy.

Catholic Renewal

The Catholic church decided in the 1540s to undertake drastic action to fend off the Protestant threat. Pope Paul III convened a general council of the church in 1545 at Trent, a town on the border between the Holy Roman Empire and Italy. Meeting sporadically over eighteen years (1545–1563), the **Council of Trent** effectively set the course of Catholicism until the 1960s. Catholic leaders sought renewal of religious devotion and reform of clerical morality (some priests had had sexual relationships and fathered children), as well as clarification of church doctrine. New religious orders set out to win converts overseas or to reconvert Catholics who had turned to Protestantism. At the same time, the church did not hesitate to root out dissent by giving greater powers to the Inquisition, including the power to censor books. The papal Index, or list of prohibited books, was established in 1557 and not abolished until 1966.

Italian and Spanish clergy predominated among the 255 bishops, archbishops, and cardinals attending the Council of Trent, which condemned all the central doctrines of Protestantism. According to the council, salvation depended on faith and good works, not faith alone. On the sacrament of the Eucharist, the council reaffirmed that the bread of communion "really, truly" becomes Christ's body. It reasserted the supremacy of clerical authority over the laity; the church's interpretation of the Bible could not be challenged, and the Latin Vulgate was the only authoritative version. The council rejected divorce and reaffirmed the legitimacy of indulgences. It also called for reform from within, however, insisting that bishops henceforth reside in their dioceses and decreeing that seminaries for the training of priests be established in every diocese. Henceforth, the schism between Protestant and Catholic remained permanent, and all hopes of reconciliation faded.

The renewed energy of Catholicism expressed itself most vigorously in the founding of new religious orders such as the Society of Jesus, or **Jesuits**, founded by a Spanish nobleman, Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556). In 1521, while recovering from an injury suffered as a soldier in the Spanish army, Ignatius read lives (biographies) of the saints; once he recovered, he abandoned his quest for military glory in favor of serving the church. In 1540, the pope recognized his small band of followers.

With Ignatius as its first general, the Jesuits became the most vigorous defenders of papal authority. The society quickly expanded; by the time of Ignatius's death in 1556, Europe had one thousand Jesuits. They established hundreds of colleges throughout the Catholic world, educating future generations of Catholic leaders. Jesuit missionaries played a key role in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires and brought Roman Catholicism to Africans, Asians, and native Americans. They saw their effort as proof of the truth of Roman Catholicism and the success of their missions as a sign of divine favor, both particularly important in the face of Protestant challenge.

Catholic missionary zeal brought conflicting messages to indigenous peoples: for some, the message of a repressive and coercive alien religion; for others, a sweet sign of reason and faith. Frustrated in his efforts to convert Brazilian natives, a Jesuit missionary wrote to his superior in Rome in 1563, “For this kind of people it is better to be preaching with the sword and rod of iron.”

Catholic missionaries focused initially on winning over local elites. They learned the local languages and set up schools for the sons of conquered nobles. After an initial period of relatively little racial discrimination, the Catholic church in the Americas and Africa adopted strict rules based on color. For example, the first Mexican Ecclesiastical Provincial Council in 1555 declared that holy orders were not to be conferred on native Americans, mestizos (people of mixed European-native parentage), or mulattoes (people of mixed European-African heritage); along with descendants of Muslims, Jews, and persons who had been sentenced by the Spanish Inquisition, these groups were deemed “inherently unworthy of the sacerdotal [priestly] office.”

European missionaries in Asia greatly admired Chinese and Japanese civilization, and thus used the sermon rather than the sword to win converts. The Jesuit Francis Xavier preached in India and Japan, his work greatly assisted by a network of Portuguese trading stations. Overall the efforts of the Catholic missionaries seemed highly successful: vast multitudes of native Americans had become nominal Christians by the second half of the sixteenth century, and thirty years after Francis Xavier's 1549 landing in Japan, the Jesuits could claim more than 100,000 Japanese converts.

REVIEW QUESTION

How did the forces for radical change unleashed by the Protestant Reformation interact with the urge for social order and stability?

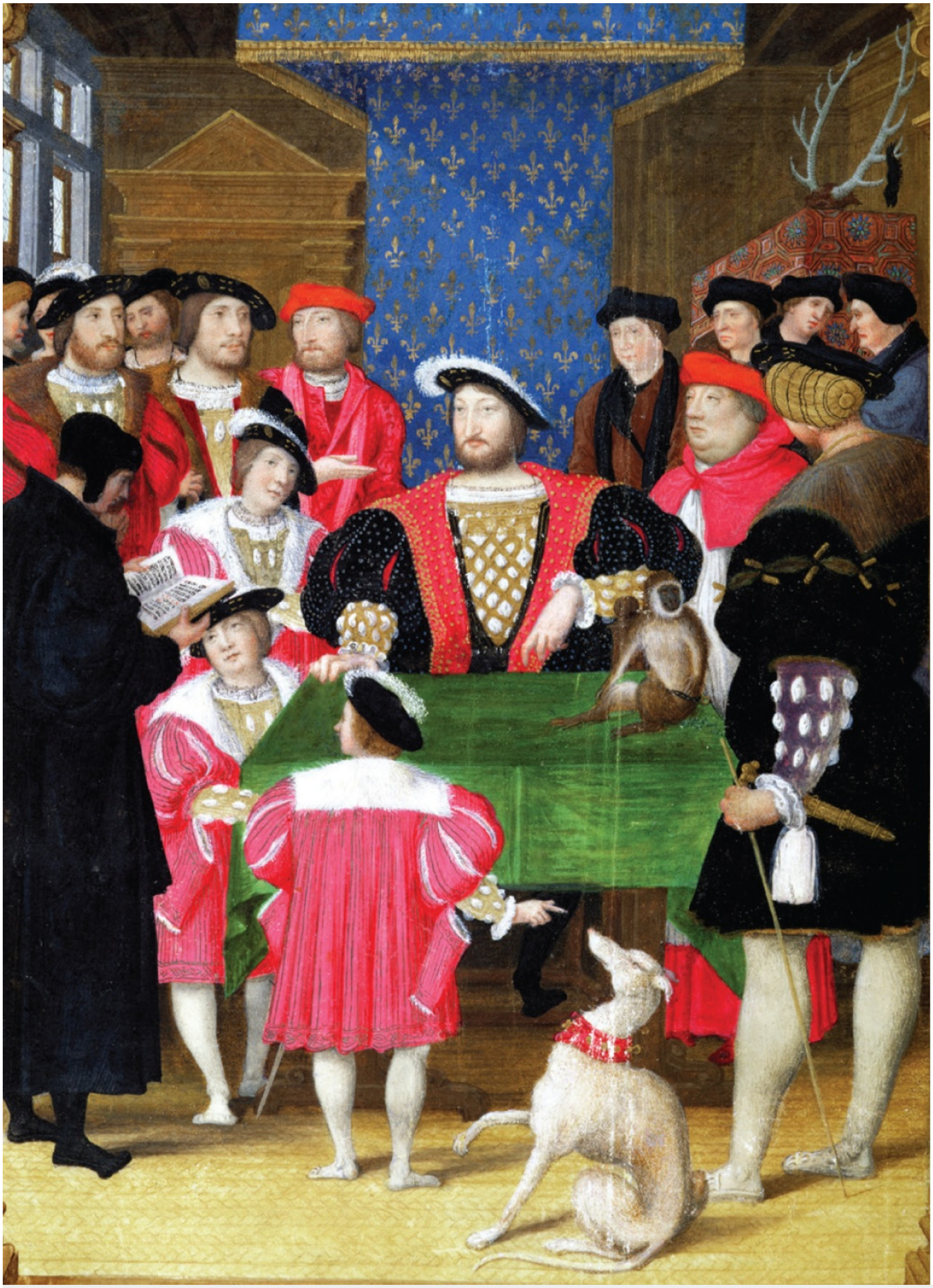
Striving for Mastery

Although the riches of the New World and the conflicts generated by the Reformation raised the stakes of international politics, life at court did not change all at once. Princes and popes continued to sponsor the arts and literature of the Renaissance. Henry VIII, for example, hired the German artist Hans Holbein as king's painter. While Protestantism was taking root, Catholic monarchs still fought one another and battled the powerful Ottoman Empire. Holy Roman Emperor Charles V dominated the political scene with his central position in Europe and his rising supply of gold and silver from the New World. Yet even his wealth proved insufficient to subdue all his challengers. Religious difference led to violence in every country, even Spain, where there were almost no Protestants but many Muslims who were forced to convert by Charles V in 1526. For the most part, violence failed to settle religious differences. By 1560, an exhausted Europe had achieved a provisional peace, but one sowed with the seeds of future conflict.

Courtiers and Princes

Kings, princes, and popes alike used their courts to keep an eye on their leading courtiers (cardinals in the case of popes) and impress their other subjects. Briefly defined, the court was the ruler's household. Around the prince gathered a community of household servants, noble attendants, councilors, officials, artists, and soldiers. Renaissance culture had been promoted by this political elite, and that culture now entered its "high," or most sophisticated, phase. Its acclaimed representative was Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564), an immensely talented Italian artist who sculpted the gigantic nude *David* for officials in Florence and then painted the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel for the recently elected Pope Julius II.

Italian artists also flocked to the French court of Francis I (r. 1515–1547), which swelled to the largest in Europe. In addition to royal officials and guards, physicians, librarians, musicians, dwarfs, animal trainers, and a multitude of hangers-on bloated its size to more than sixteen hundred members. Although Francis built a magnificent Renaissance palace at Fontainebleau, where he hired Italian artists to produce paintings and sculpture, the French court often moved from palace to palace. It took no fewer than eighteen thousand horses to transport the people, furniture, documents, dogs, and falcons for the royal hunt. Hunting represented a form of mock combat, essential in the training of a military elite. Francis almost lost his own life when, storming a house during one mock battle, he was hit on the head by a burning log.



Musee Conde Chantilly, France/Bridgeman Images.

King Francis I and His Court In this illustration from a 1534 manuscript, the king of France is shown with his three sons listening to the reading of a translated ancient text. The translator, Antoine Macault, was the king’s secretary and is shown wearing the black of officials. Renaissance kings took pride in sponsoring revivals of classical texts (in this case Diodorus of Sicily, a Greek historian from the first century B.C.E.).

Two Italian writers helped define the new culture of courtesy, or proper court behavior: Ludovico Ariosto (1474–1533), in service at the Este court in Ferrara, and Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529), a servant of the duke of Urbino and the pope. Ariosto composed an epic poem, *Orlando Furioso,* which represented court culture as the highest synthesis of Christian and classical values. The poem’s captivating tales of combat, valor, love, and magic ranged across Europe, Africa, Asia, and even the moon. In *The Courtier,* Castiglione’s characters debate the qualities of an ideal courtier in a series of eloquent dialogues. The true courtier, Castiglione asserts, is a gentleman who carries himself with nobility and dignity in the service of his prince and his lady.

Courtesy was recommended to courtiers, but not always to princes. The Italian politician and writer Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) helped found modern political science by treating the maintenance of power as an end in itself. In his provocative essay *The Prince,* he underlined the need for pragmatic, even cold calculation. Was it better, he asked, for a prince to be feared by his people or loved? “It may be answered that one should wish to be both, but, because it is difficult to unite them in one person, [it] is much safer to be feared than loved.” Machiavelli insisted that princes could benefit their subjects only by keeping a firm grip on power, if necessary, through deceit and manipulation. *Machiavellian* has remained ever since a term for using cunning and duplicity to achieve one’s ends.

Dynastic Wars

Even as the Renaissance developed in the princely courts and the Reformation began in the German states, the Habsburgs (the ruling family in Spain and then the Holy Roman Empire) and the Valois (the ruling family in France) fought each other for domination of Europe. French claims provoked the Italian Wars in 1494, which soon escalated into a general conflict that involved the major Christian monarchs and the Muslim Ottoman sultan as well. From 1494 to 1559, the Valois and Habsburg dynasties, both Catholic, remained implacable enemies. The fighting raged in Italy and the Low Countries. In 1525, the troops of Charles V crushed the French army at Pavia, Italy, counting among their captives the French king himself, Francis I. Forced to renounce all claims to Italian territory to gain his freedom, Francis furiously repudiated the treaty the moment he reached France, reigniting the conflict.

Bridgeman Images.

Charles V and Francis I Make Peace This fresco from the Palazzo Farnese in the town of Caprarola, north of Rome, shows French king Francis I and Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (shown on the right pointing his finger) agreeing to the Truce of Nice in 1538, one of many peace agreements made and then broken during the wars between the Habsburgs and the Valois. Pope Paul III, who negotiated the truce, stands behind and between them. The truce is the one celebrated in the Tlaxcala pageant described at the start of this chapter.

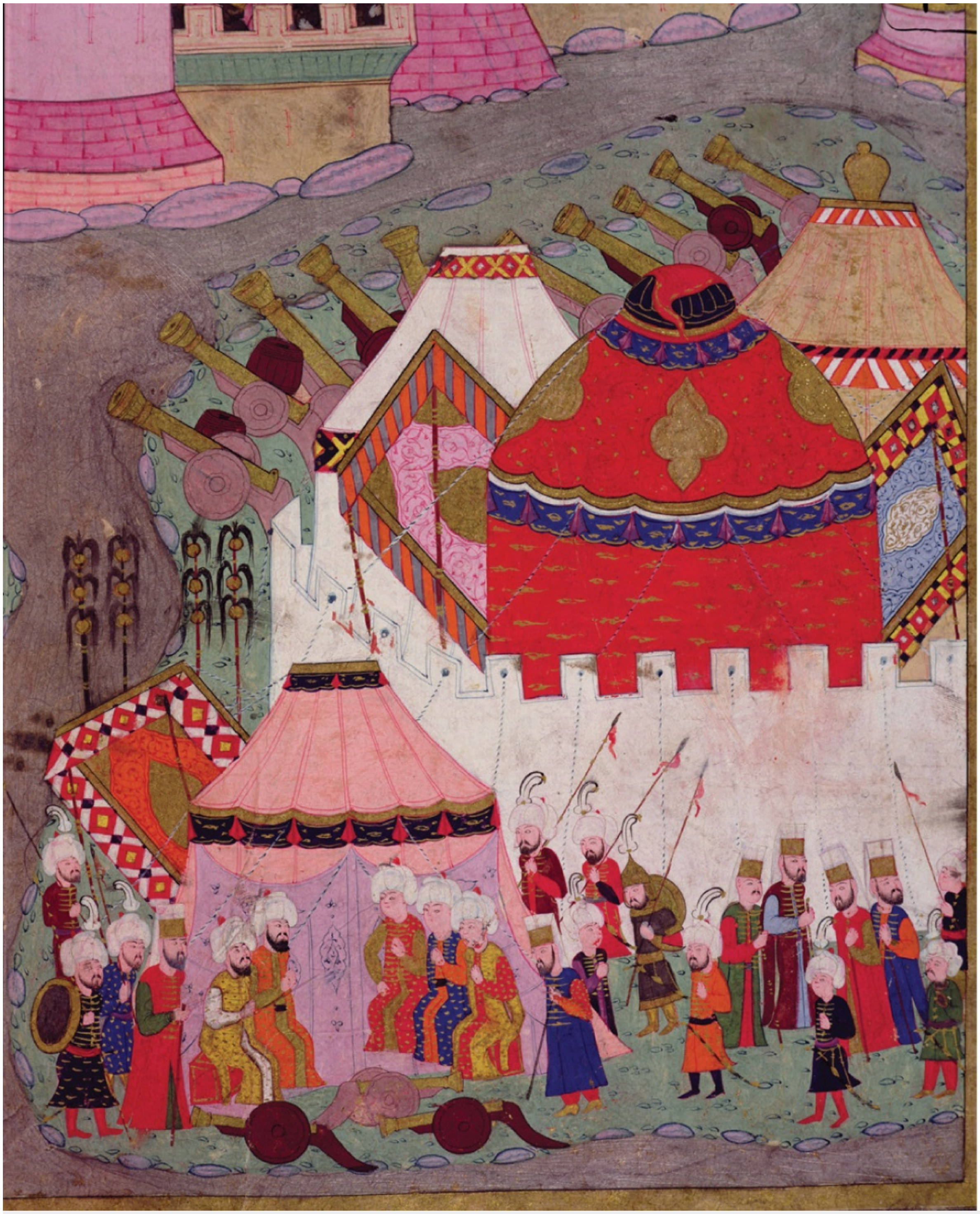
In 1527, Charles's troops captured and sacked Rome because the pope had allied with the French. Many of the imperial troops were German Protestant mercenaries, who pillaged Catholic churches and brutalized the Catholic clergy. Protestants and Catholics alike interpreted the sack of Rome by imperial forces as a punishment of God; even the Catholic church read it as a sign that reform was necessary. Finally, in 1559, the

French gave up their claims in Italy and signed the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, ending the conflict. To seal the peace the French king Henry II married his sister to the duke of Savoy, an ally of the Habsburgs, and his daughter to the Habsburg king of Spain, Philip II, who had succeeded his father Charles V in 1556.

The dynastic struggle (Valois versus Habsburg) had drawn in many other belligerents, who fought on one side or the other for their own benefit. Some acted purely out of power considerations, such as England, first siding with the Valois and then with the Habsburgs. Others fought for their independence, such as the papacy and the Italian states, which did not want any one power to dominate Italy. Still others chose sides for religious reasons, such as the Protestant princes in Germany, who exploited the Valois-Habsburg conflict to extract religious concessions from the emperor in 1555. The Ottoman Turks saw in this fight an opportunity to expand their territory.

The Ottoman Empire reached its height of power under Sultan Suleiman I, known as **Suleiman the Magnificent** (r. 1520–1566). In 1526, a Turkish expedition destroyed the Hungarian army at Mohács. Three years later, the Ottomans laid siege to Vienna; though unsuccessful, the attack sent shock waves throughout Christian Europe. In 1535, Charles V led a campaign to capture Tunis, the lair of North African pirates loyal to the Ottomans. Desperate to overcome Charles's superior Habsburg forces, the French king Francis I forged an alliance with the Turkish sultan. The Turkish fleet besieged the Habsburg troops holding Nice, on the southern coast of France. Francis even ordered all inhabitants of nearby Toulon to vacate the town so that he could turn it into a Muslim colony for eight months, complete with a mosque and a slave market.

The French alliance with the Turks reflected the spirit of the times: the age-old idea of the Christian crusade against Islam now had to compete with a new political strategy that considered religion only one factor among many in power politics. Religion could be sacrificed, if need be, on the altar of state building. Constantly distracted by the challenges of the Ottomans to the east and the German Protestants at home, Charles V could not crush the French with one swift blow.



From the "Hunername" Lokman/Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul, Turkey/Bridgeman Images.

The Siege of Vienna, 1529 This illustration from an Ottoman manuscript of 1588 depicts the Turkish siege of Vienna (the siege guns can be seen toward the top of the picture). Sultan Suleiman I (Suleiman the Magnificent) led an army of more than 100,000 men against Vienna, capital of the Austrian Habsburg lands. Several attacks on the city failed, and the Ottomans withdrew in October 1529. They maintained control over Hungary, but the logistics of moving so many men and horses kept them from advancing farther westward into Europe.

Financing War

The sixteenth century marked the beginning of superior Western military technology. All armies grew in size and their firepower became ever more deadly, increasing the cost of war. Heavier artillery pieces meant that the rectangular walls of medieval cities had to be transformed into fortresses with jutting ramparts and gun emplacements. Royal revenues could not keep up with war expenditures. To pay their bills, governments routinely devalued their coinage (the sixteenth-century equivalent of printing more paper money), causing prices to rise rapidly.

Charles V boasted the largest army in Europe, supported by the gold and silver coming in from the New World. Immediately after conquest, the Spanish looted gold and silver objects, melted them down, and sent the precious metals to Spain. Mining began with forced Indian labor in the 1520s, and the amount of silver extracted in Mexico and sent to Spain increased twentyfold in the 1530s and 1540s. Nevertheless, Charles could never make ends meet because of his extravagant war costs: the debt of thirty-seven million ducats accumulated during his forty years in power exceeded by two million ducats all the gold and silver brought from the Americas. His opponents fared even worse. On his death in 1547, Francis I owed the bankers of Lyon almost seven million French pounds — approximately the entire royal income for that year. Foremost among the financiers of war debts was the Fugger bank, based in the southern German imperial city of Augsburg. The enterprise began with Jakob

Fugger (1459–1525), who became personal banker to Charles V's grandfather Maximilian I. By the end of his life, Maximilian was so deeply in debt to Jakob Fugger that he had to pawn the royal jewels. In 1519, Fugger assembled a consortium of German and Italian bankers to secure the election of Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor. For the next three decades, the alliance between Europe's biggest international bank and its largest empire remained very close. Charles stayed barely one step ahead of his creditors; in 1531, for example, he had to grant to the Fuggers eight years of mining rights in Spanish lands south of Peru (present-day Bolivia and Chile).

Divided Realms

European rulers viewed religious division as a dangerous challenge to the unity and stability of their rule. Subjects who considered their rulers heretics or blasphemers could only cause trouble, and religious differences encouraged the formation of competing noble factions, which easily led to violence when weak monarchs or children ruled.

In France, King Francis I tolerated Protestants until the Affair of the Placards in 1534. Even then, the government could not stop many French noble families — including some of the most powerful — from converting to Calvinism, especially in southern and western France. Francis and his successor, Henry II (r. 1547–1559), succeeded in maintaining a balance of power between Catholics and Calvinists, but after Henry's death the weakened monarchy could no longer hold together the fragile realm. The real drama of the Reformation in France took place after 1560, when the country plunged into four decades of religious wars, whose savagery was unparalleled elsewhere in Europe (see Chapter 15).

In England and Scotland religious divisions at the very top threatened the control of the rulers. Before his death in 1547, Henry VIII had succeeded in making himself head of the Church of England, but the nature of that church remained uncertain. The advisers of the boy King Edward VI (r. 1547–1553) furthered the Protestant cause by welcoming prominent religious refugees who had been deeply influenced by Calvinism and wanted to see England move in that austere direction. But Edward died at age fifteen, opening the way to his Catholic half sister, Mary Tudor, who had been restored to the line of succession by an act of Parliament under Henry VIII in 1544.

When Mary (r. 1553–1558) came to the throne, she restored Catholicism and persecuted Protestants. Nearly three hundred Protestants perished at the stake, and more than eight hundred fled to the Protestant German states and Switzerland. Finally, when Anne Boleyn’s daughter, Elizabeth, succeeded her half sister Mary, becoming Queen Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603), the English Protestant cause gained lasting momentum. Under Elizabeth’s leadership, Protestantism came to define the character of the English nation, though the influence of Calvinism within it was still a cause for dispute. Catholics were tolerated only if they kept their opinions on religion and politics to themselves. A tentative, but nonetheless real, peace returned to England.

Still another pattern of religious politics unfolded in Scotland, where Protestants formed a small minority until the 1550s. At the center of

Scotland’s conflict over religion stood Mary of Guise, a French native and Catholic married to the king of Scotland, James V. After James died in 1542, Mary surrounded herself and her daughter Mary Stuart, also a Catholic and heir to the throne, with French advisers. When, in 1558, Mary Stuart married Francis, the son of Henry II and the heir to the French throne, many Scottish noblemen, alienated by this pro-French atmosphere, joined the pro-English, anti-French Protestant cause. They gained control of the Scottish Parliament in 1560 and dethroned the regent, Mary of Guise. Eventually they forced her daughter — by then known as Mary, queen of Scots — to flee to England, and installed Mary’s infant son, James, as king. Scotland would turn toward the Calvinist version of the Reformation and thus establish the potential for conflict with England.

In the German states, the Protestant princes and cities formed the Schmalkaldic League in 1531. Opposing the league were Emperor Charles V, the bishops, and the few remaining Catholic princes. Although Charles had to concentrate on fighting the French and the Turks during the 1530s, he eventually secured the western Mediterranean and then turned his attention back home to central Europe to try to resolve the growing religious differences in his lands.

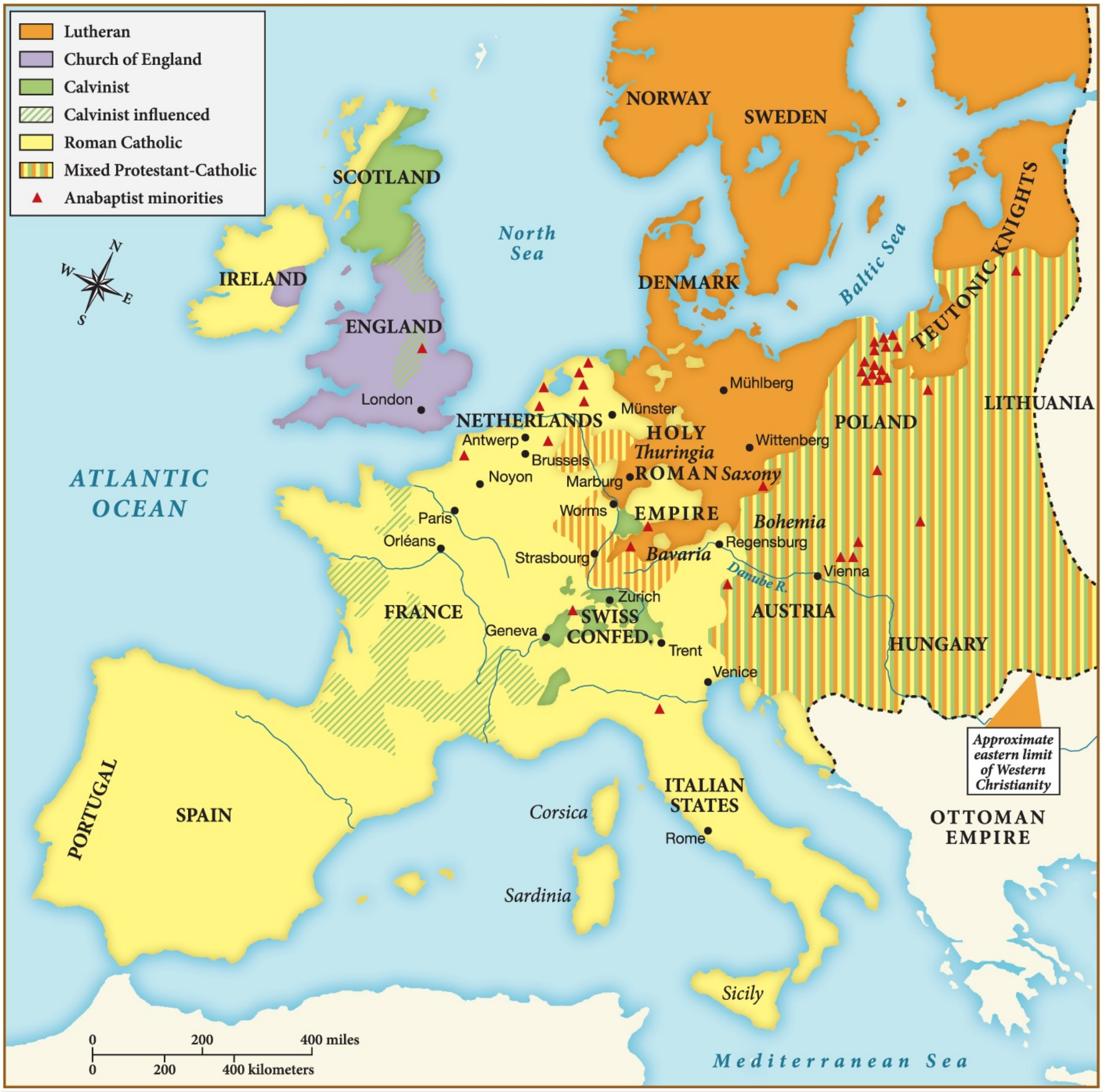
After efforts to mediate between Protestants and Catholics broke down, Charles prepared to fight the Protestant Schmalkaldic League. War broke out in 1547, the year after Martin Luther’s death. Using seasoned Spanish veterans and German allies, Charles occupied the German imperial cities in the south, restoring Catholic elites and suppressing the Reformation. When Protestant commanders could not agree on a joint strategy, Charles crushed the Schmalkaldic League's armies at Mühlberg in Saxony and captured the leading Lutheran princes. Jubilant, Charles restored Catholics' right to worship in Protestant lands while permitting Lutherans to keep their own rites. Protestant resistance was deep and widespread: many pastors went into exile, and riots broke out in many cities. Charles's success did not last long. The Protestant princes regrouped, declared war in 1552, and chased a surprised, unprepared, and practically bankrupt emperor back to Italy.

Forced to compromise, Charles V agreed to the **Peace of Augsburg** in 1555. The settlement recognized the Lutheran church in the empire; accepted the secularization of church lands but "reserved" the remaining ecclesiastical territories for Catholics; and, most important, established the principle that all princes, whether Catholic or Lutheran, enjoyed the sole right to determine the religion of their lands and subjects. Calvinist, Anabaptist, and other dissenting groups were excluded from the settlement. Ironically, the religious revolt of the common people had culminated in a princes' reformation (see Mapping the West: Reformation Europe, c. 1560). The Augsburg settlement preserved a fragile peace in central Europe until 1618, but the exclusion of Calvinists would prompt future conflict.

Exhausted by decades of war and dismayed by the disunity in Christian Europe, Emperor Charles V resigned his many thrones in 1555 and 1556, leaving his Netherlandish-Burgundian and Spanish dominions to his son, Philip II, and his Austrian lands to his brother, Ferdinand (who was also elected Holy Roman Emperor to succeed Charles). Retiring to a monastery in southern Spain, the most powerful of the Christian monarchs spent his last years quietly seeking salvation.

Review Question

How did religious divisions complicate the efforts of rulers to maintain political stability and build stronger states?



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAPPING THE WEST

Reformation Europe, c. 1560

The fortunes of Roman Catholicism were at their lowest point around 1560. Northern Germany and Scandinavia owed allegiance to the Lutheran church; England broke away under a national church headed by its monarchs; and the Calvinist Reformation extended across large areas of western, central, and eastern Europe. Southern Europe remained solidly Catholic.

Analyzing the Map: Where did Protestantism take hold, northern or southern Europe? Keep this in mind, as the difference will continue to have consequences for later chapters.

Making Connections: What is the relationship between the voyages of discovery and the struggles over Protestantism?

Conclusion

Charles V's decision to divide his empire reflected the tensions pulling Europe in different directions. Even as Charles's kingdom of Spain joined Portugal as a global power with new conquests overseas, Luther, Calvin, and a host of others sought converts to competing branches of Protestantism within the Holy Roman Empire. The reformers disagreed on many points of doctrine and church organization, but they all broke definitively from the Roman Catholic church. The pieces were never put together again. Portugal and Spain, the leaders in global exploration and conquest, remained resolutely Catholic, but as ruler of the Holy Roman Empire, where the Reformation began, Charles could not stifle the growing religious ferment. In the decades to come, Protestantism would spread, religious conflict would turn even more deadly, and emerging Protestant powers would begin to contest the global reach of Spain and Portugal.

Chapter 14 Review

Key Terms and People

Be sure that you can identify the term or person and explain its historical significance.

Christopher Columbus
Hernán Cortés
Christian humanism
Martin Luther
Charles V
John Calvin
predestination
Henry VIII
Anabaptists
Council of Trent
Jesuits
Suleiman the Magnificent
Peace of Augsburg

Review Questions

1. Which European countries led the way in maritime exploration, and what were their motives?

2. How did Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and Henry VIII each challenge the Roman Catholic church?
3. How did the forces for radical change unleashed by the Protestant Reformation interact with the urge for social order and stability?
4. How did religious divisions complicate the efforts of rulers to maintain political stability and build stronger states?

Making Connections

1. In what ways did the discovery of the Americas affect Europe?
2. Why was Charles V ultimately unable to prevent religious division in his lands?
3. How did the different religious groups respond to the opportunity presented by the printing press?
4. What motives besides religious differences caused war in this period?

Important Events

1492	Columbus reaches the Americas

1494	Italian Wars begin; Treaty of Tordesillas divides Atlantic world between Portugal and Spain
1516	Erasmus publishes Greek edition of the New Testament
1517	Luther composes ninety-five theses to challenge Catholic church
1519	Cortés captures Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán
1520	Luther publishes three treatises; Zwingli breaks from Rome
1525	German Peasants’ War
1527	Charles V’s imperial troops sack Rome
1529	Colloquy of Marburg addresses disagreements between German and Swiss church reformers
1534	Henry VIII breaks with Rome; Affair of the Placards in France
1536	Calvin publishes *Institutes of the Christian Religion*
1540	Jesuits established as new Catholic order
1545–1563	Catholic Council of Trent condemns Protestant beliefs and confirms Catholic doctrine
1547	Charles V defeats Protestants at Mühlberg
1555	Peace of Augsburg ends religious wars and recognizes Lutheran church in German states
1559	Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis ends wars between Habsburg and Valois rulers

Consider three events

Luther publishes three treatises (1520); German Peasants’ War (1525); and Catholic Council of Trent condemns Protestant beliefs and confirms Catholic doctrine (1545–1563). How did Luther's treatises inspire the uprising of peasants and urban artisans? How did the changes wrought by the first two events prompt the Council of Trent, its goals, and its decisions?

Suggested References

A more global historical perspective is reshaping the study of both the European voyages of exploration and conquest and the Reformation, especially the Catholic renewal, which included a global missionary effort.

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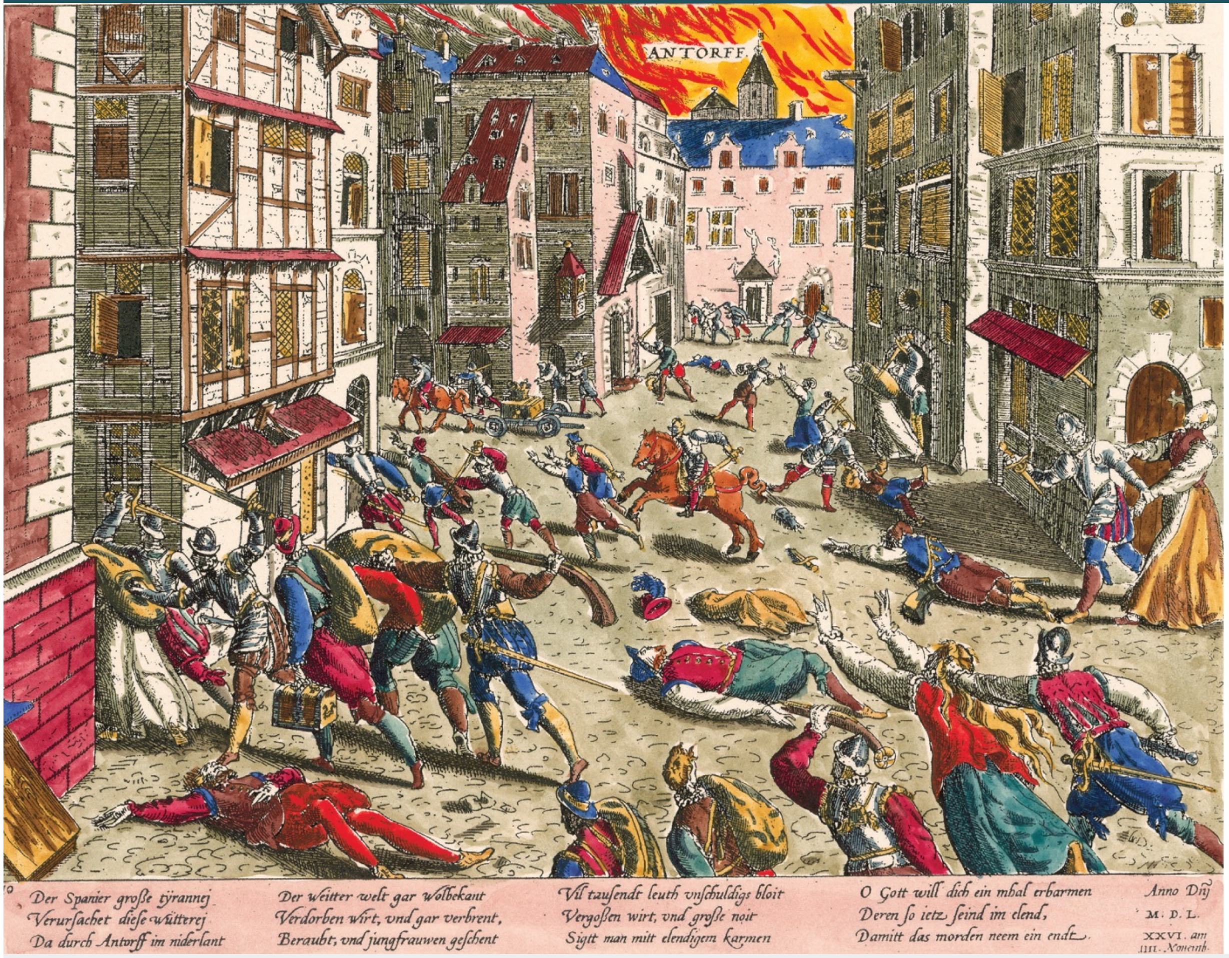
Chapter 15

Wars of Religion and the Clash of Worldviews

1560–1648


ANTORFF
Der Spanier groſse tyrannej
Verurſachet dieſe wütterej
Da durch Antorff im niderlant
Der weitter welt gar wolbekant
Verdorben wirt, vnd gar verbrent,
Beraubt, vnd jungfrauwen geſchent
Vil tauſendt leuth vnſchuldigs bloit
Vergoßen wirt, vnd groſſe noit
Sigtt man mitt elendigem karmen
O Gott will dich ein mhal erbarmen
Deren ſo ietz ſeind im elend,
Damitt das morden neem ein endt.
Anno Dñj
M. D. L.
XXVI. am
IIII. Novemb.

akg-images/Newscom.

Atrocities in Antwerp The sixteenth-century Netherlandish artist Franz Hogenberg produced this engraving of the Spanish Fury in Antwerp not long after the events took place. It shows the kinds of atrocities — rape, murder, pillage, and burning of houses — that would be committed repeatedly on both sides of the conflict between Catholics and Protestants.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

Religious Conflicts Threaten State Power, 1560–1618

How did state power depend on religious unity at the end of the sixteenth century and start of the seventeenth?

The Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648

Why did a war fought over religious differences result in stronger states?

Economic Crisis and Realignment

What were the consequences of economic recession in the early 1600s?

The Rise of Science and a Scientific Worldview

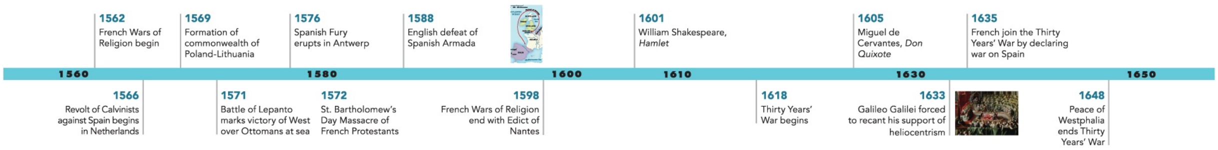
How could belief in witchcraft and the rising prestige of the scientific method coexist?

In November 1576, Spain's soldiers sacked Antwerp, Europe's wealthiest city. In eleven days of horror known as the Spanish Fury, the troops slaughtered seven to eight thousand people and burned down a thousand buildings, including the city hall. The king of Spain had sent an army of ten thousand men in 1566 to occupy his rebellious northern domains and punish Calvinists, who had smashed stained-glass windows and statues in Catholic churches. By 1575, however, the king had run out of funds, and his men rioted after being unpaid for months. The Spanish Fury was far from an isolated incident in this time of religious upheaval. It showed, moreover, that violence often exploded from a dangerous mixture of religious, political, and economic motives.

The first two generations of battles over the Protestant Reformation had ended with the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. That agreement helped maintain a relative calm in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire, but in western Europe religious strife multiplied after 1560 as Calvinists made inroads in France, the Netherlands, and England. In 1618, fighting broke out again in the Holy Roman Empire — and before it ended in 1648, the Thirty Years' War involved most of the European powers and desolated lands and peoples across central Europe. All in all, nearly constant warfare marked the century between 1560 and 1648. Like the Spanish Fury, these struggles began as religious disputes but soon revealed other motives: political ambitions, long-standing rivalries between the leading powers, and greed — all of which raised the stakes of conflict.

Suffering only increased when a major economic downturn in the early seventeenth century led to food shortages, famine, and disease in much of Europe. These catastrophes hit especially hard in the central European lands devastated by the fighting of the Thirty Years' War. In intellectual life, a new understanding of the motion of the planets in the heavens and of mechanics on earth developed among experimenters in "natural philosophy," that is, what came to be called science. This scientific revolution ultimately reshaped Western attitudes in virtually every field of knowledge, but at its beginnings it still had to compete with traditional religious views and popular beliefs in magic and witchcraft.

CHAPTER TIMELINE


1562
French Wars of Religion begin
1569
Formation of commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania
1576
Spanish Fury erupts in Antwerp
1588
English defeat of Spanish Armada
1601
William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*
1605
Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*
1635
French join the Thirty Years' War by declaring war on Spain
1560
1580
1600
1610
1630
1650
1566
Revolt of Calvinists against Spain begins in Netherlands
1571
Battle of Lepanto marks victory of West over Ottomans at sea
1572
St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of French Protestants
1598
French Wars of Religion end with Edict of Nantes
1618
Thirty Years' War begins
1633
Galileo Galilei forced to recant his support of heliocentrism
1648
Peace of Westphalia ends Thirty Years' War

Bridgeman Art Library/Image Partner/Getty Images

Chapter Focus

What were the long-term political, economic, and intellectual consequences of the conflicts over religious belief in this era?

Religious Conflicts Threaten State Power, 1560–1618

The Peace of Augsburg made Lutheranism a legal religion in the predominantly Catholic Holy Roman Empire, but it did not extend recognition to Calvinists. The rapid expansion of Calvinism after 1560 threatened to alter the religious balance of power as Calvinists challenged Catholic dominance in France, the Spanish-ruled Netherlands, Scotland, and Poland-Lithuania. In England, they sought to influence the new Protestant monarch, Elizabeth I. Calvinists were not the only source of religious contention, however. Philip II of Spain fought the Muslim Ottoman Turks in the Mediterranean and expelled the remnants of the Muslim population in Spain. To the east, the Russian tsar Ivan IV fought to establish an empire based on Russian Orthodox Christianity.

French Wars of Religion, 1562–1598

Calvinism spread in France after 1555, when the Genevan Company of Pastors sent missionaries supplied with false passports and often disguised as merchants. By the end of the 1560s, nearly one-third of the nobles had joined the Huguenots (French Calvinists), and they raised their own armies. Conversion to Calvinism in French noble families often began with the noblewomen, who protected pastors, provided money and advice, and helped found schools and establish relief for the poor.

A series of family tragedies prevented the French kings from acting decisively to prevent the spread of Calvinism. King Henry II was accidentally killed during a jousting tournament in 1559, and his fifteen-year-old son, Francis, died soon after. Ten-year-old Charles IX (r. 1560–1574) became king, with his mother, **Catherine de Médicis**, as regent, or acting ruler. The Huguenots followed the lead of the Bourbon family, who stood first in line to inherit the throne if the Valois kings failed to produce a male heir. The most militantly Catholic nobles took their cues from the Guise family. Catherine tried to play the Bourbon and Guise factions against each other, but civil war erupted in 1562. Both sides committed terrible atrocities. Priests and pastors were murdered, and massacres of whole congregations became frighteningly commonplace.

Although a Catholic herself, Catherine feared the rise of Guise influence, so she arranged the marriage of the king's Catholic sister, Marguerite de Valois, to Henry of Navarre, a Huguenot and Bourbon. Just four days after the wedding, in August 1572, an assassin tried but failed to kill one of the Huguenot leaders. Violence against Calvinists spiraled out of control. On St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, a bloodbath began, fueled by years of growing animosity between Catholics and Protestants. In three days, Catholic mobs murdered some two thousand Huguenots in Paris. Three thousand Huguenots died in the provinces over the next six weeks. The pope joyfully ordered the church bells rung throughout

Catholic Europe.

Huguenot pamphleteers now proclaimed their right to resist a tyrant who worshipped idols (a practice that Calvinists equated with Catholicism). This right of resistance was linked to a political notion of contract; upholding the true religion was part of the contract binding the ruler to his subjects. Both the right of resistance and the idea of a contract fed into the larger doctrine of constitutionalism — that a government's legitimacy rested on its upholding a constitution, or contract between ruler and ruled (see Contrasting Views on page 530). The religious division in France grew even more dangerous when Charles IX died and his brother Henry III (r. 1574–1589) became king. Like his brothers before him, Henry III failed to produce an heir. Convinced that Henry III lacked the will to root out Protestantism, the Guises formed the Catholic League, which requested help from Spanish king Philip II. Henry III responded in 1588 by having his men kill two Guise leaders. A few months later, a fanatical Catholic monk stabbed Henry III to death, and Henry of Navarre became Henry IV (r. 1589–1610), despite Philip II's military intervention.

With the Catholic League threatening to declare his succession invalid, Henry IV publicly embraced Catholicism, reputedly explaining, "Paris is worth a Mass." Within a few years he defeated the ultra-Catholic opposition and drove out the Spanish. In 1598, he issued the **Edict of Nantes**, in which he granted the Huguenots a large measure of religious toleration. The approximately 1.25 million Huguenots became a legally protected minority within an officially Catholic kingdom of some twenty million people. Protestants were free to worship in specified towns and were allowed their own troops, fortresses, and even courts.

Few believed in religious toleration as an ideal, but Henry IV followed the advice of those moderate Catholics and Calvinists — together called ***politiques*** — who urged him to give priority to the development of a durable state. The politiques believed that religious disputes could be resolved only in the peace provided by a strong government. The French Catholic writer Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592) went even further than this pragmatic position and revived the ancient doctrine of skepticism, which held that total certainty is never attainable. On the beams of his study he painted the statement, “All that is certain is that nothing is certain.” Like toleration of religious differences, such skepticism was repugnant to Protestants and Catholics alike, both of whom were certain that their religion was the right one.

The Edict of Nantes ended the French Wars of Religion, but Henry still needed to reestablish monarchical authority and hold the fractious nobles in check. He allowed rich merchants and lawyers to buy offices and, in exchange for an annual payment, pass their positions on to their heirs or sell them to someone else. This new social elite was known as the “nobility of the robe” (named after the robes that magistrates wore, much like the ones judges wear today). Income raised by the increased sale of offices reduced the state debt and also helped Henry strengthen the monarchy. His efforts did not, however, prevent his enemies from assassinating him in 1610 after nineteen unsuccessful attempts.

CONTRASTING VIEWS

Political Authority and Religion: What Happened When Subjects Held Different Beliefs?

1. Defence of Liberty against Tyrants, 1579

First published in Latin (as Vindiciae contra tyrannos*) in Edinburgh but written by a French Protestant, this tract makes a central argument that would have long-lasting influence: kings derive their power from a covenant or contract with their people, and therefore the people have a right to resist the king if the king goes against God's will in religious matters. But who was best placed to interpret God's will?*

"Now we reade of two sorts of Covenants at the Inaugurating of Kings, the first betweene God, the King, and the People, that the people might be the people of God: The second between the King and the people, that the people shall obey faithfully, and the King command justly."… The Question is, *If it be lawful to resist a Prince violating the Law of God, or ruinating the Church, or hindring the restoring of it?* If we hold ourselves to the tenure of the holy Scripture, it will resolve us. For, if in this case it have been lawful to the Jewish people (the which may be easily gathered from the books of the Old Testament) yea, if it have been injoyned them, I beleeve it will not be denyed, that the same must be allowed to the whole people of any Christian Kingdom or Country whatsoever."

Source: Hubert Languet (or Philippe de Mornay), *Vindiciae contra tyrannos, a defence of liberty against tyrants, or, Of the lawful power of the Prince over the people, and of the people over the Prince being a treatise written in Latin and French by Junius Brutus, and translated out of both into English*. London: Printed by Matthew Simmons and Robert Ibbitson, 1648, 7 and 19 (with the original spelling).

2. Jean Bodin, *The Six Books of the Commonwealth*, 1576

Even before the publication of Defence of Liberty (no. 1)*, the Catholic lawyer Bodin had viewed with alarm the publication of Protestant pamphlets that justified resistance to the French king in the wake of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre. In his* Six Books*, one of the founding texts of modern political theory, Bodin developed the idea that sovereignty must be absolute and undivided and that therefore subjects had no right to resist their king.*

"And in that the greatness and majesty of a true sovereign prince, is to be known; when the estates of all the people assembled together, in all humility present their requests and supplications to their prince, without having any power in any thing to command or determine, or to give voice, but that that which it pleaseth the king to like or dislike of, to command or forbid, is holden for law, for an edict and ordinance. Wherein they which have written of the duty of magistrates, & other such like books, have deceived themselves, in maintaining that the power of the people is greater than the prince; a thing which oft times causeth the true subjects to revolt from the obedience which they owe unto their sovereign prince, & ministreth matter of great troubles in Commonwealths. Of which their opinion, there is neither reason nor ground except the king be captive, furious [insane], or in his infancy, and so needeth to have a protector or lieutenant appointed him by the suffrages of the people. For otherwise if the king should be subject unto the assemblies and decrees of the people, he should neither be king nor sovereign; and the Commonwealth neither realm nor monarchy, but a mere Aristocracy of many lords in power equal."

Source: Jean Bodin, *Of the lawes and customes of a common-wealth. Learnedly discoursing of the power of soveraignety and majestracy [sic], and of the orders and degrees of citizens, with the priviledges of corporations and colledges: and other things pertinent to estates and societies. / Written by I. Bodin … Out of the French and Latin copies, done into English, by Richard Knolles, author of the Turkish history …* , London: Printed by A[dam].I[slip]. and are to bee sold at the signe of the Bell in Saint Pauls Church-yard, 1606, 95.

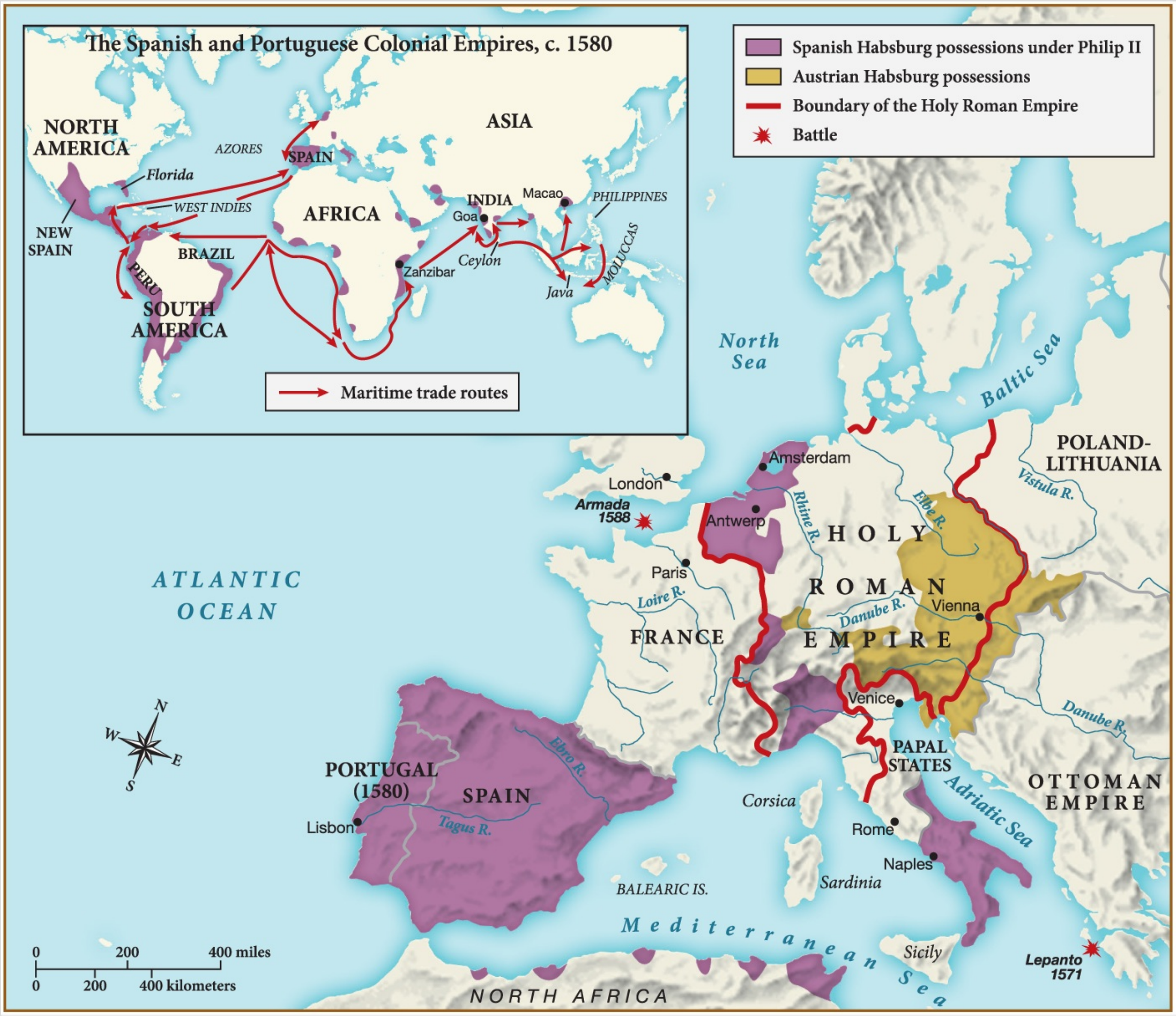
QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. What were the grounds for resistance outlined in the first document?
2. Why did Bodin reject the arguments for resisting a king on the grounds of religion?
3. How did doctrines of resistance contribute to later doctrines of constitutional protection of rights and even democracy?

Dutch Revolt against Spain

Although he failed to prevent Henry IV from taking the French throne in 1589, **Philip II** of Spain (r. 1556–1598) was the most powerful ruler in Europe (Map 15.1). In addition to the western Habsburg lands in Spain and the Netherlands, Philip had inherited from his father, Charles V, all the Spanish colonies recently settled in the New World of the Americas. Gold and silver funneled from the colonies supported his campaigns against the Ottoman Turks and the French and the English Protestants.

But all the money of the New World could not prevent Philip's eventual defeat in the Netherlands, where Calvinist rebels established the independent Dutch Republic, which soon vied with Spain, France, and England for commercial supremacy.



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MAP 15.1 The Empire of Philip II, r. 1556–1598

Spanish king Philip II drew revenues from a truly worldwide empire. In 1580, he was the richest European ruler, but the demands of governing and defending his control of such far-flung territories eventually drained his resources.

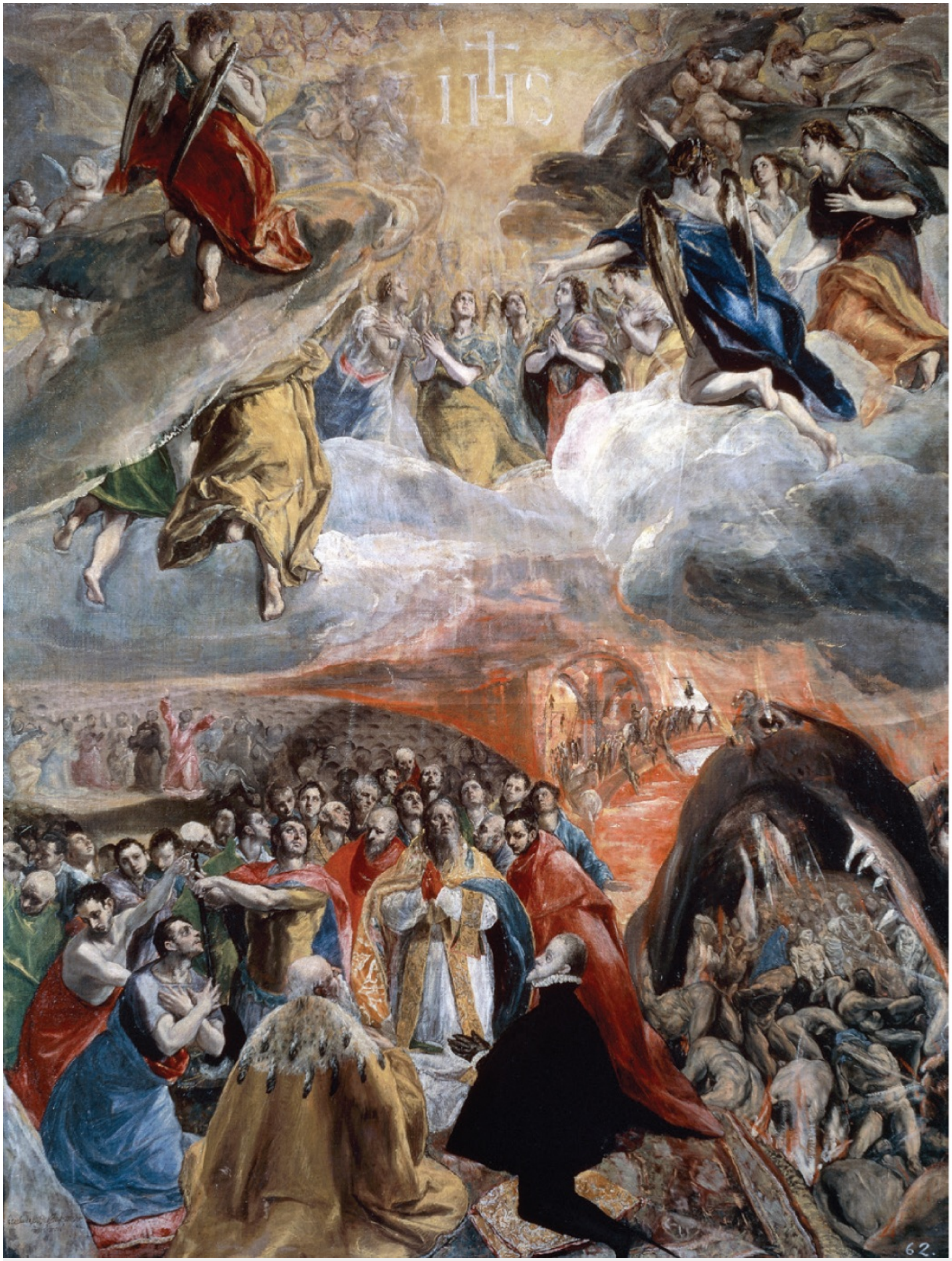
A deeply devout Catholic, Philip II came to the Spanish throne at age twenty-eight determined to restore Catholic unity in Europe and lead the Christian defense against the Muslims. His brief marriage to Mary Tudor (Mary I of England) did not produce an heir, but it and his subsequent marriage to Elisabeth de Valois, the sister of Charles IX and Henry III of France, gave him reason enough for involvement in English and French affairs. In 1578, the king of Portugal died fighting Muslims in Morocco, and two years later Philip took over this neighboring realm with its rich empire in Africa, India, and the Americas.

Philip insisted on Catholic unity in the lands under his control and worked to forge an international Catholic alliance against the Ottoman Turks. In 1571, he achieved the single greatest military victory of his reign when he joined with Venice and the papacy to defeat the Turks in a great sea battle off the Greek coast at **Lepanto**. Thirty-six thousand sailors and soldiers fought on the allied side; twenty thousand for the Turks. Thousands died in artillery and gunfire and in brutal hand-to-hand fighting aboard the ships. The Christian allies had the advantage of six big Venetian vessels that rode too high in the water to be boarded and carried many artillery pieces.

Villa Barbarigo, Noventa Vicentina, Italy/Bridgeman Images.

The Battle of Lepanto The Greek artist Antonio Vassilacchi painted this mural in 1600 to celebrate the Christian victory at the battle of Lepanto. Vassilacchi was working in Venice, which was one of the main Christian allies in the campaign against the Turks. The victory was considered so important that it was celebrated in writings, medals, paintings, and sculptures. The mural captures the violence and confusion of the battle.

Spain could not pursue its advantage because of threats elsewhere. Between 1568 and 1570, the Moriscos — Muslim converts to Christianity who remained secretly faithful to Islam — had revolted in the south of Spain, killing ninety priests and fifteen hundred Christians. Philip retaliated by forcing fifty thousand Moriscos to leave their villages and resettle in other regions. In 1609, his successor, Philip III, ordered their expulsion from Spanish territory, and by 1614, some 300,000 Moriscos had been forced to relocate to North Africa.



Monasterio de El Escorial, Spain/Bridgeman Images.

Philip II of Spain The king of Spain is shown here (kneeling in black) with his allies at the battle of Lepanto, the doge of Venice on his left and Pope Pius V on his right. El Greco (see page 553) painted this canvas, sometimes called *The Dream of Philip II*, in 1578 or 1579. The painting is typically mannerist in the way it crowds figures into every available space, uses larger-than-life or elongated bodies, and creates new and often bizarre visual effects. What can we conclude about Philip II's character from the way he is depicted here?

The Calvinists of the Netherlands were less easily intimidated: they were far from Spain and accustomed to being left alone. After the Spanish Fury of 1576 outraged Calvinists and Catholics alike, Prince William of Orange (whose name came from the lands he owned in southern France) led the Netherlands' seven predominantly Protestant northern provinces into a military alliance with the ten mostly Catholic southern provinces and drove out the Spaniards. The Catholic southern provinces returned to the Spanish fold in 1579. Despite the assassination in 1584 of William of Orange, Spanish troops never regained control in the north. Spain would not formally recognize Dutch independence until 1648, but by the end of the sixteenth century, the Dutch Republic (sometimes called Holland after the most populous of its seven provinces) was a self-governing state sheltering a variety of religious groups.

Religious toleration in the Dutch Republic developed for pragmatic reasons: the central government did not have the power to enforce religious orthodoxy. Each province governed itself and sent delegates to the one common institution, the States General. Although the princes of Orange resembled a ruling family, their powers paled next to those of local elites, known as regents. One-third of the Dutch population remained Catholic, and local authorities allowed them to worship as they chose in private. The Dutch Republic also had a relatively large Jewish population because many Jews had settled there after being driven out of Spain and Portugal. From 1597, Jews could worship openly in their synagogues. This openness to various religions would help make the Dutch Republic one of Europe's chief intellectual and scientific centers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Well situated for maritime commerce, the Dutch Republic developed a thriving economy based on shipping and shipbuilding. Dutch merchants favored free trade in Europe because they could compete at an advantage. After the Dutch gained independence, Amsterdam became the main European money market for two centuries. The Dutch controlled many overseas markets thanks to their preeminence in seaborne commerce: by 1670, the Dutch commercial fleet was larger than the English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Austrian fleets combined.

Elizabeth I's Defense of English Protestantism

As the Dutch revolt unfolded, Philip II became increasingly infuriated with **Elizabeth I** (r. 1558–1603), who had succeeded her half sister Mary Tudor as queen of England. Philip had been married to Mary and had enthusiastically seconded Mary's efforts to return England to Catholicism. When Mary died in 1558, Elizabeth rejected Philip's proposal of marriage and promptly brought Protestantism back to England. She had to squash uprisings by Catholics in the north and at least two serious plots against her life. In the long run, however, her greatest challenges came from the Calvinist Puritans and Philip II.

Print Collector/Getty Images.

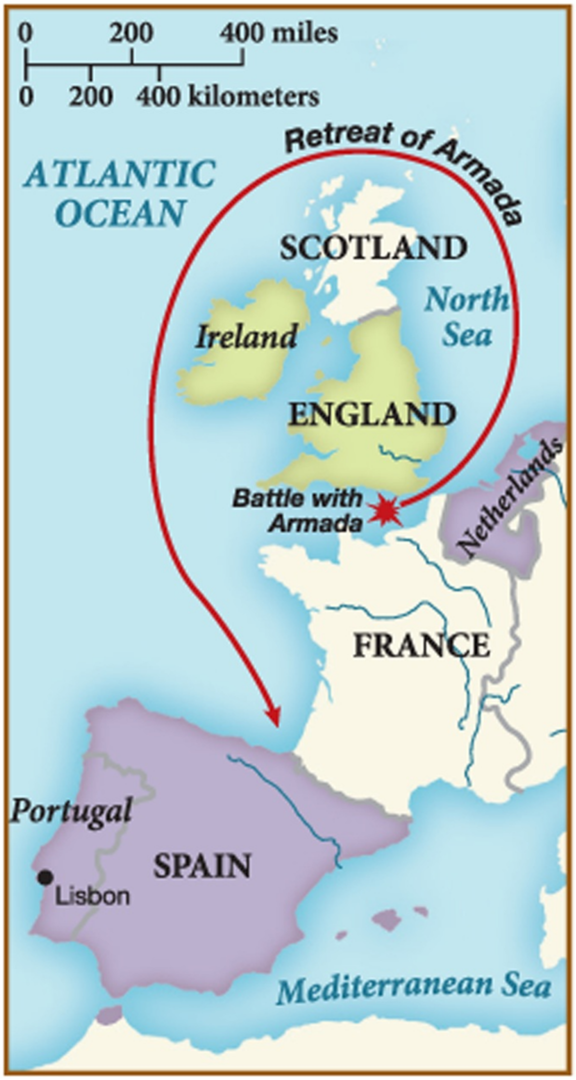
Elizabeth I, Queen of England This portrait of Elizabeth I dates from about 1575 when Elizabeth was in her forties. The queen used cosmetics and wigs to cover up the scars of smallpox and the loss of much of her hair. The crown and scepter on the table next to her signal her sovereignty.

The **Puritans** were strict Calvinists who opposed all vestiges of Catholic ritual in the Church of England. After Elizabeth became queen, many Puritans returned from exile abroad, but Elizabeth resisted their demands for drastic changes in church ritual and governance. The Church of England's Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, issued under her authority in 1563, incorporated elements of Catholic ritual along with Calvinist doctrines. Puritans tried to undercut the crown-appointed bishops' authority by placing control of church administration in the hands of a local presbytery, that is, a group made up of the minister and the elders of the congregation. Elizabeth rejected this Calvinist presbyterianism.

The Puritans nonetheless steadily gained influence. Known for their emphasis on strict moral lives, the Puritans tried to close England's theaters and Sunday fairs. Every Puritan father — with the help of his wife — was to "make his house a little church" by teaching the children to read the Bible. Believing themselves God's elect — those whom God has chosen for mercy and salvation — and England an "elect nation," the Puritans also pushed Elizabeth to help Protestants on the continent. After Philip II annexed Portugal and began to interfere in French affairs, Elizabeth dispatched seven thousand soldiers in 1585 to help the Dutch rebels.

Philip II bided his time as long as Elizabeth remained unmarried and her Catholic cousin Mary Stuart, better known as Mary, queen of Scots, stood next in line to inherit the English throne. In 1568, Scottish Calvinists forced Mary to abdicate the throne of Scotland in favor of her one-year-old son James (eventually James I of England), who was then raised as a Protestant. After her abdication, Mary spent nearly twenty years under house arrest in England. In 1587, when a letter from Mary offering her succession rights to Philip was discovered, Elizabeth overcame her reluctance to execute a fellow monarch and ordered Mary's beheading.

Now determined to act, Philip II sent his armada (Spanish for “fleet”) of 130 ships from Lisbon toward the English Channel in May 1588. The English scattered the Spanish Armada by sending blazing fire ships into its midst. A great gale then forced the Spanish to flee around Scotland. When the armada limped home in September, half the ships had been lost and thousands of sailors were dead or starving. Protestants throughout Europe rejoiced.



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Retreat of the Spanish Armada, 1588

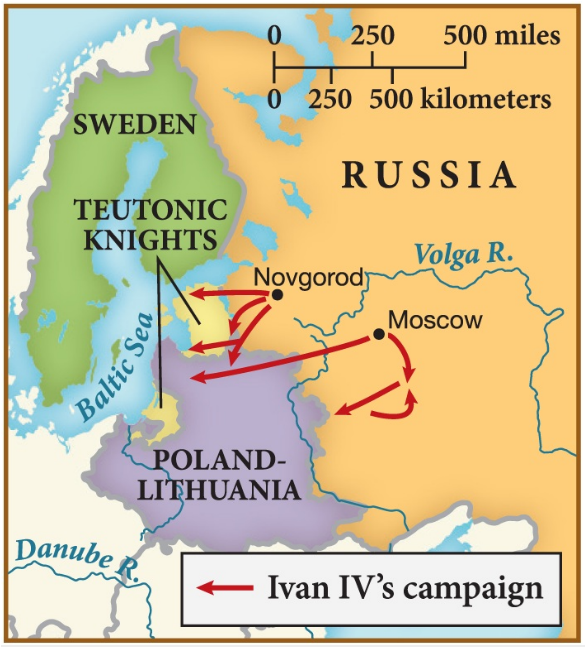
By the time Philip II died in 1598, the costs of fighting the Ottomans, Dutch, English, and French had finally bankrupted the treasury. In his novel *Don Quixote* (1605), the Spanish writer Miguel de Cervantes captured the disappointment of thwarted Spanish ambitions. Cervantes himself had been wounded at Lepanto. His novel's hero, a minor nobleman, reads so many romances and books of chivalry that he loses his sense of proportion and wanders the countryside futilely trying to mimic the heroic deeds he has come across in his reading.

Elizabeth made the most of her limited means and consolidated England's position as a Protestant power. In her early years, she held out the prospect of marriage to many political suitors; but in order to maintain her — and England's — independence, she never married. Her successor, James I (r. 1603–1625), came to the throne as king of both Scotland and England. Shakespeare's tragedies *Hamlet* (1601), *King Lear* (1605), and *Macbeth* (1606), written around the time of James's succession, might all be read as commentaries on the uncertainties faced by Elizabeth and James. But Elizabeth's story, unlike Shakespeare's tragedies, had a happy ending: she left James secure in a kingdom of growing weight in world politics.

The Clash of Faiths and Empires in Eastern Europe

In the east, the most contentious border divided Christian Europe from the Islamic realm of the Ottoman Turks. Recovering quickly from their defeat at Lepanto in 1571, the Ottomans continued their attacks, seizing Venetian-held Cyprus in 1573. In the Balkans, rather than forcibly converting their Christian subjects to Islam, the Turks allowed them to cling to the Greek Orthodox faith. They welcomed Jews expelled from Spain, and Jews soon made up 10 percent of the population of Istanbul.

The Muscovite tsars officially protected the Russian Orthodox church, which faced no competition within Russian lands. Building on the base laid by his grandfather Ivan III, Tsar Ivan IV (r. 1533–1584) stopped at nothing in his endeavor to make Muscovy (the grand duchy centered on Moscow) the heart of a mighty Russian Empire. Given to unpredictable fits of rage, Ivan murdered his own son with an iron rod during a quarrel. His epithet “the Terrible” reflects not only the terror he unleashed but also the awesome impression he evoked. Cunning and cruel, Ivan came to embody barbarism in the eyes of Westerners.



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Russia, Poland-Lithuania, and Sweden in the

Late 1500s

Ivan initiated Russian expansion eastward into Siberia, but two formidable foes blocked his plans for expansion westward: Sweden (which then included much of present-day Finland) and Poland-Lithuania. Poland and the grand duchy of Lithuania united into a single commonwealth in 1569 and controlled an extensive territory. After Ivan IV died in 1584, a terrible period of chaos known as the Time of Troubles ensued, during which the king of Poland-Lithuania tried to put his son on the Russian throne. In 1613, an army of nobles, townspeople, and peasants finally expelled the intruders and put on the throne a nobleman, Michael Romanov (r. 1613–1645), who established an enduring new dynasty.

Review Question

How did state power depend on religious unity at the end of the sixteenth century and start of the seventeenth?

The Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648

Although the eastern states managed to avoid civil wars over religion in the early seventeenth century, the rest of Europe was drawn into the final and most deadly of the wars of religion, the Thirty Years' War. It began in 1618 with conflicts between Catholics and Protestants within the Holy Roman Empire and eventually involved most European states. By its end in 1648, many central European lands lay in ruins, and the balance of power had shifted away from the Habsburg powers — Spain and Austria — toward France, England, and the Dutch Republic. Prolonged warfare created turmoil and suffering, but it also fostered the growth of armies and bureaucracies; out of the carnage would emerge centralized and powerful states that made increasing demands on ordinary people.

Origins and Course of the War

The fighting that devastated central Europe had its origins in a combination of religious disputes, ethnic competition, and political weakness. The Austrian Habsburgs officially ruled over the huge Holy Roman Empire, which comprised eight major ethnic groups. The emperor and four of the seven electors who chose him were Catholic; the other three electors were Protestants. The Peace of Augsburg of 1555 (see page 522) maintained the balance between Catholics and Lutherans, but it had no mechanism for resolving conflicts; tensions rose as Calvinism, unrecognized under the peace, made inroads into Lutheran areas. By 1613, two of the three Protestant electors had become Calvinists.

These conflicts came to a head when the Catholic Habsburg heir Archduke Ferdinand was crowned king of Bohemia (present-day Czech Republic) in 1617. The Austrian Habsburgs held not only the imperial crown of the Holy Roman Empire but also a collection of separately administered royal crowns, of which Bohemia was one. Once crowned, Ferdinand began to curtail the religious freedom previously granted to Czech Protestants. When Ferdinand was elected emperor (as Ferdinand II, r. 1619–1637), the rebellious Czechs deposed him and chose in his place the young Calvinist Frederick V of the Palatinate (r. 1616–1623). A quick series of clashes ended in 1620 when the imperial armies defeated the outmanned Czechs at the battle of White Mountain, near Prague. The Czechs would not gain their independence until 1918.

The battle of White Mountain did not end the war, which soon spread to the German lands of the Empire. Private mercenary armies (armies for hire) began to form during the fighting, and the emperor had little control over them. Albrecht von Wallenstein (1583–1634), a Czech Protestant by birth, offered in 1625 to raise an army for Ferdinand II and soon had in his employ 125,000 soldiers, who plundered much of Protestant Germany with the emperor’s approval. The Lutheran king of Denmark, Christian IV (r. 1596–1648), responded by invading northern Germany. General Wallenstein’s forces defeated him. Emboldened by his general’s victories, Emperor Ferdinand issued the Edict of Restitution in 1629, which outlawed Calvinism in the Empire and reclaimed Catholic church properties confiscated by the Lutherans.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

> If you were a friend of Albrecht von Wallenstein, and like him a Czech Protestant by birth, how would you react to his willingness to work for the Catholic Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand II? Would you join him given the uncertainties of the time? Or would you denounce him to your friends and rejoice when he was assassinated? If you were living in the 1620s and 1630s, would religious affiliation count above all else for you? Or would the stability of the state be more important?

With Protestant interests in serious jeopardy, Gustavus Adolphus (r. 1611–1632) of Sweden marched into Germany in 1630 with a highly trained army of 100,000 soldiers. Hoping to block Spanish intervention in the war, the French monarchy's chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642), offered to subsidize the Lutheran Gustavus. This agreement between the Swedish Lutheran and French Catholic powers to fight the Catholic Habsburgs showed that state interests could outweigh religious considerations.

Gustavus defeated the imperial army and occupied the Catholic parts of southern Germany before he was killed during a battle in 1632. Once again the tide turned, but this time it swept Wallenstein with it. Because Wallenstein was rumored to be negotiating with Protestant powers, Ferdinand had him assassinated.

France openly joined the fray in 1635 by declaring war on Spain. The two Catholic powers pummeled each other. The French king Louis XIII (r. 1610–1643) hoped to profit from the troubles of Spain in the Netherlands and from the conflicts between the Austrian emperor and his Protestant subjects. A series of internal revolts shook the perennially cash-strapped Spanish crown. In 1640, peasants in the rich northeastern province of Catalonia rebelled, overrunning Barcelona and killing the viceroy of the province. The Portuguese also revolted in 1640 and proclaimed independence like the Dutch. In 1643, the Spanish suffered their first major defeat at French hands. Although the Spanish were forced to concede independence to Portugal (annexed to Spain only since 1580), they eventually suppressed the Catalan revolt.

France, too, faced exhaustion after years of rising taxes and recurrent revolts. Richelieu died in 1642. Louis XIII followed him a few months later and was succeeded by his five-year-old son, Louis XIV. With yet another foreign queen mother — she was the daughter of the Spanish king — serving as regent and an Italian cardinal, Mazarin, providing advice, French politics once again moved into a period of instability, rumor, and crisis. All sides were ready for peace.

The Effects of Constant Fighting

When peace negotiations began in the 1640s, they did not come a moment too soon. Some towns had faced several prolonged sieges during the decades of fighting. Even worse suffering took place in the countryside. Peasants fled their villages, which were often burned down. At times, desperate peasants revolted and attacked nearby castles and monasteries. War and intermittent outbreaks of plague cost some German towns one-third or more of their population. One-third of the inhabitants of Bohemia also perished.

Soldiers did not fare all that much better. An Englishman who fought for the Dutch army in 1633 described how he slept on the wet ground, got his boots full of water, and “at peep of day looked like a drowned ratt.”

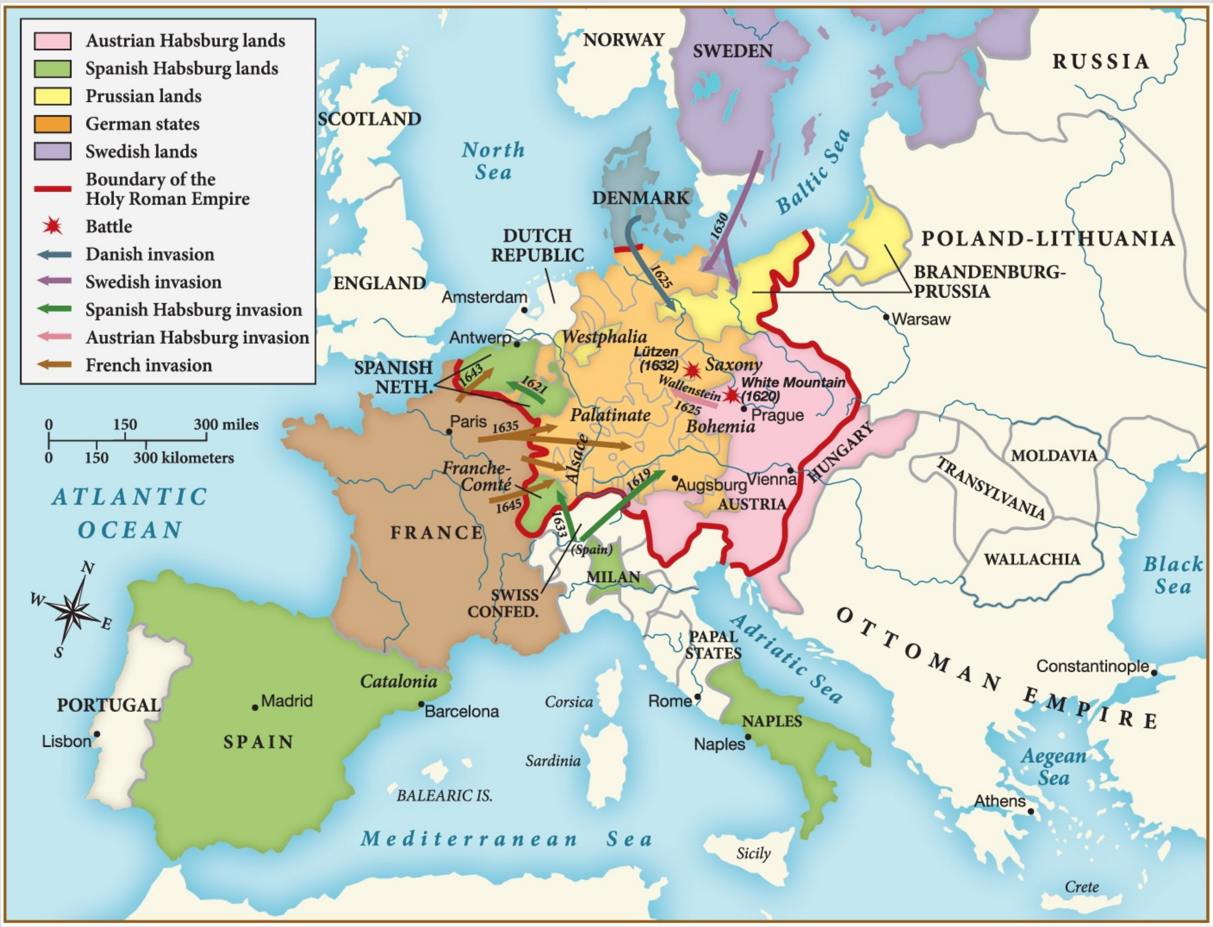
Governments increasingly short of funds often failed to pay the troops, and frequent mutinies, looting, and pillaging resulted. Armies attracted all sorts of displaced people desperately in need of provisions. In the last year of the Thirty Years' War, the Imperial-Bavarian army had forty thousand men entitled to draw rations — and more than 100,000 wives, prostitutes, servants, children, and other camp followers forced to scrounge for their own food.

The Peace of Westphalia, 1648

The comprehensive settlement provided by the **Peace of Westphalia** — named after the German province where negotiations took place — would serve as a model for resolving future conflicts among warring European states. For the first time, a diplomatic congress convened to address international disputes, and those signing the treaties guaranteed the resulting settlement. A method still in use, the congress was the first to bring *all* parties together, rather than two or three at a time.

France and Sweden gained most from the Peace of Westphalia. France acquired parts of Alsace and replaced Spain as the prevailing power on the continent. Sweden took several northern territories from the Holy Roman Empire (Map 15.2). The Habsburgs lost the most. The Spanish Habsburgs recognized Dutch independence after eighty years of war. Each German prince in the Holy Roman Empire gained the right to establish Lutheranism, Catholicism, or Calvinism in his state, a right denied to Calvinist rulers by the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. The independence ceded to German princes sustained political divisions that prepared the way for the emergence of a new power, the Hohenzollern

Elector of Brandenburg, who increased his territories and developed a small but effective standing army. After losing considerable territory in the west, the Austrian Habsburgs turned eastward to concentrate on restoring Catholicism to Bohemia and wresting Hungary from the Turks.



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MAP 15.2 The Thirty Years' War and the Peace of Westphalia, 1648

The Thirty Years' War involved many of the major continental European powers. The arrows marking invasion routes show that most of the fighting took place in central Europe in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire. The German states and Bohemia sustained the greatest damage during the fighting. None of the combatants emerged unscathed because even ultimate winners such as Sweden and France depleted their resources of men and money.

The Peace of Westphalia settled the distribution of the main religions in the Holy Roman Empire: Lutheranism would dominate in the north, Calvinism in the area of the Rhine River, and Catholicism in the south. Most of the territorial changes in Europe remained intact until the nineteenth century. In the future, international warfare would be undertaken for reasons of national security, commercial ambition, or dynastic pride rather than to enforce religious uniformity. As the politiques of the late sixteenth century had hoped, state interests now outweighed motivations of faith in political affairs.

The nearly constant warfare that preceded the peace had one surprising result: despite the death and destruction, warfare had increased state authority. As armies grew to bolster the war effort, governments needed more money and more supervisory officials. The rate of land tax paid by French peasants doubled in the eight years after France joined the war. In addition to raising taxes, governments deliberately depreciated the value of the currency, which often resulted in soaring prices. When all else failed, rulers declared bankruptcy. The Spanish government, for example, did so three times in the first half of the seventeenth century. From Portugal to Muscovy, ordinary people resisted new taxes by forming makeshift armies and battling royal forces. With their colorful banners, unlikely leaders, strange names (the Nu-Pieds, or "Barefooted," in France, for instance), and crude weapons, the rebels usually proved no match for state armies, but they did keep troops occupied.

To meet these new demands, monarchs relied on advisers who took on the role of modern prime ministers. Louis XIII's chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu, proclaimed the priority of ***raison d'état*** ("reason of state"), that is, the state's interest above all else. He silenced Protestants within France because they had become too independent, and he crushed noble and popular resistance to Louis's policies. He set up intendants — delegates from the king's council dispatched to the provinces — to oversee police, army, and financial affairs.

To justify the growth of state authority and the expansion of government bureaucracies, rulers carefully cultivated their royal images. James I of England argued that he ruled by divine right and was accountable only to God: "The state of monarchy is the supremest thing on earth; for kings are not only God's lieutenant on earth, but even by God himself they are called gods." He advised his son to maintain a manly appearance even as some courtiers complained of his behavior toward certain male favorites. Appearance counted for so much that most rulers regulated who could wear which kinds of cloth and decoration, reserving the richest and rarest, such as ermine and gold, for themselves.

REVIEW QUESTION

Why did a war fought over religious differences result in stronger states?

Economic Crisis and Realignment

The devastation caused by the Thirty Years' War deepened an economic crisis that was already underway. After a century of rising prices, caused partly by massive transfers of gold and silver from the New World and partly by population growth, in the early 1600s prices began to level off and even drop, and in most places population growth slowed. International trade fell into recession. Agricultural yields also declined, and peasants and townspeople alike were less able to pay the escalating taxes needed to finance the wars. Famine and disease trailed grimly behind economic crisis and war, in some areas causing large-scale uprisings and revolts. Behind the scenes, the economic balance of power gradually shifted as northwestern Europe began to dominate international trade and broke the stranglehold of Spain and Portugal in the New World.

From Growth to Recession

Populations grew and prices rose in the second half of the sixteenth century. England's population grew by 70 percent and in parts of Spain the population doubled. The supply of precious metals from the New World reached its height in the 1590s. This flood of precious metals combined with population growth to fuel an astounding inflation in food prices in western Europe — 400 percent in the sixteenth century — and a more moderate rise in the cost of manufactured goods. Wages rose much more slowly, at about half the rate of the increase in food prices.

Recession did not strike everywhere at the same time, but the warning signs were unmistakable. Foreign trade slumped as war and an uncertain money supply made business riskier. Imports of gold and silver declined, in part because so many of the native Americans who worked in Spanish colonial mines died from disease. Textile production fell in many countries, largely because of decreased demand and a shrinking labor force. The trade in African slaves grew steadily between 1580 and 1630 and then it, too, declined by a third, though its growth would resume after 1650 and skyrocket after 1700. African slaves were first transported to the new colony of Virginia in 1619, foreshadowing a major transformation of economic life in the New World colonies.

Demographic slowdown also signaled economic trouble. In the Mediterranean, growth had already stopped in the 1570s. The most sudden reversal occurred in central Europe as a result of the Thirty Years' War: one-fourth of the inhabitants of the Holy Roman Empire perished in the 1630s and 1640s. Population growth continued only in England, the Dutch Republic, the Spanish Netherlands, and Scandinavia.

Where the population stagnated or declined, agricultural prices dropped because of less demand, and farmers who produced for the market suffered. The price of grain fell most precipitously, causing many farmers to convert grain-growing land to pasture or vineyards. The only country that emerged unscathed from this downturn was the Dutch Republic, thanks to a growing population and a tradition of agricultural innovation (see Environment Matters). Inhabiting Europe's most densely populated area, the Dutch developed systems of field drainage, crop rotation, and animal husbandry that provided high yields of grain for both people and animals. Their foreign trade, textile industry, crop production, and population all grew. After the Dutch, the English fared best; unlike the Spanish, the English never depended on infusions of New World gold and silver to shore up their economy and, unlike most continental European countries, England escaped the direct impact of the Thirty Years' War.

Historians have long disagreed about the causes of the early-seventeenth-century recession. Some cite the inability of agriculture to support a growing population by the end of the sixteenth century; others blame the Thirty Years' War, the states' demands for more taxes, or the waste caused by middle-class expenditures in the desire to emulate the nobility. To this list of causes, recent researchers have added climatic changes. Cold winters and wet summers meant bad harvests, and these natural disasters ushered in a host of social catastrophes. When the harvest was bad, prices shot back up and many could not afford to feed themselves.

ENVIRONMENT MATTERS

Dutch Canals

PHAS/Getty Images

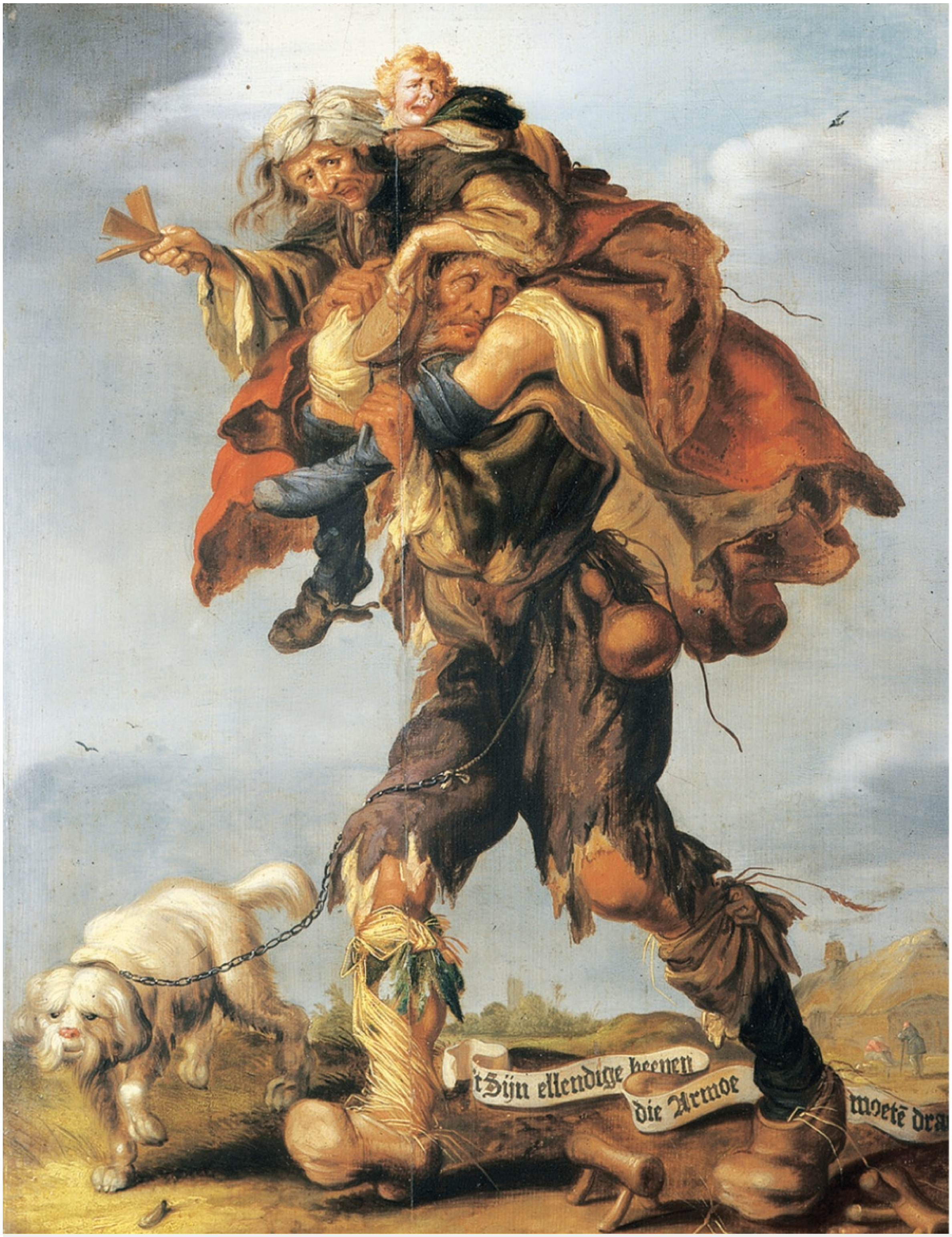
The Dutch built canals in the seventeenth century in Amsterdam and other towns in order to control water levels and encourage residential development. Much of Dutch land is below sea level and therefore very susceptible to flooding. Ever since then, the Dutch have been leaders in water management. The 1671–1672 painting by Gerrit Adriaensz Berckheyde shows one of the major canals in Amsterdam with its new private residences.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. Where is water management an issue today?
2. What were the commercial uses of such canals in the seventeenth century?

Consequences for Daily Life

The recession of the early 1600s had both short-term and long-term effects. In the short term, it aggravated the threat of food shortages, increased the outbreaks of famine and disease, and caused people to leave their families and homes. In the long term, it deepened the division between prosperous and poor peasants and fostered the development of a new pattern of late marriages and smaller families.



The Life of the Poor This mid-seventeenth-century painting by the Dutch artist Adriaen Pietersz van de Venne depicts the poor peasant weighed down by his wife and child. An empty food bowl signifies their hunger. In reality, many poor men abandoned their homes in search of work,

Mrs. F.F. Prentiss Fund/Bridgeman Images.

leaving their wives behind to cope with hungry children and what remained of the family farm. What did the artist intend to convey about women?

When grain harvests fell short, peasants immediately suffered because, outside of England and the Dutch Republic, grain had replaced more expensive meat as the essential staple of most Europeans' diets. By the end of the sixteenth century, the average adult European ate more than four hundred pounds of grain per year. Peasants lived on bread, soup with a little fat or oil, peas or lentils, garden vegetables in season, and only occasionally a piece of meat or fish.

When faced with famine, most people simply left their huts and hovels and took to the road in search of food and charity. Men left their families to search for better conditions elsewhere. Those left behind might be reduced to eating chestnuts, roots, bark, and grass. In eastern France in 1637, a witness reported, "The roads were paved with people.… Finally it came to cannibalism." Compassion sometimes gave way to fear when hungry vagabonds became more aggressive, occasionally threatening to burn a barn if they were not given food.

Successive bad harvests led to malnutrition, which weakened people and made them more susceptible to such epidemic diseases as the plague, typhoid fever, typhus, dysentery, smallpox, and influenza. The plague was feared most: in one year it could cause the death of up to half of a town's or village's population, and it struck with no discernible pattern. Nearly 5 percent of France's entire population died just in the plague of 1628–1632.

Economic crisis widened the gap between rich and poor. Peasants paid rent to their landlords as well as fees for inheriting or selling land and tolls for using mills, wine presses, or ovens. States collected direct taxes on land and sales taxes on consumer goods such as salt, an essential preservative. Protestant and Catholic churches alike exacted a tithe (a tax equivalent to one-tenth of the parishioner's annual income); often the clergy took their tithe in the form of crops and collected it directly during the harvest. Any reversal of fortune could force peasants into the homeless world of vagrants and beggars, who numbered as much as 2 percent of the total population.

In England, the Dutch Republic, northern France, and northwestern Germany, improvements gave some peasants the means to become farmers who rented substantial holdings, produced for the market, and in good times enjoyed relative comfort and higher status. Those who could not afford to plant new crops such as maize (American corn) or to use techniques that ensured higher yields became simple laborers with little or no land of their own. One-half to four-fifths of the peasants did not have enough land to support a family. They descended deeper into debt during difficult times and often lost their land to wealthier farmers or to city officials intent on developing rural estates.

As the recession deepened, women lost some of their economic opportunities. Widows who had been able to take over their late husbands' trade now found themselves excluded by the urban guilds or limited to short tenures. Many women went into domestic service until they married, some for their entire lives. Town governments carefully regulated the work of female servants, requiring women to stay in their positions unless they could prove mistreatment by a master.

European families reacted to economic downturn by postponing marriage and having fewer children. When hard times passed, more people married and had more children. But even in the best of times, one-fifth to one-quarter of all children died in their first year, and half died before age twenty. Childbirth still carried great risks for women, about 10 percent of whom died in the process. Midwives delivered most babies; physicians were scarce, and even those who did attend births were generally less helpful than midwives. The Englishwoman Alice Thornton described in her diary how a doctor bled her to prevent a miscarriage after a fall (bloodletting, often by the application of leeches, was a common medical treatment); her son died anyway in a breech birth that almost killed her too.

Beginning in the early seventeenth century and continuing until the end of the eighteenth, families in all ranks of society started to limit the number of children. Because methods of contraception were not widely known, they did this for the most part by marrying later; the average age at marriage during the seventeenth century rose from the early twenties to the late twenties. The average family had about four children. Poorer families seem to have had fewer children, wealthier ones more. Because Protestant and Catholic clergy alike stressed sexual fidelity and abstinence before marriage, the number of births out of wedlock was relatively small (2–5 percent of births); premarital intercourse was generally tolerated only after a couple had announced their engagement.

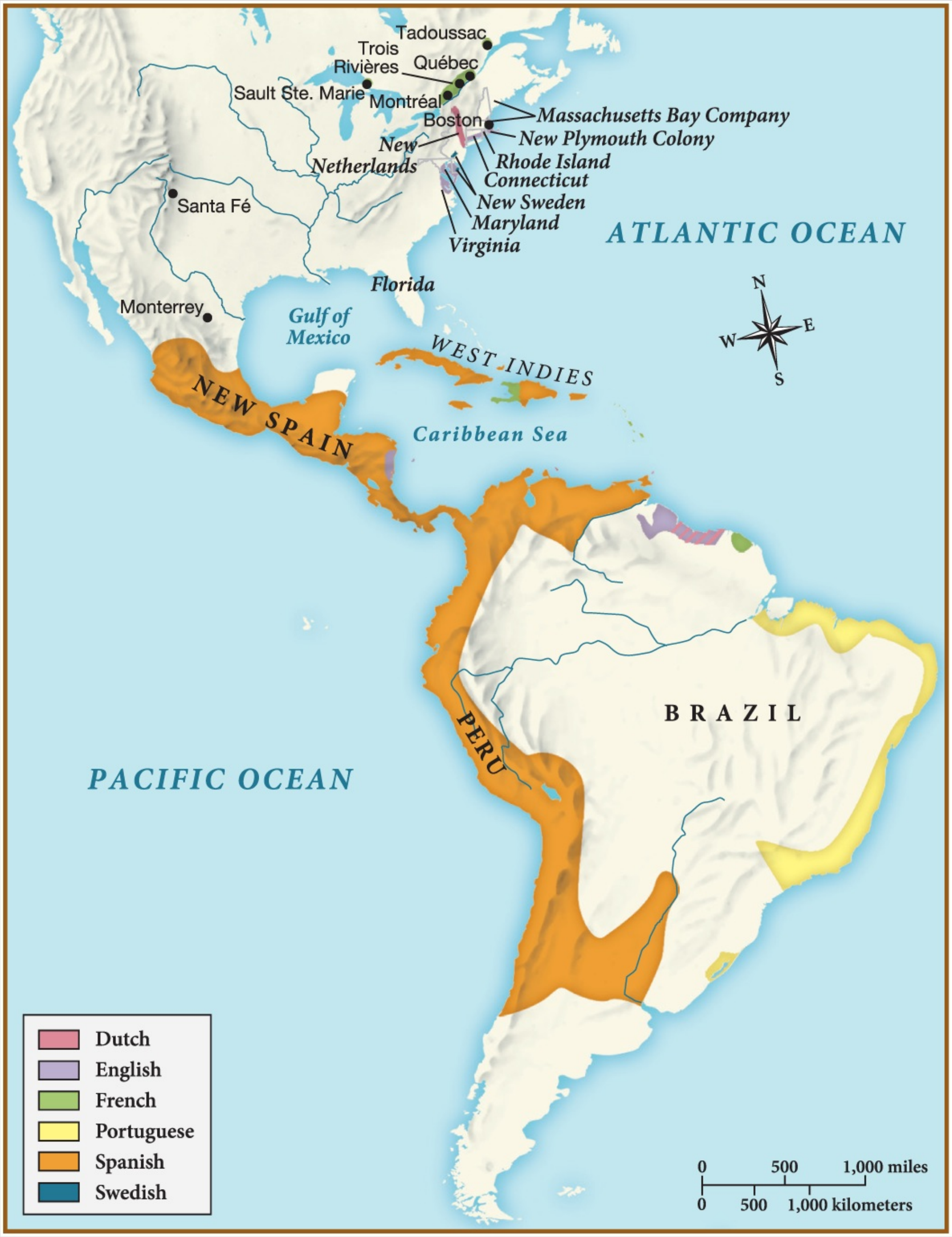
The Economic Balance of Power

Just as the recession of the early seventeenth century produced winners and losers among ordinary people, it also created winners and losers among the competing states of Europe. The economies of southern Europe declined during this period, whereas those of the northwest emerged stronger. Competition in the New World reflected and reinforced this shift as the English, Dutch, and French rushed to establish trading outposts and permanent settlements to compete with the Spanish and Portuguese.

The new powers of northwestern Europe, with their growing Atlantic trade, gradually displaced the Mediterranean economies, which had dominated European commerce since the time of the Greeks and Romans. England and the Dutch Republic vied with France to become the leading mercantile and slave-trading powers. Northern Italian industries were eclipsed; Spanish commerce with the New World dropped. Even the plague contributed to the new disparity in trading power. Whereas central Europe and the Mediterranean countries took generations to recover from its ravages, northwestern Europe quickly replaced its lost population, no doubt because this area's people had suffered less from the effects of the Thirty Years' War and from the malnutrition related to the economic crisis.

All but the remnants of serfdom had disappeared in western Europe, yet in eastern Europe nobles reinforced their dominance over peasants, and the burden of serfdom increased. The rise in the cost of grain in the sixteenth century prompted Polish and eastern German nobles to increase their holdings and step up their production of grain for western markets. In the economic downturn of the first half of the seventeenth century, peasants who were already dependent became serfs — completely tied to the land. Although enserfment produced short-term profits for landlords, in the long run it depressed economic development in eastern Europe and kept most of the population in a stranglehold of illiteracy and hardship.

Economic realignment also took place across the Atlantic Ocean. Because Spain and Portugal had divided between themselves the rich spoils of South America, other prospective colonizers had to carve niches in seemingly less hospitable places, especially North America and the Caribbean (Map 15.3). Eventually, the English, French, and Dutch would dominate commerce with these colonies. Many European states, including Sweden and Denmark, chartered private joint-stock companies to enrich investors by importing fish, furs, tobacco, and precious metals (if they could be found), and to develop new markets for European products. British, French, Dutch, and Danish companies also began trading slaves.



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 15.3 European Colonization of the Americas, c. 1640

Europeans coming to the Americas established themselves first in coastal areas. The English, French, and Dutch set up most of their colonies in the Caribbean and North America because the Spanish and Portuguese had already colonized the easily accessible regions in South America. Vast inland areas still remained unexplored and uncolonized in 1640.

In establishing permanent colonies, the Europeans created whole new communities across the Atlantic. Careful plans could not always surmount the hazards of transatlantic shipping, however. In 1620, the *Mayflower*, which had sailed for Virginia with Pilgrim emigrants, landed off course far to the north in Massachusetts, where the settlers founded New Plymouth colony. By the 1640s, the British North American colonies had more than fifty thousand people, of whom perhaps a thousand were Africans. The peoples native to the area had been decimated in epidemics and wars.

In contrast, French Canada had only about three thousand European inhabitants by 1640. Though thin in numbers, the French rapidly moved into the Great Lakes region. Fur traders sought beaver pelts to make the hats that had taken Paris fashion by storm. Jesuit missionaries lived with native American groups, learning their languages and describing their ways of life.

Both England and France turned some attention as well to the Caribbean in the 1620s and 1630s, when they occupied the islands of the West Indies after driving off the native Caribs. These islands would prove ideal for a plantation economy of African slaves tending sugarcane and tobacco crops under the supervision of European settlers.

Even as the British and French moved into North America and the

Caribbean, Spanish explorers traveled the Pacific coast up to what is now Northern California and pushed into New Mexico. On the other side of the world, in the Philippines, the Spanish competed with local Muslim rulers and indigenous tribal leaders to extend their control. Spanish officials worked closely with Catholic missionaries to rule over a colony composed of indigenous peoples, Spaniards, and some Chinese merchants.

REVIEW QUESTION

What were the consequences of economic recession in the early 1600s?

The Rise of Science and a Scientific Worldview

The countries that moved ahead economically in the first half of the seventeenth century — England, the Dutch Republic, and to some extent France — turned out to be the most receptive to the rise of science and a scientific worldview. In the long-term process known as **secularization**, religion gradually became a matter of private conscience rather than public policy. Secularization did not entail a loss of religious faith, but it did prompt a search for nonreligious explanations for political authority and natural phenomena. During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, science, political theory, and even art began to break their long-standing bonds with religion. Scientists and scholars sought laws in nature to explain politics as well as movements in the heavens and on earth. The visual arts more frequently depicted secular subjects. A scientific revolution (see Terms of History on page 548) was in the making. Yet traditional attitudes did not disappear. Belief in magic and witchcraft pervaded every level of society. People of all classes believed that the laws of nature reflected a divine plan for the universe. They accepted supernatural explanations for natural phenomena, a view only gradually and partially undermined by new ideas.

TERMS OF HISTORY

Scientific Revolution

The term *scientific revolution* refers to the series of breakthroughs in the natural sciences, especially astronomy and physics, that challenged the traditional learning of ancient philosophers and Catholic teachings about the nature of the cosmos, in particular the view that the earth was the center of a fixed universe. Although it began in the sixteenth century and had origins even earlier, the most crucial developments took place in the 1600s. Among the most important were the experiments and writings of the Italian Galileo Galilei and the Englishman Isaac Newton. Galileo's experiments helped confirm that the earth was not the center of a fixed universe but one of many similar bodies revolving around the sun, and Newton established the law of universal gravitation governing the motion of bodies in the heavens and on earth. They and others like them showed that experimentation combined with human reasoning could unlock the secrets of the universe.

Neither Galileo nor Newton used the term *scientific revolution* because they considered themselves natural philosophers; the label "scientist" only began to be used in the 1800s. From the middle of the nineteenth century, writers began to refer to the "scientific revolution" as a way of signaling that a major break from the past had occurred in the 1600s: truths about nature would henceforth be determined by scientific methods (testing of hypotheses by experimentation) rather than by reference to the Bible or religious authorities.

Scholars are now divided about the validity of the term. Some argue that change did not occur all at once (it was not revolutionary), especially since the major transformations in biology and chemistry only took place later. Others draw attention to the disagreement over proper methods and procedures and the lack of any unitary notion of science as a body of knowledge. But other historians consider the seventeenth-century breakthroughs so foundational that they can only be compared to something as fundamental as the legacies of the ancient Greeks or the emergence of Christianity.

The Scientific Revolution

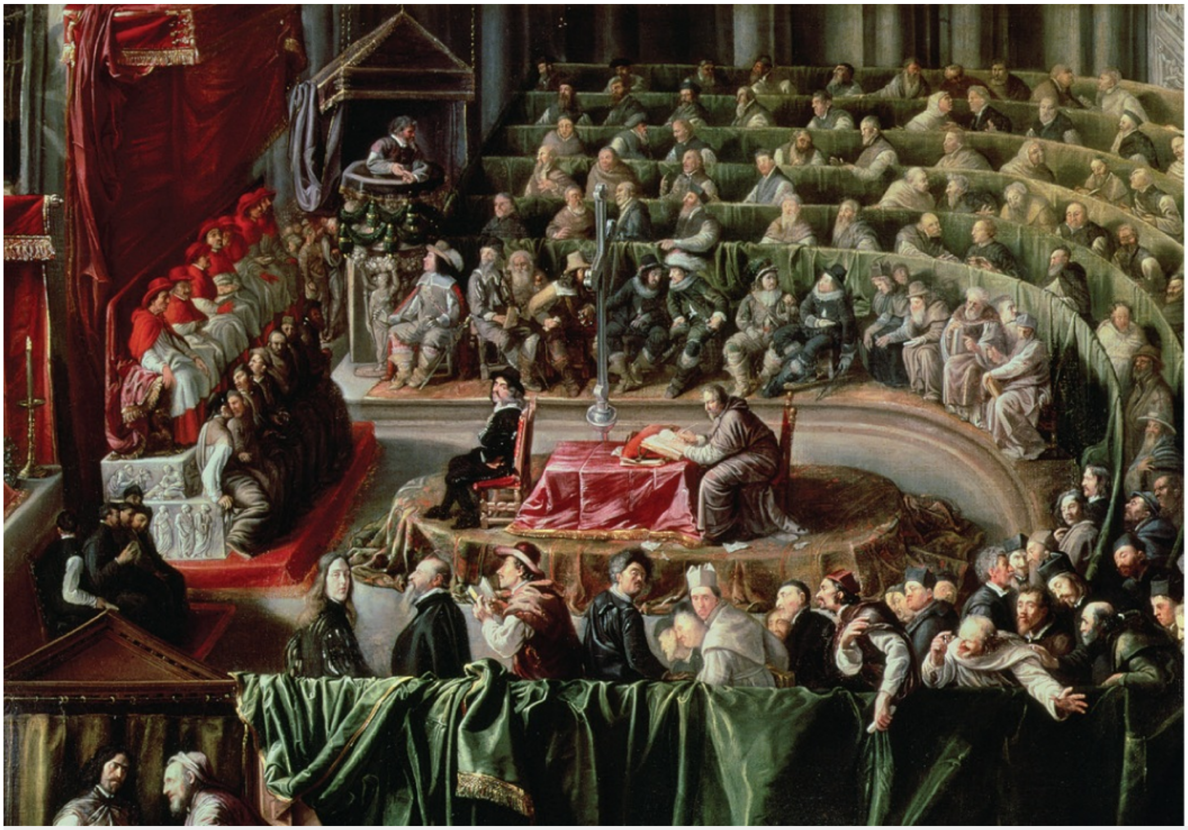
Although the Catholic and Protestant churches encouraged the study of science and many prominent scientists were themselves clerics, the search for a secular, scientific method of determining the laws of nature undermined traditional accounts of natural phenomena. Christian doctrine had incorporated the scientific teachings of ancient philosophers, especially Ptolemy and Aristotle; now these came into question. A revolution in astronomy contested the Ptolemaic view, endorsed by the Catholic church, which held that the sun revolved around the earth. Startling breakthroughs took place in medicine too. Supporters of these new developments argued for the **scientific method**, which combined experimental observation and mathematical deduction. The use of the scientific method culminated in the astounding breakthroughs of Isaac Newton at the end of the seventeenth century. Newton's ability to explain the motion of the planets, as well as everyday objects on earth, gave science enormous new prestige.

The traditional account of the movement of the heavens derived from the second-century Greek astronomer Ptolemy, who put the earth at the center of the cosmos. Above the earth were fixed the moon, the stars, and the planets in concentric, crystalline spheres; beyond these fixed spheres dwelt God and the angels. In this view, the sun revolved around the earth, the heavens were perfect and unchanging, and the earth was "corrupted." Ptolemy insisted that the planets revolved in circular orbits (because circles were more "perfect" than other figures). To account for the actual elliptical paths that could be observed and calculated, he posited orbits within orbits, or epicycles.

In 1543, the Polish clergyman Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543) began the revolution in astronomy by publishing his treatise *On the Revolution of the Celestial Spheres*. Copernicus attacked the Ptolemaic account, arguing that the earth and other planets revolved around the sun, a view known as **heliocentrism** (a sun-centered universe). He discovered that by placing the sun instead of the earth at the center of the system of spheres, he could eliminate many epicycles from the calculations and thus simplify the mathematics. Copernicus died soon after publishing his theories, but when the Italian monk Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) taught heliocentrism, the Catholic Inquisition (set up to seek out heretics) arrested him and burned him at the stake.

Copernicus's views began to attract widespread attention in the early 1600s. When the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546–1601) observed a new star in 1572 and a comet in 1577, the traditional view that the universe was unchanging came into question. Brahe still rejected heliocentrism, but the assistant he employed when he moved to Prague in 1599, Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), was won over to the Copernican view. Kepler developed three laws of planetary motion, published between 1609 and 1619, that provided mathematical backing for heliocentrism and directly challenged the claim long held, even by Copernicus, that planetary motion was circular. Kepler's first law stated that the orbits of the planets are ellipses, with the sun always at one focus of the ellipse.

The Italian astronomer Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) provided more evidence to support the heliocentric view and also challenged the doctrine that the heavens were perfect and unchanging. After learning in 1609 that two Dutch astronomers had built a telescope, Galileo built a better one and observed the earth's moon, four satellites of Jupiter, the phases of Venus (a cycle of changing physical appearances), and sunspots. The moon, the planets, and the sun were no more perfect than the earth, he insisted, and the shadows he could see on the moon could only be the product of hills and valleys like those on earth. Galileo portrayed the earth as a moving part of a larger system, only one of many planets revolving around the sun, not as the fixed center of a single, closed universe.



Bridgeman Art Library/Image Partner/Getty Images.

The Trial of Galileo, 1633 This anonymous Italian painting of the seventeenth century shows the astronomer Galileo Galilei facing his accusers, the committee of cardinals of the Roman Inquisition of the Catholic church. You can identify the cardinals by their red hats and robes. Galileo had been in trouble since 1610 when he published his telescope findings, but at this moment he faced a possible death sentence. He avoided it by retracting some of his findings.

In 1616, the Catholic church forbade Galileo to teach that the earth moves; then, in 1633, it accused him of not obeying the earlier order (see Primary Source Analysis on page 550). Forced to appear before the Inquisition, he agreed to publicly recant his assertion about the movement of the earth to save himself from torture and death. Afterward, Galileo lived under house arrest and could publish his work only in the Dutch Republic, which had become a haven for scientists and thinkers who challenged conventional ideas.

In the same year that Copernicus challenged the traditional account in astronomy (1543), the Flemish scientist Andreas Vesalius (1514–1564) did the same for anatomy. Until then, medical knowledge in Europe was based on the writings of the second-century Greek physician Galen, Ptolemy's contemporary. Drawing on public dissections (which had been condemned by the Catholic church since 1300) he performed himself, Vesalius refuted Galen's work in his illustrated anatomical text, *On the Construction of the Human Body*. The English physician William Harvey (1578–1657) used dissection to examine the circulation of blood within the body, demonstrating how the heart worked as a pump. The heart and its valves were "a piece of machinery," Harvey insisted, and they obeyed mechanical laws. Nature, he said, could be understood by experiment and rational deduction, not by following traditional authorities.

In the 1630s, the European intellectual elite began to accept the new scientific views. Ancient learning, the churches and their theologians, and long-standing popular beliefs all seemed to be undercut by the scientific method. Two men were chiefly responsible for spreading the reputation of the scientific method in the first half of the seventeenth century: the English Protestant politician Sir Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and the French Catholic mathematician and philosopher René Descartes (1596–1650). They represented the two essential halves of the scientific method: inductive reasoning through observation and experimental research, and deductive reasoning from self-evident principles.

In *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), Bacon attacked reliance on ancient writers and optimistically predicted that the scientific method would lead to social progress. The minds of the medieval scholars, he said, had been “shut up in the cells of a few authors (chiefly Aristotle, their dictator) as their persons were shut up in the cells of monasteries and colleges,” and they could therefore produce only “cobwebs of learning” that were “of no substance or profit.” Knowledge, in Bacon’s view, must be empirically based (that is, gained by observation and experiment).

Although Descartes agreed with Bacon’s denunciation of traditional learning, he was concerned that the attack on tradition might only replace the dogmatism of the churches with the skepticism of Montaigne — that nothing at all was certain. Descartes aimed to establish the new science on more secure philosophical foundations, those of mathematics and logic. In his *Discourse on Method* (1637), he argued that mathematical and mechanical principles provided the key to understanding all of nature, including the actions of people and states. All prior assumptions must be repudiated in favor of one elementary principle: “I think, therefore I am.” Everything else could — and should — be doubted, but even doubt showed the certain existence of someone thinking. Descartes insisted that human reason could not only unravel the secrets of nature but also prove the existence of God. Although he hoped to secure the authority of both church and state, his reliance on human reason rather than faith irritated authorities, and his books were banned in many places. He moved to the Dutch Republic to work in peace. Scientific research, like economic growth, became centered in the northern, Protestant countries, where it was less constrained by church control than in the Catholic south.

The power of the new scientific method was dramatically confirmed in the grand synthesis of the laws of motion developed by the English natural philosopher Isaac Newton (1642–1727). Born five years after the publication of Descartes's *Discourse on Method* and educated at Cambridge University, where he later became a professor, Newton brought his most significant mathematical and mechanical discoveries together in his masterwork, *Principia Mathematica* (1687). In it, he developed his law of universal gravitation, which explained both movement on earth and the motion of the planets. His law held that every body in the universe exerts over every other body an attractive force directly proportional to the product of their masses and inversely proportional to the square of the distance between them. This law of universal gravitation explained Kepler's elliptical planetary orbits just as it accounted for the way an apple fell to the ground.

Newtonian physics combined mass, inertia, force, velocity, and acceleration — all key concepts in modern science — and made them quantifiable. Once set in motion, in Newton's view, the universe operated like a masterpiece made possible by the ingenuity of God. Newton saw no conflict between faith and science. He believed that by demonstrating that the physical universe followed rational principles, natural philosophers could prove the existence of God and so liberate humans from doubt and the fear of chaos. Even while laying the foundation for modern physics, optics, and mechanics, Newton spent long hours trying to calculate the date of the beginning of the world and its end with the Second Coming of Jesus. Others, less devout than Newton envisioned a clockwork universe that had no need for God's continuing intervention.

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

Sentence Pronounced against Galileo (1633)

In 1633, the Roman Inquisition, a committee of cardinals of the Catholic church, considered the case against Galileo and pronounced its final judgment. It found Galileo guilty of heresy against Catholic doctrine for defending heliocentrism but allowed him to recant and thus avoid the death penalty usual in cases of heresy. Nearly 350 years later, in 1980, Pope John Paul II appointed a commission to review the evidence and verdict. After four years, the commission published its findings and concluded that the judges who condemned Galileo were wrong.

We say, pronounce, sentence, and declare that you, the above-mentioned Galileo, because of the things deduced in the trial and confessed by you as above, have rendered yourself according to this Holy Office [Inquisition] vehemently suspected of heresy, namely of having held and believed a doctrine which is false and contrary to the divine and Holy Scripture: that the sun is the center of the world and does not move from east to west, and the earth moves and is not the center of the world, and that one may hold and defend as probable an opinion after it has been declared and defined contrary to Holy Scripture. Consequently you have incurred all the censures and penalties imposed and promulgated by the sacred canons and all particular and general laws against such delinquents. We are willing to absolve you from them provided that first, with a sincere heart and unfeigned faith, in front of us you abjure, curse, and detest the above-mentioned errors and heresies, and every other error and heresy contrary to the Catholic and Apostolic Church, in the manner and form we will prescribe to you.

Furthermore, so that this serious and pernicious error and transgression of yours does not remain completely unpunished, and so that you will be more cautious in the future and an example for others to abstain from similar crimes, we order that the book *Dialogue* [*Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems*, published in 1632] by Galileo Galilei be prohibited by public edict.

Source: Maurice A. Finocchiaro, ed., *The Galileo Affair: A Documentary History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 291.

QUESTION TO CONSIDER

Why did the Catholic church go to such dramatic lengths to repress Galileo's scientific argument in support of heliocentrism?

The Natural Laws of Politics

In reaction to the religious wars, writers not only began to defend the primacy of state interests over those of religious conformity but also insisted on secular explanations for politics. The Italian political theorist Machiavelli had pointed in this direction with his advice to Renaissance princes in the early sixteenth century, but this secular intellectual movement gathered steam in the aftermath of the religious violence unleashed by the Reformation.

The French Catholic lawyer and politique Jean Bodin (1530–1596) sought systematic secular answers to the problem of disorder in *The Six Books of the Commonwealth* (1576). Comparing the different forms of government throughout history, he concluded that there were three basic types of sovereignty: monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Only strong monarchical power offered hope for maintaining order, he insisted, and so he rejected any doctrine of the right to resist tyrannical authority. While Bodin's ideas helped lay the foundation for absolutism — the idea that the monarch should be the sole and uncontested source of power — his systematic discussion of types of governments implied that they might be subject to choice and undercut the notion that monarchies were ordained by God, as most rulers maintained.

During the Dutch revolt against Spain, the legal scholar Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) furthered secular thinking by attempting to systematize the notion of "natural law" — laws of nature that give legitimacy to government and stand above the actions of any particular ruler or religious group. Grotius argued that natural law stood beyond the reach of either secular or divine authority; natural law would be valid even if God did not exist (though Grotius himself believed in God). By this account, natural law — not scripture, religious authority, or tradition — should govern politics. Such ideas got Grotius into trouble with both Catholics and Protestants. His work *The Laws of War and Peace* (1625) was condemned by the Catholic church, while the Dutch Protestant government arrested him for taking part in religious controversies. Grotius's wife helped him escape prison by hiding him in a chest of books. Grotius was one of the first to argue that international conventions should govern the treatment of prisoners of war and the making of peace treaties.

Grotius's conception of natural law also challenged the widespread use of torture. Most states and the courts of the Catholic church used torture when a serious crime had been committed and the evidence seemed to point to a particular defendant but no definitive proof had been established. The judges ordered torture — hanging the accused by the hands with a rope thrown over a beam or pressing the legs in a leg screw — to extract a confession, which had to be given with a medical expert and notary present and had to be repeated without torture.

To be in accord with natural law, Grotius argued, governments had to defend natural rights, which he defined as life, body, freedom, and honor. Grotius did not encourage rebellion in the name of natural law or rights, but did hope that someday all governments would adhere to these principles and stop killing their own and one another's subjects in the name of religion. Natural law and natural rights would play an important role in the founding of constitutional governments from the

1640s forward and in the establishment of various charters of human rights in our own time.

The Arts in an Age of Crisis

Two new forms of artistic expression — professional theater and opera — provided an outlet for secular values in an age of conflict over religious beliefs. Religion still played an important role in painting, however, even though many rulers also commissioned paintings on secular subjects.

The first professional acting companies performed before paying audiences in London, Seville, and Madrid in the 1570s. A huge outpouring of playwriting followed upon the formation of permanent professional theater companies. The Spanish playwright Lope de Vega (1562–1635) alone wrote more than fifteen hundred plays. Theaters were extremely popular despite Puritan opposition in England and Catholic objections in Spain. Shopkeepers, apprentices, lawyers, and court nobles crowded into open-air theaters to see everything from bawdy farces to profound tragedies.

The most enduring and influential playwright of the time — in fact, the man considered the greatest playwright of the English language — was William Shakespeare (1564–1616), who wrote three dozen plays (including histories, comedies, and tragedies) and was a member of a chief acting troupe. Although none of Shakespeare’s plays were set in contemporary England, they reflect the concerns of his age: the nature of power and the crisis of authority. His tragedies in particular show the uncertainty and even chaos that result when power is misappropriated or misused. In *Hamlet* (1601), for example, the Danish prince Hamlet's mother marries the man who murdered his royal father and usurped the crown. In the end, Hamlet, his mother, and the usurper all die. Like many real-life people, Shakespeare's tragic characters found little peace in the turmoil of their times.

Although painting did not always touch broad popular audiences in the ways that theater could, new styles in art and especially church architecture helped shape ordinary people's experience of religion. In the late sixteenth century, the artistic style known as *mannerism* emerged in the Italian states and soon spread across Europe. Mannerism was an almost theatrical style that allowed painters to distort perspective to convey a message or emphasize a theme. The most famous mannerist painter, called El Greco because he was of Greek origin, trained in Venice and Rome before he moved to Spain in the 1570s. The religious intensity of El Greco's paintings found a ready audience in Catholic Spain, which had proved immune to the Protestant suspicion of ritual and religious imagery (see the illustration on page 534).

The most important new style was the **baroque**, which, like mannerism, originated in the Italian states. In place of the Renaissance emphasis on harmonious design, unity, and clarity, the baroque featured curves, exaggerated lighting, intense emotions, release from restraint, and even a kind of artistic sensationalism. Like many other historical designations, the word *baroque* ("irregularly shaped") was not used as a label by people living at the time; art critics in the eighteenth century coined the word to mean shockingly bizarre, confused, and extravagant, and art historians and collectors largely disdained the baroque until the late nineteenth century.

Closely tied to Catholic resurgence after the Reformation, the baroque melodramatically reaffirmed the emotional depths of the Catholic faith and glorified both church and monarchy. The style spread from Rome to other Italian states and then into central Europe. The Spanish built baroque churches in their American colonies as part of their massive conversion campaign.

Dome of the Capilla del Rosario, Santo Domingo Church, Puebla, Mexico/Jean-Pierre Courau/Bridgeman Images.

The Arts and Colonial Power Even as the Spanish Habsburg rulers were losing ground in Europe, they were consolidating their control in their colonies. This detail from the Chapel of the Rosary of the Santo Domingo Church in Puebla, Mexico, reflects the extensive use of gold and the European style baroque decoration that was favored in the effort to convert indigenous peoples. Construction of the church began in 1571 but building of the chapel only began in the 1650s. It is still considered one of the most important heritage sites in the world.

A new secular musical form, the opera, grew up parallel to the baroque style in the visual arts. First influential in the Italian states, opera combined music, drama, dance, and scenery in a grand, sensual display, often with themes chosen to please the ruler and the aristocracy. Composers could base operas on typically baroque sacred subjects or on traditional stories. Like many playwrights, including Shakespeare, opera composers often turned to familiar stories their audiences would recognize and readily follow. One of the most innovative composers of opera was Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643), whose earliest operatic production, *Orfeo* (1607), was based on Greek mythology.

Magic and Witchcraft

Although artists, political thinkers, and scientific experimenters increasingly pursued secular goals, most remained as devout in their religious beliefs as ordinary people. Many scholars, including Newton, studied alchemy alongside their scientific pursuits. Alchemists aimed to discover techniques for turning lead and copper into gold. The astronomer Tycho Brahe defended his studies of alchemy and astrology as part of “natural magic,” as opposed to demonic “black magic.”

Learned and ordinary people alike also firmly believed in witchcraft, that is, the exercise of magical powers gained by a pact with the devil. The same Jean Bodin who argued against religious fanaticism insisted on death for witches — and for those magistrates who would not prosecute them. Trials of witches peaked in Europe between 1560 and 1640, the very time of the celebrated breakthroughs of the new science. Montaigne was one of the few to speak out against executing accused witches: “It is taking one’s conjectures rather seriously to roast someone alive for them,” he wrote in 1580.

Private Collection/Bridgeman Images.

James VI, King of Scotland, Questioning Witches James VI personally presided over trials of Scottish witches in 1591. Some of the accused were tortured and forced to confess, and were then executed. As the print suggests, most of the accused were women. James became James I of England in 1603.

Witches had long been blamed for destroying crops and causing personal catastrophes ranging from miscarriage to madness, but never before had they been officially persecuted in such numbers.

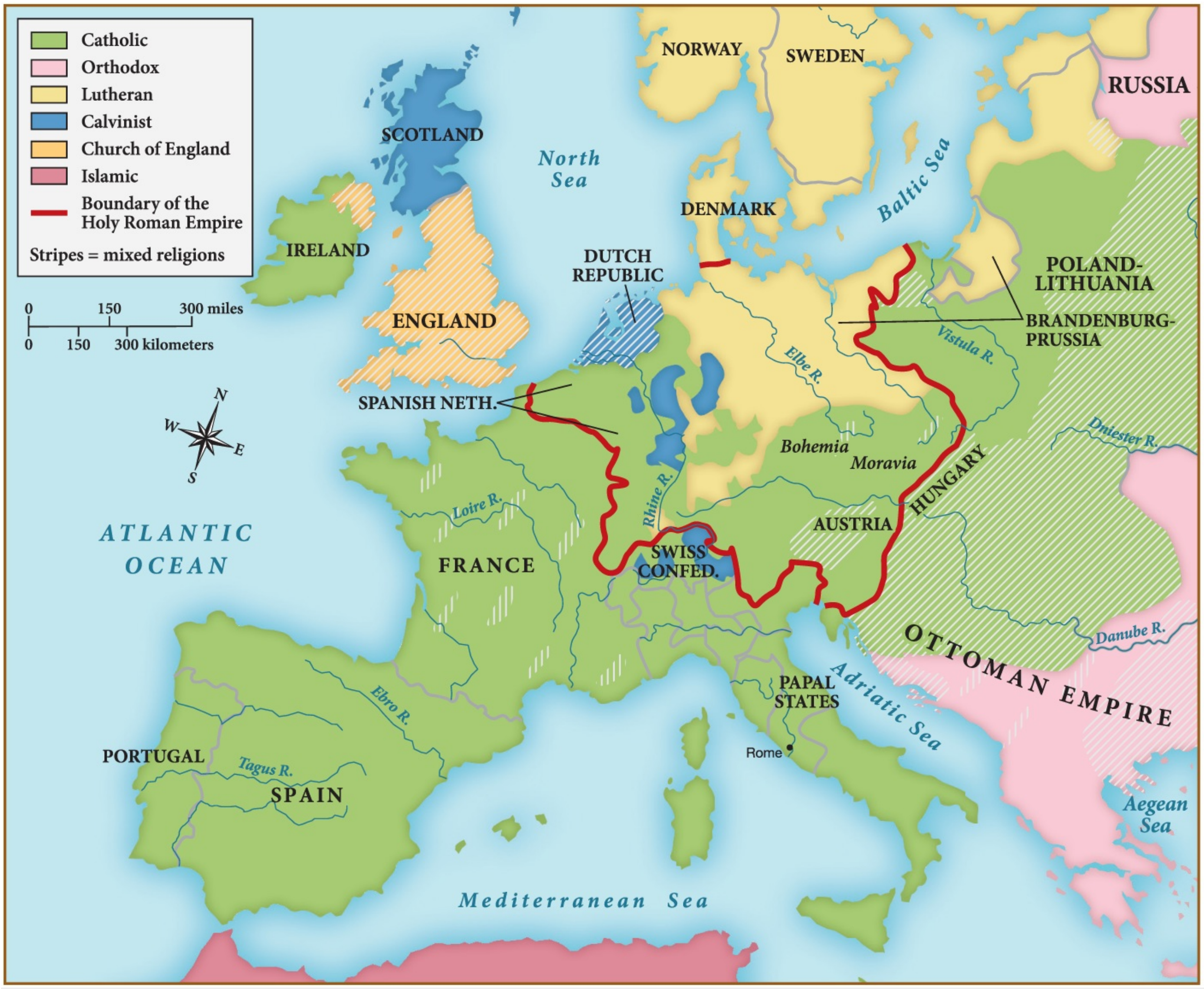
Denunciation and persecution of witches coincided with the spread of reform, both Protestant and Catholic. Witch trials concentrated especially in the German lands of the Holy Roman Empire, the boiling cauldron of the Thirty Years' War.

The victims of the persecution were overwhelmingly female: women accounted for 80 percent of the accused witches in about 100,000 trials in Europe and North America during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Half of those accused were sentenced to death. Since men had been equally subject to accusation before 1400, attention had clearly shifted to women. Some official descriptions of witchcraft oozed lurid details of sexual orgies, in which women acted as the devil's sexual slaves. Social factors help explain the prominence of women among the accused. Accusers were almost always better off than those they accused. The poorest and most socially marginal people in most communities were elderly spinsters and widows. Because they were thought likely to hanker after revenge on those more fortunate, they were singled out as witches.

The tide turned against witchcraft trials when physicians, lawyers, judges, and even clergy came to suspect that accusations were based on superstition and fear. In 1682, a French royal decree treated witchcraft as fraud and imposture, meaning that the law did not recognize anyone as a witch. In 1693, the jurors who had convicted twenty people of witchcraft in Salem, Massachusetts, recanted, claiming, "We justly fear that we were sadly deluded and mistaken." The Salem jurors had not stopped believing in witches; they had simply lost confidence in their ability to identify them. When physicians and judges had believed in witches and carried out official persecutions, with torture, those accused of witchcraft had gone to their deaths in record numbers. But when the same groups distanced themselves from popular beliefs, the trials and the executions stopped.

Review Question

How could belief in witchcraft and the rising prestige of the scientific method coexist?



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAPPING THE WEST

The Religious Divisions of Europe, c. 1648

The Peace of Westphalia recognized major religious divisions within Europe that have endured for the most part to the present day. Catholicism dominated in southern Europe, Lutheranism had its stronghold in northern Europe, and Calvinism flourished along the Rhine River. In southeastern Europe, the Islamic Ottoman Turks accommodated the Greek Orthodox Christians under their rule but bitterly fought the Catholic Austrian Habsburgs for control of Hungary.

Analyzing the Map: Which parts of Europe remained most resolutely Catholic in 1648?

Making Connections: Which were the rising powers in Europe in 1648 and which the declining ones? Why was the Atlantic Ocean becoming more important in international affairs than the Mediterranean?

Conclusion

The witchcraft persecutions reflected the traumas of these times of religious war, economic decline, and crises of political and intellectual authority. Deep differences over religion came to a head in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), which cut a path of destruction through central Europe and involved most of the European powers. Repulsed by the effects of religious violence, European rulers agreed to a peace that effectively removed disputes between Catholics and Protestants from the international arena. Almost everywhere rulers emerged from these decades of war with expanded powers that they would seek to extend further in the second half of the seventeenth century. The constant extension of state power is one of the defining themes of modern history; religious warfare gave it a jump-start.

For all their strength, however, rulers could not control economic, social, or intellectual trends. The economic downturn of the seventeenth century shifted economic power from the Mediterranean world to northwestern Europe, because England, France, and the Dutch Republic suffered less from the fighting of the Thirty Years' War and recovered more quickly from bad times. They would become even more powerful in the decades to come.

An underlying shift in cultural attitudes and intellectual expectations accompanied these changes. Secularization encompassed the establishment of the scientific method as the standard of truth, the search for nonreligious foundations of political authority, and the growing popularity of nonreligious forms of art, such as theater and opera. Proponents of these changes did not renounce their religious beliefs, and it would be foolish to claim that everyone’s mental universe changed. The significance of secularization would only emerge over the long term.

Chapter 15 Review

Key Terms and People

Be sure that you can identify the term or person and explain its historical significance.

Catherine de Médicis

Edict of Nantes

politiques

Philip II

Lepanto

Elizabeth I

Puritans

Peace of Westphalia

raison d'état

secularization

scientific method

heliocentrism

baroque

Review Questions

1. How did state power depend on religious unity at the end of the sixteenth century and start of the seventeenth?

2. Why did a war fought over religious differences result in stronger states?
3. What were the consequences of economic recession in the early 1600s?
4. How could belief in witchcraft and the rising prestige of the scientific method coexist?

Making Connections

1. How did the balance of power shift in Europe between 1560 and 1648? What were the main reasons for the shift?
2. What were the limits to the growth of secularization?
3. What was the influence of New World colonies on Europe from 1560 to 1648?
4. How did religious conflict mix with political concerns in this period?

Important Events

1562	French Wars of Religion begin
1566	Revolt of Calvinists against Spain begins in Netherlands

1569	Formation of commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania
1571	Battle of Lepanto marks victory of West over Ottomans at sea
1572	St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre of French Protestants
1576	Spanish Fury erupts in Antwerp
1588	English defeat of Spanish Armada
1598	French Wars of Religion end with Edict of Nantes
1601	William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*
1605	Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*
1618	Thirty Years’ War begins
1633	Galileo Galilei forced to recant his support of heliocentrism
1635	French join the Thirty Years’ War by declaring war on Spain
1648	Peace of Westphalia ends Thirty Years’ War

Consider two events

Thirty Years’ War begins (1618) and Galileo is forced to recant his support of heliocentrism (1633). How does the latter event represent a reaction of the Catholic church to the uncertainties created in this period of war and upheaval?

Suggested References

Religious conflict, the Thirty Years’ War, science, witchcraft, and the travails of everyday life have all been the subject of groundbreaking research, yet the personalities of individual rulers still make for great stories, too.

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CHAPTER 16

Absolutism, Constitutionalism, and the Search for Order

1640–1700

DEA/G. DAGLI ORTI/Getty Images.

Louis XIV Establishing the Academy of Sciences in 1666 The painting by Louis XIV's favorite painter, Charles Lebrun (after an original by Henri Testelin), shows Louis XIV's chief minister Colbert presenting the members of the new Academy of Sciences to the king. Louis used everything from his morning dress to opera and ballet as occasions to demonstrate his power. Note that the king, not the books, maps and globe, is the central focus of the work.

Chapter Preview

Louis XIV: Absolutism and Its Limits

How "absolute" was the power of Louis XIV?

Constitutionalism in England

What differences over religion and politics caused the conflict between king and Parliament in England?

Outposts of Constitutionalism

Why did constitutionalism thrive in the Dutch Republic and the British North American colonies, even as their participation in the slave trade grew?

Absolutism in Central and Eastern Europe

Why did absolutism flourish everywhere in eastern Europe except Poland-Lithuania?

The Search for Order in Elite and Popular Culture

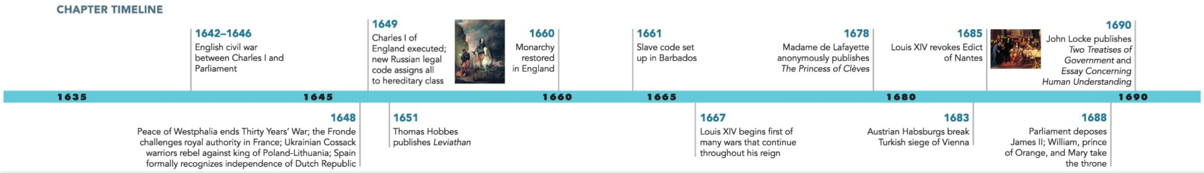
How did elite and popular culture become more separate in the seventeenth century?

In May 1664, King Louis XIV of France organized the first of many spectacular entertainments for his court at Versailles, where he had recently begun construction of a magnificent new palace. More than six hundred members of his court attended the weeklong series of parades, races, ballets, plays, and fireworks. In the opening spectacle, Louis was accompanied by an eighteen-foot-high float in the form of a chariot dedicated to Apollo, Greek god of the sun and Louis's personally chosen emblem. The king's favorite writers and musicians presented works specially prepared for the occasion, and each evening ended with a candlelit banquet served by masked and costumed servants.

Louis XIV designed his pageants to awe those most dangerous to him, the leading nobles of his kingdom. To make his authority and glory concrete, the king relentlessly increased the power of his bureaucracy, expanded his army, and insisted on Catholic orthodoxy. This model of state building was known as **absolutism**, a system of government in which the ruler claims sole and uncontestable power. Other mid-seventeenth-century rulers followed Louis XIV's example or explicitly rejected it, but they could not afford to ignore it.

Although absolutism exerted great influence beginning in the mid-1600s, it faced competition from **constitutionalism**, a system in which the ruler shares power with an assembly of elected representatives. Constitutionalism provided a strong foundation for state power in England, the Dutch Republic, and the British North American colonies, while absolutism dominated in central and eastern Europe. Constitutionalism triumphed in England, however, only after one king had been executed as a traitor and another had been deposed. The English conflicts over the nature of authority found their most enduring expression in the writings of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, which laid the foundations of modern political science.

The search for order took place not only in government and politics but also in intellectual, cultural, and social life. Artists sought means of glorifying power and expressing order and symmetry in new ways. As states consolidated their power, elites endeavored to distinguish themselves more clearly from the lower orders. Officials, clergy, and laypeople worked to reform the poor, now seen as a major source of disorder. Whether absolutist or constitutionalist, seventeenth-century states all aimed to extend control over their subjects’ lives.


CHAPTER TIMELINE

1642–1646 English civil war between Charles I and Parliament

1648 Peace of Westphalia ends Thirty Years’ War; the Fronde challenges royal authority in France; Ukrainian Cossack warriors rebel against king of Poland-Lithuania; Spain formally recognizes independence of Dutch Republic

1649 Charles I of England executed; new Russian legal code assigns all to hereditary class

1651 Thomas Hobbes publishes *Leviathan*

1660 Monarchy restored in England

1661 Slave code set up in Barbados

1667 Louis XIV begins first of many wars that continue throughout his reign

1678 Madame de Lafayette anonymously publishes *The Princess of Clèves*

1683 Austrian Habsburgs break Turkish siege of Vienna

1685 Louis XIV revokes Edict of Nantes

1688 Parliament deposes James II; William, prince of Orange, and Mary take the throne

1690 John Locke publishes *Two Treatises of Government* and *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*

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CHAPTER FOCUS

What were the most important differences between absolutism and constitutionalism, and how did each system establish order?

Louis XIV: Absolutism and Its Limits

French king **Louis XIV** (r. 1643–1715) personified the absolutist ruler, who in theory shared his power with no one. In 1655, he reputedly told the Paris high court of justice, *"L'état, c'est moi"* ("I am the state"), emphasizing that state authority rested in him personally. Louis cleverly manipulated the affections and ambitions of his courtiers, chose as his ministers middle-class men who owed everything to him, built up Europe's largest army, and snuffed out every hint of religious or political opposition. Yet the absoluteness of his power should not be exaggerated. Like all other rulers of his time, Louis depended on the cooperation of many people: local officials who enforced his decrees, peasants and artisans who joined his armies and paid his taxes, clergy who preached his notion of Catholicism, and nobles who joined court festivities rather than causing trouble.

The Fronde, 1648–1653

Louis XIV's absolutism (see Terms of History on page 564) built on a long French tradition of increasing centralization of state authority, but before he could establish his preeminence he had to weather a series of revolts known as the Fronde. Louis was only five when he came to the throne in 1643 upon the death of his father, Louis XIII, who with his chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu, had steered France through increasing involvement in the Thirty Years' War, rapidly climbing taxes, and innumerable tax revolts. Louis XIV's mother, Anne of Austria, and her Italian-born adviser and rumored lover, Cardinal Mazarin (1602–1661), ruled in the young monarch's name.

To meet the financial pressure of fighting the Thirty Years' War, Mazarin sold new offices, raised taxes, and forced creditors to extend loans to the government. In 1648, a coalition of his opponents presented him with a charter of demands that, if granted, would have given the parlements (high courts) a form of constitutional power with the right to approve new taxes. Mazarin responded by arresting the leaders of the parlements. He soon faced a series of revolts.

Fearing for the young king's safety, his mother took Louis and fled Paris. With civil war threatening, Mazarin and Anne agreed to compromise with the parlements. The nobles saw an opportunity to reassert their claims to power against the weakened monarchy and demanded greater local control. Leading noblewomen often played key roles in the opposition to Mazarin, carrying messages and forging alliances, especially when male family members were in prison. While the nobles sought to regain power and local influence, the middle and lower classes chafed at the repeated tax increases. Conflicts erupted throughout the kingdom as nobles, parlements, and city councils all raised their own armies to fight either the crown or one another. The urban poor, such as those in the southwestern city of Bordeaux, sometimes revolted as well.

Mazarin and Anne eventually got the upper hand because their opponents failed to maintain unity in fighting the king's forces. But Louis XIV never forgot the humiliation and uncertainty that marred his childhood. His own policies as ruler would be designed to prevent the recurrence of any such revolts. Yet, for all his success, peasants would revolt against the introduction of new taxes on at least five more occasions in the 1660s and 1670s, requiring tens of thousands of soldiers to reestablish order.

TERMS OF HISTORY

Absolutism

French king Louis XIV established the model of absolutism as a system of government without ever using the term itself. He had to constantly maneuver in order to centralize authority in his hands; he converted rebellious nobles into more docile courtiers, circumvented representative assemblies and high courts, and ruled as much as possible through hand-picked ministers who could be fired at will. Many of his counterparts in Europe also aimed to make their power absolute, that is, unlimited and unquestionable, but the term *absolutism* did not come into common usage until the 1800s. The only similar term used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was *despotism*, which had entirely negative connotations because it was associated with tyranny, whereas eighteenth-century French writers such as Voltaire might refer to Louis XIV as "absolute master" in an entirely positive sense. Voltaire said of Louis XIV, "he showed that an absolute king, who wants to do good, easily accomplishes everything."[1]

By the middle of the 1800s French writers commonly referred to "the absolutism of Louis XIV" and English-language history books followed suit not long after. Having become a kind of cliché over the generations, it is perhaps not surprising that the term came into question in the 1980s and 1990s, not only in reference to France but also to central and eastern Europe. Some scholars argue that the term is anachronistic and that absolutism is a myth: the nobles did not lose their power and the state did not become truly bureaucratic. Power depended on elaborate networks of patronage that had an epicenter at the court but reached out through regional hubs to local areas, and these networks limited the ruler's ability to act unilaterally. The critics have won some points but have not carried the day. A new consensus seems to be forming that rulers faced growing fiscal demands, particularly the support of bigger armies, that prompted them to consolidate and, wherever possible, extend their powers in new ways. They may have utilized previous traditions of monarchy and faced obstacles in carrying out their designs, but the aim to centralize and expand the ruler's power reshaped politics and social life in many states.

[1] Voltaire, Le siècle de Louis XIV, 2 vols. (London, R. Dodsley, 1752), I: 80.

Court Culture as an Element of Absolutism

When Cardinal Mazarin died in 1661, Louis XIV, then twenty-two years old, decided to rule without a first minister. He described the dangers of his situation in memoirs he wrote later for his son's instruction: "Everywhere was disorder. My Court as a whole was still very far removed from the sentiments in which I trust you will find it." Louis listed many other problems in the kingdom, but none occupied him more than his attempts to control France's leading nobles, some of whom came from families that had opposed him militarily during the Fronde.

The French nobles had long exercised local authority by maintaining their own fighting forces, meting out justice on their estates, arranging jobs for underlings, and resolving their own conflicts through dueling. Louis set out to domesticate the warrior nobles by replacing violence with court ritual, such as the festivities at Versailles described at the beginning of this chapter. Using a systematic policy of bestowing pensions, offices, honors, gifts, and the threat of disfavor or punishment, Louis induced the nobles to cooperate with him. The aristocracy increasingly vied for his favor and in the process became his clients, dependent on him for advancement. Great nobles competed for the honor of holding his shirt when he dressed, foreign ambassadors squabbled for places near him, and royal mistresses basked in the glow of his personal favor. Far from the court, however, nobles could still make considerable trouble for the king, and royal officials learned to compromise with them.

Those who did come to the king's court were kept on their toes. The preferred styles of behavior changed without notice, and the tiniest lapse in attention to etiquette could lead to ruin. Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, known as Madame de Lafayette, described the court in her novel *The Princess of Clèves* (1678): "The Court gravitated around ambition.… Everybody was busily trying to better his or her position by pleasing, by helping, or by hindering somebody else."

Louis XIV appreciated the political uses of every form of art. Calling himself the Sun King, after Apollo, Louis stopped at nothing to burnish this radiant image. He played Apollo in ballets performed at court; posed for portraits with the emblems of Apollo (laurel, lyre, and tripod); and adorned his palaces with statues of the god. He also emulated the style and methods of ancient Roman emperors. At a celebration for the birth of his first son in 1662, Louis dressed in Roman attire, and many engravings and paintings showed him as a Roman emperor.

The king gave pensions to artists who worked for him and sometimes protected writers from clerical critics. The most famous of these writers was the playwright Molière (the pen name of Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, 1622–1673), whose comedy *Tartuffe* (1664) made fun of religious hypocrites and was loudly condemned by church leaders. Louis forced Molière to delay public performances of the play after its premiere at the festivities of May 1664, but resisted calls for his dismissal. Louis's ministers set up royal academies of dance, painting, architecture, music, and science. The government regulated the number and locations of theaters and closely censored all forms of publication.

Louis commissioned operas to celebrate royal marriages and military victories. His favorite composer, Jean-Baptiste Lully, wrote sixteen operas for court performances as well as many ballets. Playwrights often presented their new plays first to the court. Pierre Corneille and Jean Racine wrote tragedies set in Greece or Rome that celebrated the new aristocratic virtues that Louis aimed to inculcate: a reverence for order and self-control. All the characters were regal or noble, all the language lofty, all the behavior aristocratic.

Louis glorified his image as well through massive public works projects. Veterans' hospitals and new fortified towns on the frontiers represented his military might. Urban improvements, such as the reconstruction of the Louvre Palace in Paris, proved his wealth. But his most ambitious project was the construction of a new palace at Versailles, twelve miles from the turbulent capital.

Building began in the 1660s. By 1685, the frenzied effort had engaged thirty-six thousand workers, not including the thousands of troops who diverted a local river to supply water for pools and fountains. The gardens designed by landscape architect André Le Nôtre reflected the spirit of Louis XIV’s rule: their geometrical arrangements and clear lines showed that art and design could tame nature and that order and control defined the exercise of power. Versailles symbolized Louis’s success at reining in the nobility and dominating Europe, and other monarchs eagerly mimicked French fashion and often conducted their business in French.

Yet for all its apparent luxury and frivolity, life at Versailles was often cramped and cold. Fifteen thousand people crowded into the palace’s apartments, including all the highest military officers, the ministers of state, and the separate households of each member of the royal family. Refuse collected in the corridors during the incessant building, and thieves and prostitutes overran the grounds. By the time Louis actually moved from the Louvre to Versailles in 1682, he had reigned as monarch for thirty-nine years. After his wife’s death in 1683, he secretly married his mistress, Françoise d’Aubigné, marquise de Maintenon, and conducted most state affairs from her apartments at the palace. She inspired Louis XIV to increase his devotion to Catholicism.

Enforcing Religious Orthodoxy

Louis believed that he reigned by divine right. As Bishop Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704) explained: “We have seen that kings take the place of God, who is the true father of the human species. We have also seen that the first idea of power which exists among men is that of the paternal power; and that kings are modeled on fathers.” The king, like a father, should instruct his subjects in the true religion, or at least make sure that others did so.

Louis's campaign for religious conformity first focused on the Jansenists, Catholics whose doctrines and practices resembled some aspects of Protestantism. Following the posthumous publication of the book *Augustinus* (1640) by the Flemish theologian Cornelius Jansen (1585–1638), the Jansenists stressed the need for God's grace in achieving salvation. They emphasized the importance of original sin and resembled the English Puritans in their austere religious practice. Prominent among the Jansenists was Blaise Pascal (1623–1662), a mathematician of genius, who wrote his *Provincial Letters* (1656–1657) to defend Jansenism against charges of heresy. Many judges in the parlements likewise endorsed Jansenist doctrine. Louis rejected any doctrine that gave priority to considerations of individual conscience over the demands of the official church hierarchy. Therefore, in 1660, he began enforcing various papal bulls (decrees) against Jansenism and closed down Jansenist theological centers.

Protestants posed an even greater obstacle to religious conformity. After many years of escalating pressure on the Calvinist Huguenots, Louis decided to eliminate all of the Calvinists' rights. Louis considered the Edict of Nantes (1598), by which his grandfather Henry IV granted the Protestants religious freedom and a degree of political independence, a temporary measure, and he fervently hoped to reconvert the Huguenots to Catholicism. In 1685, his **revocation of the Edict of Nantes** closed Calvinist churches and schools and forced all pastors to leave the country (see Primary Source Analysis). Tens of thousands of Huguenots responded by illegally fleeing to England, Brandenburg-Prussia, the Dutch Republic, or North America. Protestant European countries were shocked by this crackdown on religious dissent and would cite it in justification of their wars against Louis.

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

Louis XIV, Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685)

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which had guaranteed a measure of religious toleration to Calvinist Protestants in 1598, was one of the most controversial acts of Louis XIV's long reign. The king considered religious uniformity crucial to good order, and he had already taken various measures against the Calvinists: many of their churches were torn down and their graveyards closed, and various occupations were restricted to Catholics. The revocation went further by making any practice of Calvinist worship illegal, ordering pastors to leave the country, but requiring ordinary Calvinists to remain. Catholic rulers applauded the move, while Protestants denounced it.

Article II: We forbid our subjects of the R. P. R. [French initials for so-called Reformed Religion, i.e., Calvinism] to meet any more for the exercise of the said religion in any place or private house, under any pretext whatever.…

Article IV: We enjoin all ministers of the said R.P.R., who do not choose to become converts and to embrace the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, to leave our kingdom and the territories subject to us within a fortnight of the publication of our present edict.…

Article VIII: As for the children who may be born of persons of the said R.P.R., we desire that from henceforth they be baptized by the parish priests. We enjoin parents to send them to the churches for that purpose, under penalty of five hundred livres fine, to be increased as circumstances may demand; and thereafter the children shall be brought up in the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, which we expressly enjoin the local magistrates to see done.…

Article X: We repeat our most express prohibition to all our subjects of the said R.P.R., together with their wives and children, against leaving our kingdom, lands, and territories subject to us, or transporting their goods and effects therefrom under penalty, as respects the men, of being sent to the galleys, and as respects the women, of imprisonment and confiscation.

Source: James Henry Robinson, *Readings in European History*, vol. II: *From the Opening of the Protestant Revolt to the Present Day* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1906), 289–290.

QUESTION TO CONSIDER

Compare Louis XIV’s revocation with the situation in Great Britain in 1685–1688. What were the major differences, and what explains them?

Extending State Authority at Home and Abroad

Louis XIV could not have enforced his religious policies without the services of a nationwide bureaucracy. **Bureaucracy** — a network of state officials carrying out orders according to a regular and routine line of authority — comes from the French word *bureau*, for “desk,” which came to mean “office,” both in the sense of a physical space and a position of authority. Louis personally supervised the activities of his bureaucrats and worked to ensure his supremacy in all matters. But he always had to negotiate with nobles and local officials who sometimes thwarted his will.

Louis extended the bureaucratic forms his predecessors had developed, especially the use of intendants. He handpicked an intendant for each region to represent his rule against entrenched local interests such as the parlements, provincial estates, and noble governors. The intendants supervised the collection of taxes, the financing of public works, and the provisioning of the army. In 1673, Louis decreed that the parlements could no longer vote against his proposed laws or even speak against them.

To keep tabs on all the issues before him, Louis relied on a series of talented ministers, usually of modest origins, who gained fame, fortune, and even noble status from serving the king. Most important among them was Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), a wool merchant's son turned royal official. Colbert had managed Mazarin's personal finances and worked his way up under Louis XIV to become head of royal finances, public works, and the navy. He provided the king with pocket account books bound in red leather so that Louis could study the kingdom's finances for himself.

Colbert used the bureaucracy to establish a new economic doctrine, **mercantilism**. According to mercantilist policy, governments must intervene to increase national wealth by whatever means possible. Such government intervention inevitably increased the number of bureaucrats needed. Under Colbert, the French government established overseas trading companies and granted manufacturing monopolies. A government inspection system regulated the quality of finished goods and compelled all craftsmen to organize into guilds, in which masters could supervise the work of the journeymen and apprentices. To protect French production, Colbert rescinded many internal customs fees but enacted high foreign tariffs, which cut imports of competing goods. To compete more effectively with England and the Dutch Republic, Colbert also subsidized shipbuilding, a policy that dramatically expanded the number of seaworthy French vessels. Such mercantilist measures aimed to ensure France's prominence in world markets and to provide the resources needed to fight wars against the nation's increasingly long list of enemies. Although later economists questioned the value of mercantilism, virtually every government in Europe embraced it.

Colbert's mercantilist projects shaped life in the French colonies too. He forbade colonial businesses from manufacturing anything already produced in mainland France. In 1663, he took control of the trading company that had founded New France (Canada). With the goal of establishing permanent settlements like those in the British North American colonies, he transplanted several thousand peasants from western France to the present-day province of Quebec, which France had claimed since 1608. He also tried to limit expansion westward, without success.

Wars of Louis XIV

1667–1668	**War of Devolution** *Enemies:* Spain, Dutch Republic, England, Sweden Ended by Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668, with France gaining towns in Spanish Netherlands (Flanders)
1672–1678	**Dutch War** *Enemies:* Dutch Republic, Spain, Holy Roman Empire Ended by Treaty of Nijmegen, 1678–1679, which gave several towns in Spanish Netherlands and Franche-Comté to France
1688–1697	**War of the League of Augsburg** *Enemies:* Holy Roman Empire, Sweden, Spain, England, Dutch Republic Ended by Treaty of Rijswijk, 1697, with Louis returning all his conquests made since 1678 except Strasbourg
1701–1713	**War of the Spanish Succession** *Enemies:* Holy Roman Empire, England, Dutch Republic, Prussia Ended by Peace of Utrecht, 1713–1714, with Louis ceding territories in North America to the British

Despite the Iroquois’ initial interruption of French fur-trading convoys, fur trader Louis Jolliet and Jesuit missionary Jacques Marquette reached the upper Mississippi River in 1672 and traveled downstream as far as Arkansas. In 1684, French explorer Sieur de La Salle went all the way down to the Gulf of Mexico, claiming a vast territory for Louis XIV and calling it Louisiana after him. Colbert’s successors embraced the expansion he had resisted, thinking it crucial to competing successfully with the English and the Dutch in the New World.

Colonial settlement occupied only a portion of Louis XIV’s attention, however, for his main foreign policy goal was to extend French power in Europe. To expand the army, Louis’s minister of war centralized the organization of French troops. Barracks built in major towns received supplies — among which were uniforms to reinforce discipline — from a central distribution system. Louis’s wartime army could field a force as large as that of all his enemies combined.

Private Collection/©Christie's Images/Bridgeman Images.

Louis at War The painter Adam Frans van der Meulen had accompanied Louis XIV on the campaign of 1672 depicted here, and the king commissioned a series of pictures from him, including this one of the French crossing the Rhine River to invade the Dutch Republic.

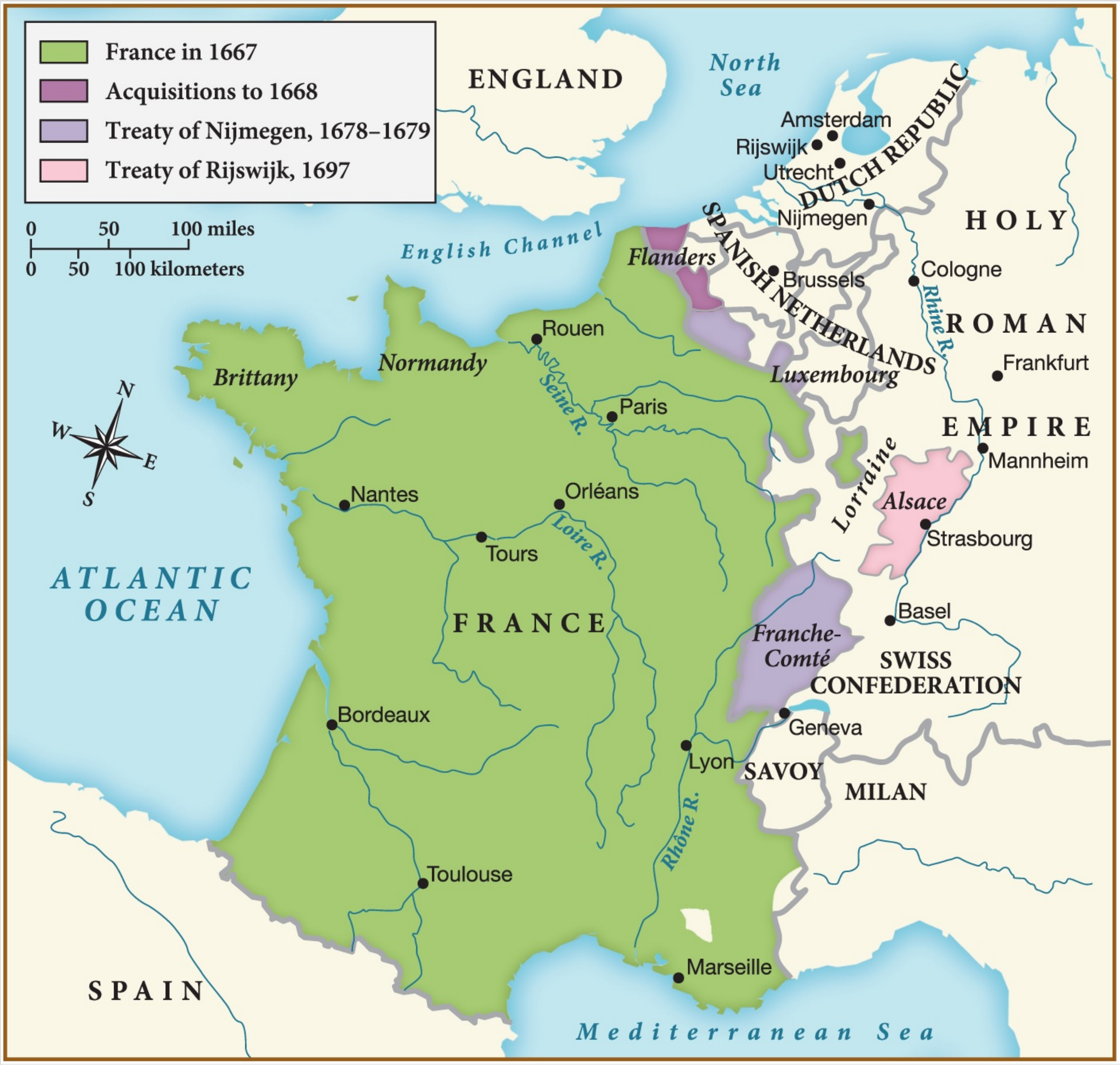
Absolutist governments always tried to increase their territorial holdings, and as Louis extended his reach, he gained new enemies. In 1667–1668, in the War of Devolution (so called because Louis claimed that lands in the Spanish Netherlands should devolve to him since the Spanish king had failed to pay the dowry of Louis's Spanish bride), Louis defeated the Spanish armies but had to make peace when England, Sweden, and the Dutch Republic joined the war. In the Treaty of Aix-la-

Chapelle in 1668, he gained control of a few towns on the border of the Spanish Netherlands.

In 1672, Louis XIV opened hostilities against the Dutch because they stood in the way of his acquisition of more territory in the Spanish Netherlands. He declared war again on Spain in 1673. By now the Dutch had allied themselves with their former Spanish masters to hold off the French. Louis also marched his troops into territories of the Holy Roman Empire, provoking many of the German princes to join with the emperor, the Spanish, and the Dutch in an alliance against Louis, whom they now denounced as a "Christian Turk" for his imperialist ambitions. Faced with bloody but inconclusive results on the battlefield, the parties agreed to the Treaty of Nijmegen of 1678–1679, which ceded several Flemish towns and the Franche-Comté region to Louis, linking Alsace to the rest of France. French government deficits soared, and in 1675 increases in taxes touched off the most serious antitax revolt of Louis's reign.

Louis had no intention of standing still. Heartened by the Habsburgs' perceived weakness, he pushed eastward, seizing the city of Strasbourg in 1681 and invading the province of Lorraine in 1684. In 1688, he attacked some of the small German cities of the Holy Roman Empire. So obsessed was Louis with his military standing that he had miniature battle scenes painted on his high heels and commissioned tapestries showing his military processions into conquered cities, even those he did not take by force. It took a large coalition known as the League of Augsburg — made up of England, Spain, Sweden, the Dutch Republic, the Austrian emperor, and various German princes — to hold back the

French king. When hostilities between Louis and the League of Augsburg ended in the Treaty of Rijswijk in 1697, Louis returned many of his conquests made since 1678, with the exception of Strasbourg (Map 16.1).



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 16.1 Louis XIV's Acquisitions, 1668–1697

Every ruler in Europe hoped to extend his or her territorial control, and war was often the result. Louis XIV steadily encroached on the Spanish Netherlands to the north and the lands of the Holy Roman Empire to the east. Although coalitions of European powers reined in Louis's grander ambitions, he nonetheless incorporated many neighboring territories into the French crown.

Four years later, Louis embarked on his last and most damaging war, the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1713). It was caused by disagreement over who would inherit the throne of Spain. Before he died, Spanish king Charles II (r. 1665–1700) named Louis XIV's second grandson — Philip, duke of Anjou — as his heir, but the Austrian emperor Leopold I refused to agree and the British and the Dutch supported his refusal. In the ensuing war, the French lost several major battles and had to accept disadvantageous terms in the Peace of Utrecht of 1713–1714. France ceded possessions in North America (Newfoundland, the Hudson Bay area, and most of Nova Scotia) to Britain. Although Philip was recognized as king of Spain, he had to renounce any future claim to the French crown, thus barring unification of the two kingdoms. Spain surrendered its territories in Italy and the Netherlands to the Austrians, and Gibraltar to the British. Lying on his deathbed in 1715, the seventy-six-year-old Louis XIV watched helplessly as his accomplishments began to unravel.

Louis XIV's policy of absolutism fomented bitter hostility among his own subjects. Critics complained about the secrecy of Louis's government, and nobles resented his promotions of commoners to high office. Louis de Rouvroy, duke of Saint-Simon, complained that "falseness, servility, admiring glances, combined with a dependent and cringing attitude, above all, an appearance of being nothing without him, were the only ways of pleasing him." Ordinary people suffered the most for Louis's ambitions. By the end of the Sun King's reign, one in six Frenchmen had served in the military. In addition to the higher taxes paid by everyone, those who lived on the routes leading to the battlefields had to house and feed soldiers; only nobles were exempt from this requirement.

REVIEW QUESTION

How “absolute” was the power of Louis XIV?

Constitutionalism in England

Of the two models of state building — absolutism and constitutionalism — the first seemed unquestionably more powerful because Louis XIV could raise such large armies and tax his subjects without much consultation. In the end, however, Louis could not defeat the coalition led by England's constitutional monarch. Constitutionalism had its own distinctive strengths, which came from the ruler sharing power through a representative assembly such as the English houses of Parliament. But the English rulers themselves hoped to follow Louis XIV's lead and install their own absolutist policies. Two revolutions, from 1642–1660 and 1688–1689, overturned two kings and confirmed the constitutional powers of an elected parliament, laying the foundation for the idea that government must guarantee certain rights to the people under the law.

England Turned Upside Down, 1642–1660

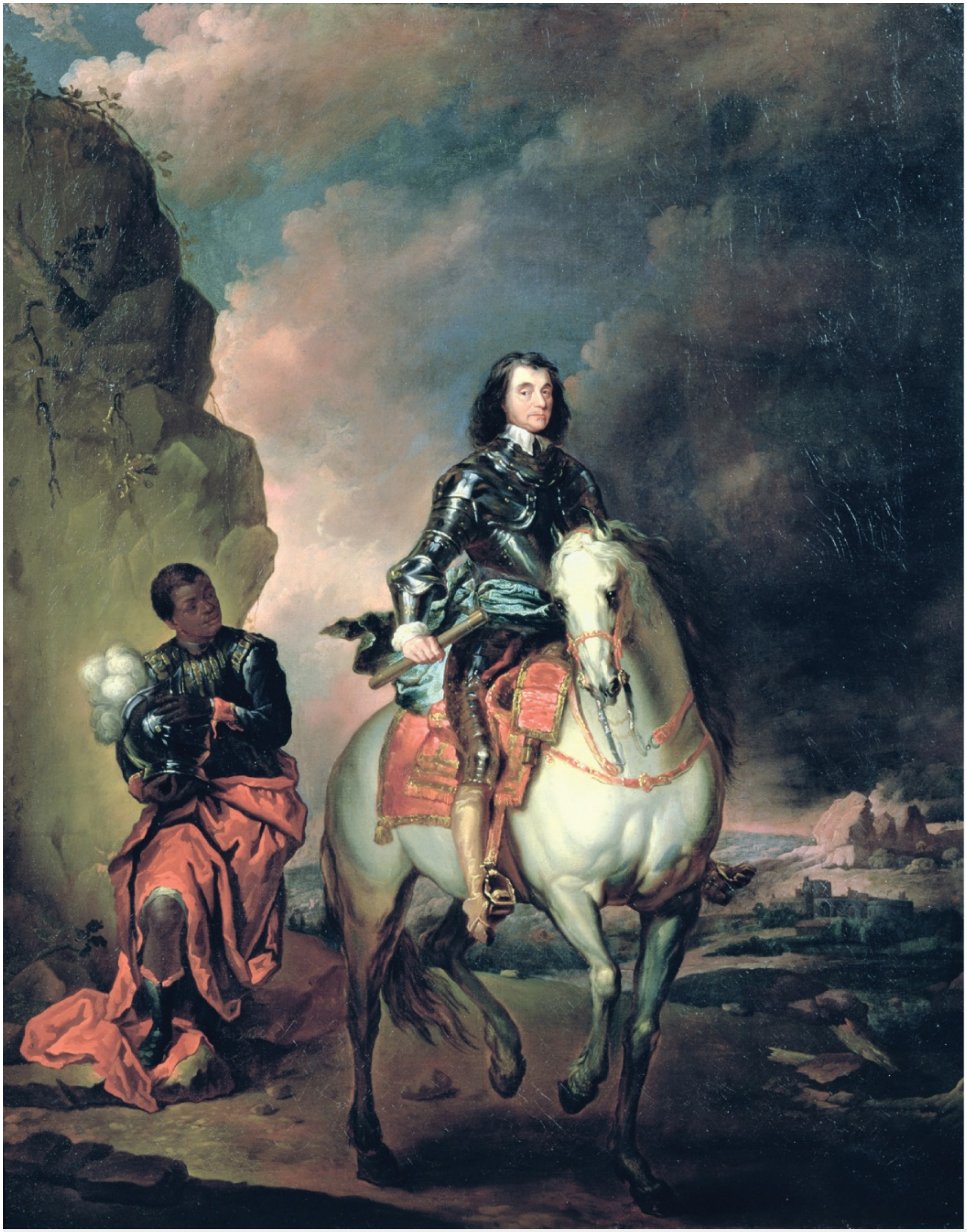
Disputes about the right to levy taxes and the nature of authority in the Church of England had long troubled the relationship between the English crown and Parliament. For more than a hundred years, wealthy English landowners had been accustomed to participating in government through Parliament and they expected to be consulted on royal policy. Although England had no single constitutional document, it did have a variety of laws, judicial decisions, customary procedures, and charters and petitions granted by the king that all regulated relations between king and Parliament. When Charles I tried to assert his authority over Parliament, a civil war broke out. Some historians view the English civil war of 1642–1646 as the last great war of religion because it pitted Puritans against those trying to push the Church of England toward Catholicism; others see in it the first modern revolution because it gave birth to democratic political and religious movements.

When Charles I (r. 1625–1649) succeeded his father, James I, he faced an increasingly aggressive Parliament that resisted efforts to extend his personal control. In 1628, Parliament forced Charles to agree to the Petition of Right, by which he promised not to levy taxes without Parliament's consent. Charles hoped to avoid further interference with his plans by simply refusing to call Parliament into session between 1629 and 1640. Without it, the king's ministers had to find every loophole possible to raise revenues. They tried to turn "ship money," a levy on seaports in times of emergency, into an annual tax collected everywhere in the country. The crown won the ensuing court case, but many subjects still refused to pay what they considered to be an illegal tax.

Religious tensions brought conflicts over the king's authority to a head. With Charles's encouragement, the archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud (1573–1645), imposed increasingly elaborate ceremonies on the Church of England. Angered by these moves toward "popery," the Puritans responded with pamphlets and sermons filled with fiery denunciations. Laud then hauled them before the feared Court of Star Chamber, which the king personally controlled. The court ordered harsh sentences for Laud's Puritan critics; they were whipped, pilloried, branded, and even had their ears cut off and their noses split. When Laud tried to apply his policies to Scotland, however, they backfired completely: the stubborn Presbyterian Scots invaded the north of England in 1640. To raise money to fight the war, Charles called Parliament into session and unwittingly opened the door to a constitutional and religious crisis.

The Parliament of 1640 did not intend revolution, but reformers in the House of Commons (the lower house of Parliament) wanted to undo what they saw as the royal tyranny of the 1630s. Parliament removed Laud from office, ordered the execution of an unpopular royal commander, abolished the Court of Star Chamber, repealed recently levied taxes, and provided for a parliamentary assembly at least once every three years, thus establishing a constitutional check on royal authority. Moderate reformers expected to stop there and resisted Puritan pressure to abolish bishops and eliminate the Church of England prayer book. The reformers also faced a rebellion in Ireland by native Catholics against the English and Scottish settlers who had taken over their lands. The reformers in Parliament feared that the Irish Catholics would make common cause with Charles to reestablish Catholicism as the religion of England and Scotland. Their hand was forced in January 1642, when Charles and his soldiers invaded Parliament and tried unsuccessfully to arrest those leaders who had moved to curb his power. Faced with mounting opposition within London, Charles quickly withdrew from the city and organized an army.

The ensuing civil war between king and Parliament lasted four years (1642–1646) and divided the country (see Contrasting Views on pages 574–575). The king's army of royalists, known as Cavaliers, enjoyed the most support in northern and western England. The parliamentary forces, called Roundheads because they cut their hair short, had their stronghold in the southeast, including London. Although Puritans dominated on the parliamentary side, they were divided among themselves about the proper form of church government: the Presbyterians wanted a Calvinist church with some central authority, whereas the Independents favored entirely autonomous congregations free from other church government (hence the term *congregationalism*, often associated with the Independents). The Puritans put aside their differences for the sake of military unity and united under an obscure member of the House of Commons, the country gentleman Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658), who sympathized with the Independents. After Cromwell skillfully reorganized the parliamentary troops, his New Model Army defeated the Cavaliers at the battle of Naseby in 1645. Charles surrendered in 1646.



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Portrait of Oliver Cromwell In this painting by Thomas Wyck, Cromwell's pose on horseback mirrors that of King Charles I in a painting of 1633. Cromwell therefore appears quite literally as Charles's successor. The setting, however, is different. Cromwell is attended by a Black servant with a backdrop that suggests North Africa. The artist may be referring to Cromwell's 1655 foray against the pirates who attacked English merchant ships from their headquarters on the Tunisian coast. Cromwell sent twenty ships to bombard the pirates' fortifications and destroy their fleet.

Although the civil war between king and Parliament had ended in victory for Parliament, divisions within the Puritan ranks now came to the fore: the Presbyterians dominated Parliament, but the Independents controlled the army. The disputes between the leaders drew lower-class groups into the debate. When Parliament tried to disband the New Model Army in 1647, disgruntled soldiers protested. Called **Levellers** because of their insistence on leveling social differences, the soldiers took on their officers in a series of debates about the nature of political authority. The Levellers demanded that Parliament meet annually, that members be paid so as to allow common people to participate, and that all male heads of households be allowed to vote. Their ideal of political participation excluded servants, the propertyless, and women but offered access to artisans, shopkeepers, and modest farmers. Cromwell and other army leaders rejected the Levellers' demands as threatening to property owners. Speaking to his advisers, Cromwell insisted, “You have no other way to deal with these men but to break them in pieces.”

While political differences between Presbyterians and Independents helped spark new political movements, their conflicts over church organization fostered the emergence of new religious sects that emphasized the “inner light” of individual religious inspiration and a disdain for hierarchical authority. The Baptists, for example, insisted on adult baptism because they believed that Christians should choose their own church and that children should not automatically become members of the Church of England. The Religious Society of Friends, who came to be called Quakers, demonstrated their beliefs in equality and the inner light by refusing to doff their hats to men in authority. Manifesting their religious experience by trembling, or "quaking," the Quakers believed that anyone — man or woman — inspired by a direct experience of God could preach. In keeping with their notions of equality and individual inspiration, many of the new sects provided opportunities for women to become preachers and prophets.

Parliamentary leaders feared that the new sects would overturn the whole social hierarchy. Some sects did advocate sweeping change. The Diggers promoted rural communism — collective ownership of all property. Seekers and Ranters questioned just about everything. One notorious Ranter, John Robins, even claimed to be God. A few men advocated free love. The political elite decided that tolerating the new sects would lead to skepticism, anarchism, and debauchery, and they therefore took measures to suppress the most radical ones.

The king tried to negotiate with the Presbyterians in Parliament, but Independents in the army purged the Presbyterians from Parliament in late 1648, leaving a "rump" of about seventy members. This Rump Parliament then created a high court to try Charles I. The court found him guilty of attempting to establish "an unlimited and tyrannical power" and pronounced a death sentence. On January 30, 1649, Charles was beheaded before an enormous crowd, which reportedly groaned as one when the ax fell. Although many had objected to Charles's autocratic rule, few had wanted him killed. For royalists, Charles immediately became a martyr, and reports of miracles, such as the curing of blindness by the touch of a handkerchief soaked in his blood, soon circulated.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

If you were a member of the court set up to try Charles I, how would you have voted? Was he guilty of treason? Did he deserve execution? What kinds of issues would you consider in making your judgment?

The Rump Parliament abolished the monarchy and the House of Lords (the upper house of Parliament) and set up a Puritan republic with Oliver Cromwell as chairman of the Council of State. Cromwell did not tolerate dissent from his policies. When his agents discovered plans for mutiny within the army, they executed the perpetrators; new decrees silenced the Levellers. Although under Cromwell the various Puritan sects could worship rather freely and Jews with needed skills were permitted to return to England for the first time since the thirteenth century, Catholics could not worship publicly, nor could adherents of the Church of England use the Book of Common Prayer, thought to be too Catholic. The elites were troubled by Cromwell’s religious policies but pleased to see some social order reestablished.

The new regime aimed to extend state power just as Charles I had before. Cromwell laid the foundation for a Great Britain — made up of England, Ireland, and Scotland — by reconquering Scotland and brutally subduing Ireland. When his position was secured in 1649, Cromwell went to Ireland with a large force and easily defeated the rebels, massacring whole garrisons and their priests. He encouraged expropriating more lands of the Irish “barbarous wretches,” and Scottish immigrants resettled the northern county of Ulster. This seventeenth-century English conquest left a legacy of bitterness that the Irish even today call “the curse of Cromwell.”

In 1651, Parliament turned its attention overseas, putting mercantilist ideas into practice in the first Navigation Act, which allowed imports only if they were carried on English ships or came directly from the producers of goods. The Navigation Act was aimed at the Dutch, who dominated world trade; Cromwell tried to carry the policy further by waging naval war on the Dutch from 1652 to 1654.

At home, however, Cromwell faced growing resistance. His wars required a budget twice the size of that of Charles I, and his increases in property taxes and customs duties alienated landowners and merchants. The conflict reached a crisis in 1653: Parliament considered disbanding the army, whereupon Cromwell abolished the Rump Parliament in a military coup and made himself Lord Protector. He now silenced his critics by banning newspapers and using networks of spies to read mail and keep tabs on his enemies. Cromwell intended that his son should succeed him, but his death in 1658 only revived the prospect of civil war and political chaos. In 1660, a newly elected Parliament invited Charles II, the son of the executed king, to return from exile.

CONTRASTING VIEWS

The English Civil War

The civil war between Charles I and Parliament (1642–1646) excited furious debates about the proper forms of political authority, debates that influenced political thought for two centuries or more. The Levellers, who served in the parliamentary army, wanted Parliament to be more accountable to ordinary men like themselves (Document 1). In his statement rejecting Parliament's jurisdiction over him, Charles I reiterated the key positions of royalism (Document 2). Thomas Hobbes, in his famous political treatise Leviathan (1651), develops the consequences of the civil war for political theory (Document 3).

1. The Levellers, "The Agreement of the People, as Presented to the Council of the Army" (October 28, 1647)

Note especially two things about this document: (1) it focuses on Parliament as the chief instrument of reform, and (2) it claims that government depends on the consent of the people.

Since, therefore, our former oppressions and scarce-yet-ended troubles have been occasioned, either by want of frequent national meetings in Council [Parliament], or by rendering those meetings ineffectual, we are fully agreed and resolved to provide that hereafter our representatives be neither left to an uncertainty for the time nor made useless to the ends for which they are intended. In order whereunto we declare: — That the people of England, being at this day very unequally distributed by Counties, Cities, and Borough for the election of their deputies in Parliament, ought to be more indifferently [equally] proportioned according to the number of the inhabitants.… That the power of this, and all future Representatives of this Nation, is inferior only to theirs who choose them, and doth extend, without the consent or concurrence of any other person or persons [the king], to the enacting, altering, and repealing of laws, to the erecting and abolishing of offices and courts, to the appointing, removing, and calling to account magistrates and officers of all degrees, to the making of war and peace, to the treating with foreign States [in other words, Parliament is the supreme power, not the king].… These things we declare to be our native rights, and therefore are agreed and resolved to maintain them with our utmost possibilities against all opposition whatsoever.

Source: Samuel Rawson Gardiner, ed., *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625–1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), 333–35.

2. Charles I's Rejection of the Jurisdiction of Parliament (1649)

In January 1649, the English Parliament voted to try Charles I for treason. Previous monarchs had been on occasion overthrown and murdered but never tried by an act of Parliament. Charles rejected the right of Parliament to try him and refused to enter a plea. He was nonetheless *convicted and executed as a traitor.*

Having already made my protestations, not only against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also, that no earthly power can justly call me (who am your King) in question as a delinquent, I would not any more open my mouth upon this occasion, more than to refer myself to what I have spoken, were I in this case alone concerned: but the duty I owe to God in the preservation of the true liberty of my people will not suffer me at this time to be silent: for, how can any free-born subject of England call life or anything he possesseth his own, if power without right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamental laws of the land which I now take to be the present case! … There is no proceeding just against any man, but what is warranted either by God's laws or the municipal laws of the country where he lives. Now I am most confident this day's proceeding cannot be warranted by God's laws; for, on the contrary, the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted, and strictly commanded in both the Old and New Testament, which, if denied, I am ready instantly to prove.

… Then for the law of this land, I am no less confident, that no learned lawyer will affirm that an impeachment can lie against the King, they all going in his name: and one of their maxims is, that the King can do no wrong.… And admitting, but not granting, that the people of England's commission could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can show for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man in the kingdom, and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest ploughman, if you demand not his free consent.… Thus you see that I speak not for my own right alone, as I am your King, but also for the true liberty of all my subjects, which consists not in the power of government, but in living under such laws, such a government, as may give themselves the best assurance of their lives, and property of their goods.

Source: Samuel Rawson Gardiner, ed., *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625–1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), 374–75.

3. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651)

In this excerpt, Hobbes depicts the anarchy of a society without a strong central authority, but he leaves open the question of whether that authority should be vested in "one Man" or "one Assembly of men," that is, a king or a parliament.

During the time men live without a common Power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called Warre [war]; and such a warre, as is of every man, against every man. … In such condition, there is no place for Industry; because the fruit thereof is uncertain: and consequently no Culture of the Earth; no Navigation, nor use of the commodities that may be imported by Sea; no commodious Building; no Instrument of moving, and removing such things as require much force; no Knowledge of the face of the Earth; no account of Time; no Arts; no Letters; no Society; and which is worst of all, continuall feare, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short. The only way to erect such a Common Power, as may be able to defend them from the invasion of Forraigners, and the injuries of one another, and thereby to secure them in such sort, as that by their owne industrie, and by the Fruites of the Earth, they may nourish themselves and live contentedly; is, to conferre all their power and strength upon one Man, or upon one Assembly of men, that may reduce all their wills, by plurality of voices, unto one Will.… This is more than Consent, or Concord; it is a reall Unitie of them all, in one and the same Person, made by Covenant of every man with every man. … This done, the Multitude so united in one Person, is called a COMMON-WEALTH, in latine CIVITAS. This is the Generation of that great LEVIATHAN, or rather (to speake more reverently) of that *Mortall God*, to which wee owe under the *Immortall God*, our peace and defence.

Source: Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, eds. Richard E. Flathman and David Johnston (New York: Norton, 1997), 70, 95.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. Why would both the king and the parliamentary leaders have found the Levellers' views disturbing?
2. What are the chief differences between the king's arguments and those of the Levellers and Hobbes?
3. Why did Hobbes's arguments about political authority upset supporters of both monarchy and Parliament?

Restoration and Revolution Again

England's traditional monarchical form of government was restored in 1660 under Charles II (r. 1660–1685). More than a thousand Puritan ministers lost their positions, and attending a service other than one conforming with the Book of Common Prayer was illegal after 1664. Two natural disasters in quick succession posed new challenges. The plague struck in 1665, claiming more than thirty thousand victims in just a few months and forcing Charles and Parliament to flee from London. Then in 1666, the Great Fire swept the city (see Environment Matters). Some saw these disasters as punishment for the sins of the Cromwell era, others as an ill omen for Charles's reign.

Many in Parliament feared that Charles II wanted to emulate Louis XIV. In 1670, Charles made a secret agreement, soon leaked, with Louis in which he promised to announce his conversion to Catholicism in exchange for money for a war against the Dutch. Charles never proclaimed himself a Catholic, but in his Declaration of Indulgence (1673), he did suspend all laws against Catholics and Protestant dissenters. Parliament refused to continue funding the Dutch war unless Charles rescinded his Declaration of Indulgence. Asserting its authority further, Parliament passed the Test Act in 1673, requiring all government officials to profess allegiance to the Church of England and in effect disavow Catholic doctrine. Then in 1678, Parliament precipitated the so-called Exclusion Crisis by explicitly denying the throne to a Roman Catholic. This action was aimed at the king's brother and heir, James, an open convert to Catholicism. Charles refused to allow it to become law.

The dynastic crisis over the succession of a Catholic gave rise to two distinct factions in Parliament: the Tories, who supported a strong, hereditary monarchy and the restored ceremony of the Church of England, and the Whigs, who advocated parliamentary supremacy and toleration of Protestant dissenters such as Presbyterians. Both labels were originally derogatory: *Tory* meant an Irish Catholic bandit; *Whig* was the Irish Catholic designation for a Presbyterian Scot. The Tories favored James's succession despite his Catholicism, whereas the Whigs opposed a Catholic monarch.

When James II (r. 1685–1688) succeeded his brother, he seemed determined to force Catholicism on his subjects. Tories and Whigs joined together when a male heir — who would take precedence over James's two adult Protestant daughters — was born to James's second wife, an Italian Catholic, in 1688. They invited the Dutch ruler **William, prince of Orange**, and his wife, James's older daughter, Mary, to invade England. Mary was brought up as a Protestant and was willing to act with her husband against her father's pro-Catholic policies. James fled to France, and Parliament offered the throne jointly to William (r. 1689–1702) and Mary (r. 1689–1694) on the condition that they accept a bill of rights guaranteeing Parliament's full partnership in a constitutional government.

In the Bill of Rights (1689), William and Mary agreed not to raise a standing army or to levy taxes without Parliament's consent. They also agreed to call meetings of Parliament at least every three years, to guarantee free elections to parliamentary seats, and to abide by Parliament's decisions. The agreement gave England's constitutional government a written, legal basis by formally recognizing Parliament as a self-contained, independent body that shared power with the rulers. Victorious supporters of the coup declared it the **Glorious Revolution** because it was achieved with so little bloodshed (at least in England).

The propertied classes who controlled Parliament prevented any resurgence of the popular turmoil of the 1640s. The Toleration Act of 1689 granted all Protestants freedom of worship, though non-Anglicans (those not in the Church of England) were still excluded from the universities; Catholics received no rights but were more often left alone to worship privately. When the Catholics in Ireland rose to defend James II, William and Mary's troops savagely suppressed them.

ENVIRONMENT MATTERS

Great Fire of London, 1666

©Museum of London, UK/Bridgeman Images

This view of London shows the four-day fire at its height. Thousands of houses were destroyed and tens of thousands left homeless. Everyone in London at the time felt overwhelmed by the catastrophe, and many deemed it God's punishment for the upheavals of the 1640s and 1650s, but fire was a constant threat in the world's cities because they were built chiefly of wood. Major fires devastated Tokyo in 1657 and Istanbul in 1660.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. Where is fire now a major issue for the environment?
2. Why would a fire in London seem especially important to English contemporaries?

Social Contract Theory: Hobbes and Locke

Out of the turmoil of the English revolutions came a major rethinking of the foundations of all political authority. Although Thomas Hobbes and John Locke wrote in response to the upheavals of their times, they offered opposing arguments that were applicable to any place and any time, not just England of the seventeenth century. Hobbes justified absolute authority; Locke provided the rationale for constitutionalism. Yet both argued that all authority came not from divine right but from a **social contract** among citizens.

Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) was a royalist who sat out the English civil war of the 1640s in France, where he tutored the future king Charles II. Returning to England in 1651, Hobbes published his masterpiece, *Leviathan*, in which he argued for unlimited authority in a ruler. Absolute authority could be vested in either a king or a parliament; it had to be absolute, Hobbes insisted, in order to overcome the defects of human nature. Believing that people are essentially self-centered and driven by the "right to self-preservation," Hobbes made his case by referring to science, not religion. To Hobbes, human life in a state of nature — that is, any situation without firm authority — was "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short." Only the assurance of social order could make people secure enough to act according to law; consequently, giving up personal liberty, he maintained, was the price of collective security. Rulers derived their power, he concluded, from a contract in which absolute authority protects people's rights.

Hobbes's notion of rule by an absolute authority left no room for political dissent or nonconformity, and it infuriated both royalists and supporters of Parliament. He enraged his fellow royalists by arguing that authority came not from divine right but from the social contract. Parliamentary supporters resisted Hobbes's claim that rulers must possess absolute authority to prevent the greater evil of anarchy. Like Machiavelli before him, Hobbes became associated with a cynical, pessimistic view of human nature, and future political theorists often began their arguments by refuting Hobbes.

Rejecting both Hobbes and the more traditional royalist defenses of absolute authority, John Locke (1632–1704) used the notion of a social contract to provide a foundation for constitutionalism. Locke experienced political life firsthand as physician, secretary, and intellectual companion to the earl of Shaftesbury, a leading English Whig. In 1683, during the Exclusion Crisis, Locke fled with Shaftesbury to the Dutch Republic. There he continued work on his *Two Treatises of Government*, which, when published in 1690, served to justify the revolution of 1688. Locke's position was thoroughly anti-absolutist. He denied the divine right of kings and ridiculed the common royalist idea that political power in the state mirrored the father's authority in the family. Like Hobbes, he posited a state of nature that applied to all people. Unlike Hobbes, however, he thought people were reasonable and the state of nature peaceful.

Locke insisted that government's only purpose was to protect life, liberty, and property, a notion that linked economic and political freedom. Ultimate authority rested in the will of a majority of men who owned property, and government should be limited to its basic purpose of protection. A ruler who failed to uphold his part of the social contract between the ruler and the populace could be justifiably resisted, an idea that would become crucial for the leaders of the American Revolution a century later. For England's seventeenth-century landowners, however, Locke helped validate a revolution that consolidated their interests and ensured their privileges in the social hierarchy.

Locke defended his optimistic view of human nature in the immensely influential *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690). He denied the existence of any innate ideas and asserted instead that each human is born with a mind that is a *tabula rasa* (blank slate). Not surprisingly, Locke devoted considerable energy to rethinking educational practices; he believed that education shaped the human personality by channeling all sensory experience. Everything humans know, he claimed, comes from sensory experience, not from anything inherent in human nature. Although Locke himself owned shares in the Royal African Company and justified slavery, his writings were later used by abolitionists in their campaign against slavery.

REVIEW QUESTION

What differences over religion and politics caused the conflict between king and Parliament in England?

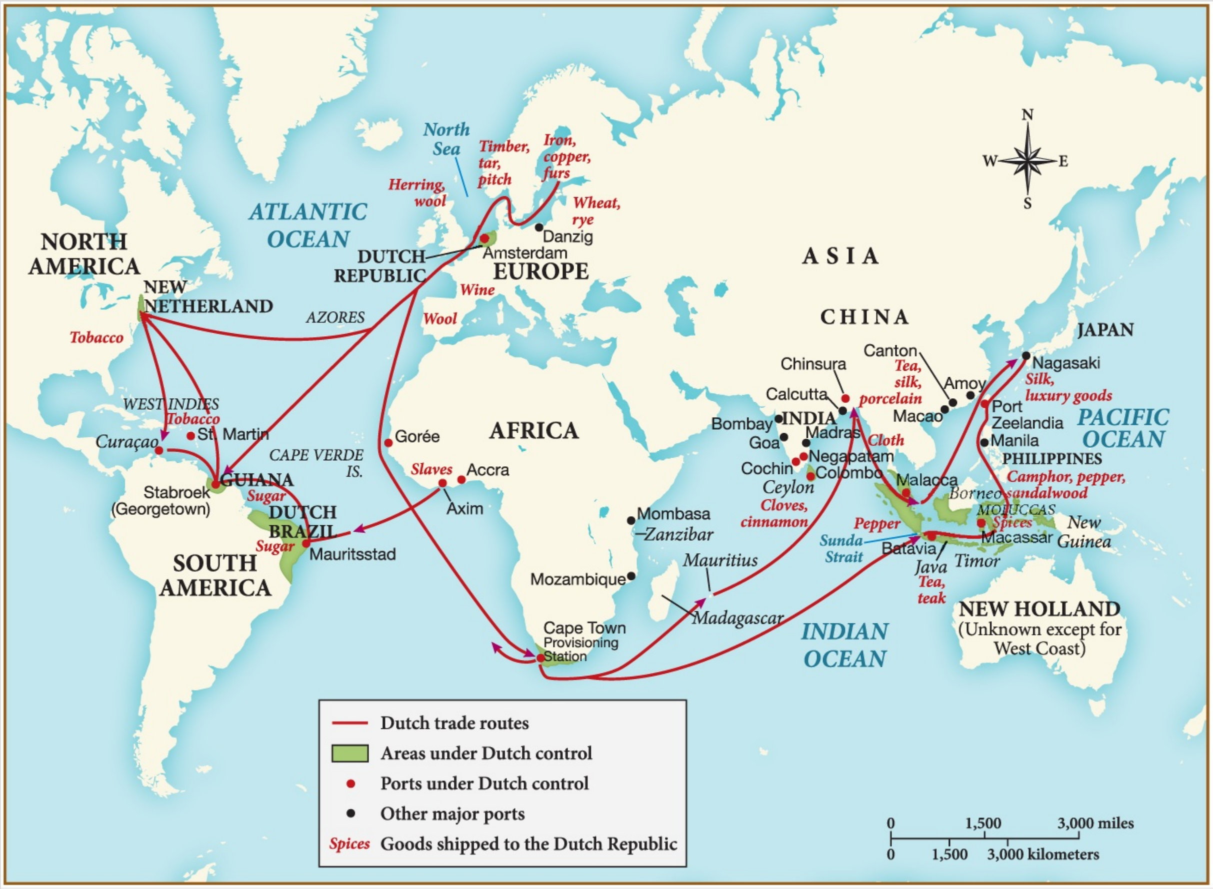
Outposts of Constitutionalism

When William and Mary came to the throne in England in 1689, the Dutch and the English put aside the rivalries that had brought them to war against each other in 1652–1654, 1665–1667, and 1672–1674. The English and Dutch had much in common: oriented toward commerce, especially overseas, they both had developed representative forms of government. Also among the few outposts of constitutionalism in the seventeenth century were the British North American colonies, which developed representative government while the English were preoccupied with their revolutions at home. Constitutionalism was not the only factor shaping this Atlantic world; as constitutionalism developed in the colonies, so, too, did the enslavement of Black Africans as a new labor force.

The Dutch Republic

When the Dutch Republic gained formal independence from Spain in 1648, it had already established a decentralized, constitutional state. Rich merchants called regents effectively controlled the internal affairs of each province and (through the States General) chose the *stadholder*, the executive officer responsible for defense and for representing the state at all ceremonial occasions. They almost always picked one of the princes of the house of Orange, but the stadholder resembled a president more than a king.

The Dutch Republic soon became Europe's financial capital. Praised for their industriousness, thrift, and cleanliness — and maligned as greedy, dull, and fat — the Dutch dominated overseas commerce with their shipping (Map 16.2). They imported products from all over the world: spices, tea, and silk from Asia; sugar and tobacco from the Americas; wool from England and Spain; timber and furs from Scandinavia; grain from eastern Europe. A widely reprinted history of Amsterdam that appeared in 1662 described the city as “risen through the hand of God to the peak of prosperity and greatness.… The whole world stands amazed at its riches and from east and west, north and south they come to behold it.”



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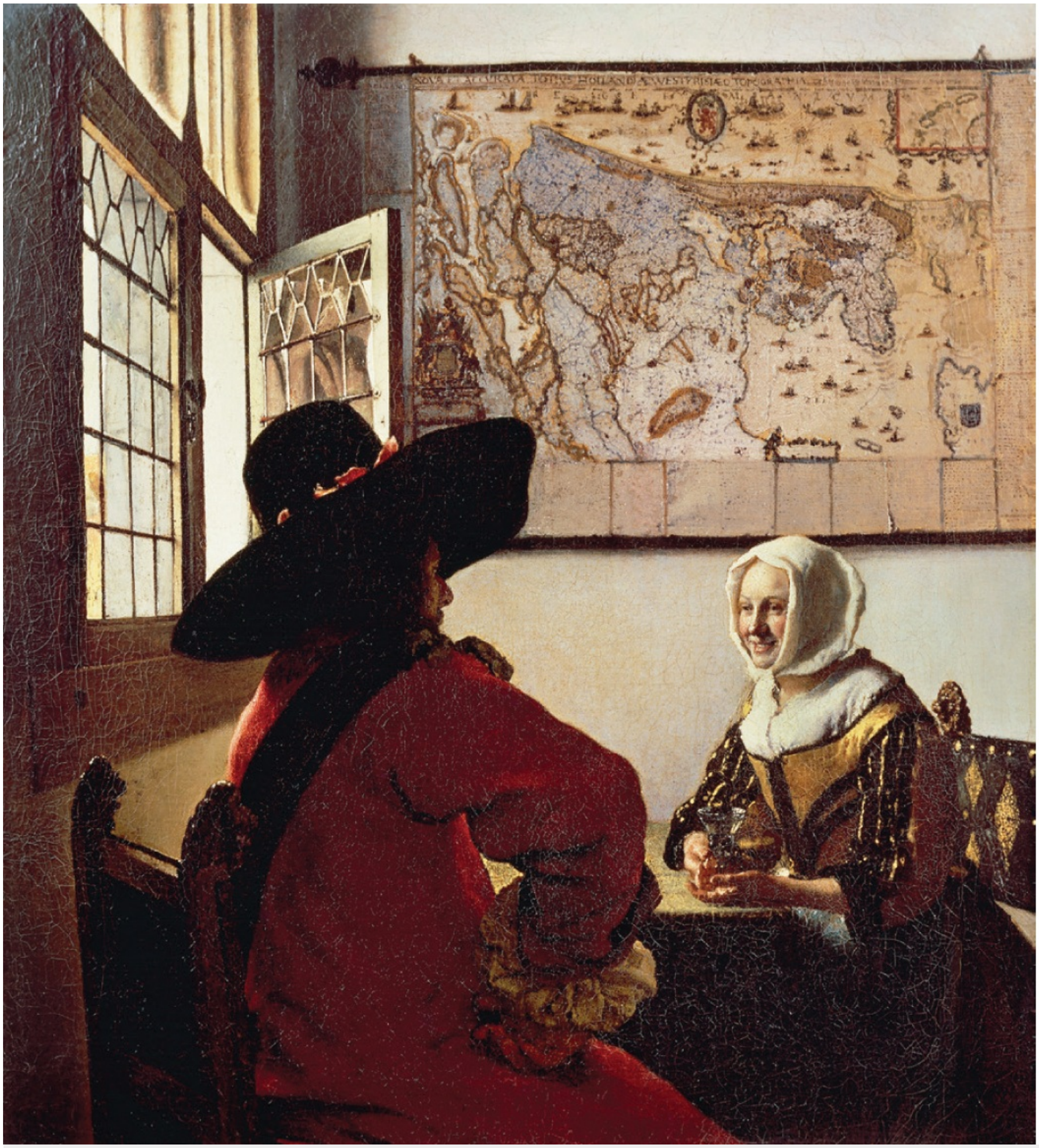
MAP 16.2 Dutch Commerce in the Seventeenth Century

Even before gaining formal independence from the Spanish in 1648, the Dutch had begun to compete with the Spanish and Portuguese all over the world. In 1602, a group of merchants established the Dutch East India Company, which soon offered investors an annual rate of return of 35 percent on the trade in spices with countries located on the Indian Ocean. Global commerce gave the Dutch the highest standard of living in Europe and soon attracted the envy of the French and the English.

The Dutch rapidly became the most prosperous and best-educated people in Europe. Whereas in other countries kings, nobles, and churches bought art, in the Dutch Republic art buyers were merchants, artisans, and shopkeepers. One foreigner commented that “pictures are very common here, there being scarce an ordinary tradesman whose house is not decorated with them.” Relative prosperity decreased the need for married women to work, so Dutch society developed the clear contrast between middle-class male and female roles that would become prevalent elsewhere in Europe and in America more than a century later.


De Agostini Picture Library/Getty Images.

Jan Vermeer, *The Soldier and the Laughing Girl*, 1658 One of the greatest artists of the 1600s, Vermeer captures the commercial prosperity of the Dutch. Maps, like the one on the wall in the painting, provided crucial information for global travel. The Turkish carpet on the table (they were too valuable to put on the floor) was a sure sign of affluence.

Extraordinarily high levels of urbanization and literacy created a large reading public. Dutch presses printed books censored elsewhere, and the University of Leiden attracted students and professors from all over Europe. Dutch tolerance extended to the works of Benedict Spinoza (1633–1677), a Jewish philosopher and biblical scholar who was expelled by his synagogue for alleged atheism but left alone by the Dutch authorities. Spinoza strove to reconcile religion with science and mathematics, but his work scandalized many Christians and Jews because he seemed to equate God and nature. Like nature, Spinoza's God followed unchangeable laws and could not be influenced by human actions, prayers, or faith.

The Dutch lived, however, in a world of international rivalries in which strong central authority gave their enemies an advantage. The naval wars with England between 1652 and 1674 and the land wars with France, which lasted until 1713, drained the state's revenues. The Dutch survived these direct military challenges but began to lose their position in international trade as both the British and French limited commerce with their own colonies to merchants from their own nations. At the end of the seventeenth century, as the Dutch elites became more preoccupied with ostentation, the Dutch "golden age" came to an end.

Freedom and Slavery in the New World

The Dutch Republic competed with England, France, and other European nations for its share of the burgeoning slave trade, but it lost its only settler colony in North America, New Netherland (present-day New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Connecticut), to England in 1674. After the Spanish and Portuguese had shown that enslaved Africans could be transported and forced to labor in South America and Central

America, the English and French endeavored to set up similar labor systems in their new Caribbean island colonies. White planters with large tracts of land bought Africans to work fields of sugarcane; and as they gradually built up their holdings, the planters displaced most of the original white settlers.

By the end of the seventeenth century, slavery had become codified as an inherited status that applied only to Black people. In 1661, Barbados instituted a slave code that stripped all enslaved Africans of rights under English law. Louis XIV promulgated a "black code" in 1685 to regulate the legal status of enslaved people in the French colonies. The code supposedly set limits on the violence that planters could exercise and required them to house, feed, and clothe their slaves. But white planters simply ignored provisions of the code that did not suit them, and in any case, because the code defined enslaved people as property, slaves could not themselves bring suit in court to demand better treatment.

The highest church and government authorities in Catholic and Protestant countries alike condoned the gradually expanding slave trade. In 1600, seventy-six hundred Africans were forcibly transported annually from Africa to the New World; by 1700, this number had increased more than fourfold, to thirty-three thousand. Historians advance several different ideas about which factors increased the slave trade: some claim that improvements in muskets made European slavers more effective; others cite the rising price for enslaved people, which made their sale more attractive for the Africans who sold them; still others focus on factors internal to Africa, such as the increasing size of African armies and their use of muskets in fighting and capturing other Africans for sale as slaves. What is clear is that a combination of factors prepared the way for the development of an Atlantic economy based on slavery.

While Africans and their descendants were being subjected to the most degrading forms of bondage, white people in the colonies enjoyed more freedom than ever before. Virtually left to themselves during the upheavals in England, the fledgling English colonies in North America developed representative government on their own. Almost every colony had a two-house legislature. William and Mary reluctantly allowed emerging colonial elites even more control over local affairs. The social and political elite among the settlers hoped to impose an English social hierarchy dominated by rich landowners. Ordinary immigrants to the colonies, however, took advantage of plentiful land to carve out their own farms using white servants and, later, in some colonies, African enslaved people.

For native Americans, the expanding European presence meant something else altogether. They faced death through disease, warfare, and the accelerating loss of their homelands. Many native Americans believed that land was a divine gift provided for their collective use and not subject to individual ownership. Europeans' claims that they owned exclusive land rights consequently resulted in frequent skirmishes. In 1675–1676, for instance, three tribes allied under Metacomet (called King Philip by the English) threatened the survival of New England settlers, who savagely repulsed the attacks and sold their captives as slaves. The benefits of constitutionalism were reserved for Europeans.

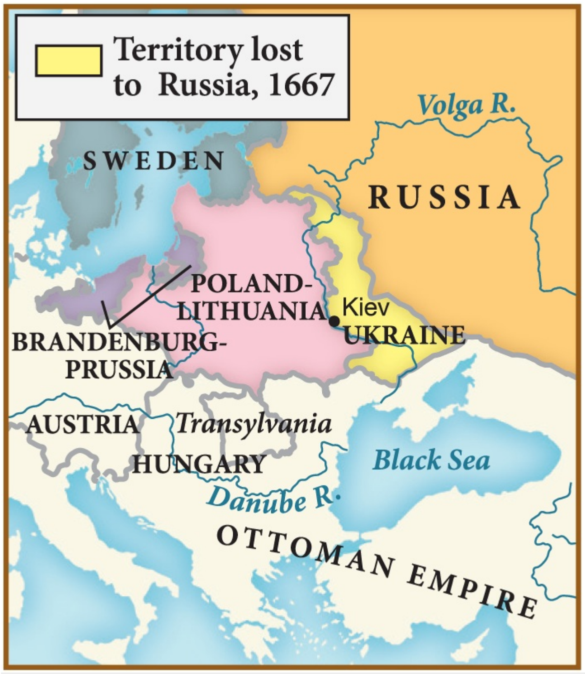
REVIEW QUESTION

Why did constitutionalism thrive in the Dutch Republic and the British North American colonies, even as their participation in the slave trade grew?

Absolutism in Central and Eastern Europe

Constitutionalism had an outpost in central and eastern Europe, too, but there it collapsed in failure. A long crisis in Poland-Lithuania virtually destroyed central state authority and pulled much of eastern Europe into its turbulent wake. Most central and eastern European rulers followed Louis XIV's model of absolutist state building, though they did not blindly emulate him, in part because they confronted conditions peculiar to their regions. Everywhere in eastern Europe, nobles lorded over their serfs but owed almost total obedience in turn to their rulers.

Poland-Lithuania Overwhelmed



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Poland-Lithuania in the Seventeenth Century

In the version of constitutionalism adopted in Poland-Lithuania, the great nobles dominated the Sejm (parliament). To maintain an equilibrium among themselves, these nobles each wielded an absolute veto power. This “free veto” constitutional system deadlocked parliamentary government and left the monarch, elected by the nobles, with little room to maneuver.

Ukrainian Cossack warriors revolted against the king of Poland-Lithuania in 1648, inaugurating two decades of tumult known as the Deluge. *Cossack* was the name given to runaway serfs and poor nobles who formed outlaw bands in the no-man’s-land of southern Russia and Ukraine. In 1654, the Cossacks offered Ukraine to Russian rule, provoking a Russo-Polish war that ended in 1667 when the tsar annexed eastern Ukraine and Kiev.

Many towns were destroyed in the fighting, and as much as a third of the Polish population perished. The once prosperous Jewish and Protestant minorities suffered greatly: some eighteen thousand Jews were killed by the Cossacks, the Polish peasants, or the Russian troops. Surviving Jews moved from towns to shtetls (Jewish villages), where they took up petty trading, moneylending, tax gathering, and tavern leasing — activities that fanned peasant anti-Semitism. Desperate for protection amid the war, most Polish Protestants backed the violently anti-Catholic Swedes, who tried to intervene militarily, and the victorious Catholic majority branded the Protestants as traitors. In Poland-Lithuania, people came to assume that a good Pole was a Catholic. The commonwealth had ceased to be an outpost of toleration.

The commonwealth revived briefly when a man of ability and ambition, Jan Sobieski (r. 1674–1696), was elected king. Sobieski gained a reputation throughout Europe when he led twenty-five thousand Polish cavalrymen into battle in the siege of Vienna in 1683. His cavalry helped rout the Turks and turned the tide against the Ottomans. Despite his efforts to rebuild the monarchy, Sobieski could not halt Poland-Lithuania's decline into powerlessness. The Polish version of constitutionalism fatally weakened the state and made it prey to neighboring powers.

Brandenburg-Prussia: Militaristic Absolutism

The contrast between Poland-Lithuania and Brandenburg-Prussia could not have been more extreme. The first was huge in territory and constitutional in government but in the end failed as a state. The second was puny, made up of disparate far-flung territories, and moving toward absolutism. In the nineteenth century Prussia would unify the different German states into modern-day Germany.

The ruler of Brandenburg was an elector, one of the seven German princes entitled to select the Holy Roman Emperor. Since the sixteenth century, the ruler of Brandenburg had also controlled the duchy of East Prussia; after 1618, the state was called Brandenburg-Prussia. Despite meager resources, **Frederick William of Hohenzollern**, who was the Great Elector of Brandenburg-Prussia (r. 1640–1688), succeeded in welding his scattered lands into an absolutist state.

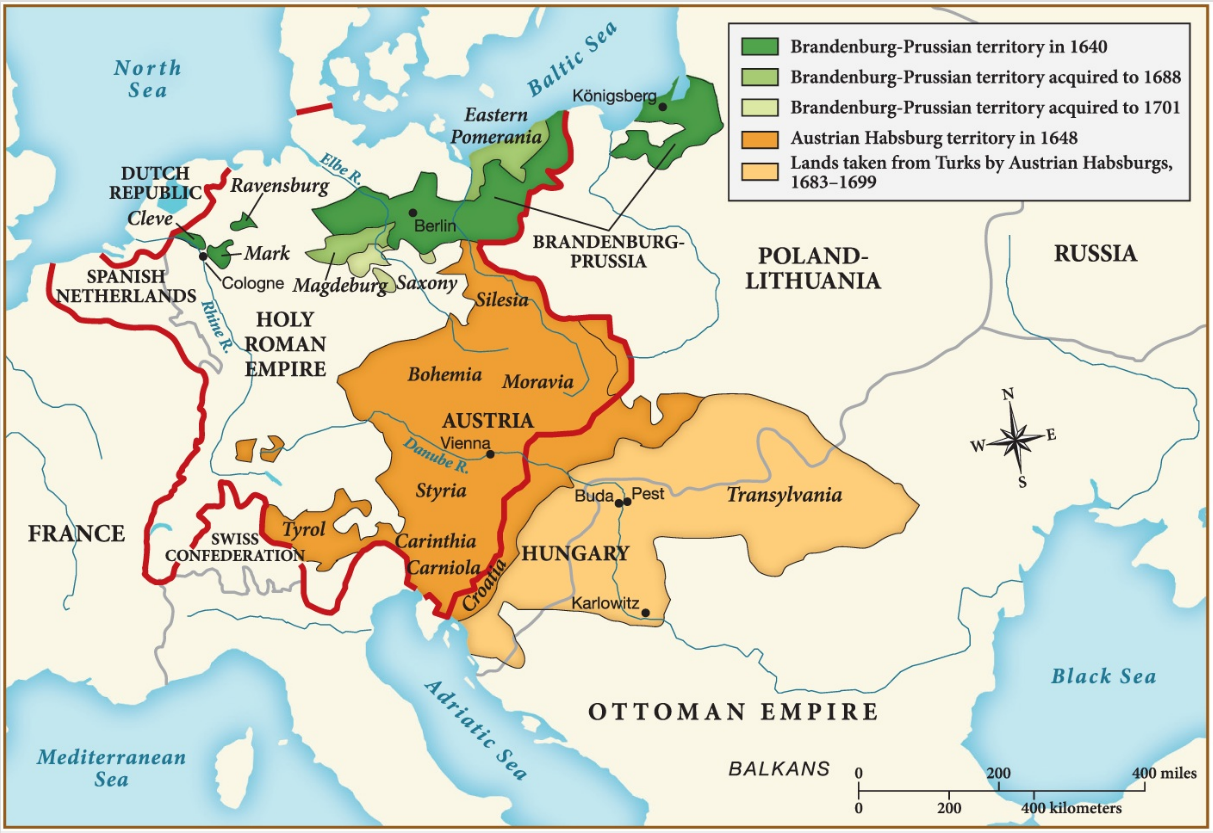
Frederick William was determined to force his territories' estates (representative assemblies) to grant him a dependable income. The Great Elector struck a deal with the Junkers (nobles) of each province: in exchange for allowing him to collect taxes, he gave them complete control over their enserfed peasants and exempted them from taxation. By the end of his reign, the estates met only on ceremonial occasions. Frederick William was able to expand his army from eight thousand to thirty thousand men. Peasants filled the ranks, and Junkers became officers.

As a Calvinist ruler, Frederick William avoided the ostentation of the French court, even while following the absolutist model of centralizing state power. He boldly rebuffed Louis XIV by welcoming twenty thousand French Huguenot refugees after Louis's revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In pursuing foreign and domestic policies that promoted state power and prestige, Frederick William adroitly switched sides in Louis's wars and would stop at almost nothing to crush resistance at home. In 1701, his son Frederick I (r. 1688–1713) persuaded Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I to grant him the title "king in Prussia" in exchange for support in the War of the Spanish Succession. Prussia had arrived as an important power.

An Uneasy Balance: Austrian Habsburgs

and Ottoman Turks

Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I (r. 1658–1705) ruled over a variety of territories of different ethnicities, languages, and religions, yet in ways similar to his French and Prussian counterparts, he gradually consolidated his power. Like all other Holy Roman Emperors since 1438, Leopold was an Austrian Habsburg. He was simultaneously duke of Upper and Lower Silesia, count of Tyrol, archduke of Upper and Lower Austria, king of Bohemia, king of Hungary and Croatia, and ruler of Styria and Moravia (Map 16.3). Some of these territories were provinces in the Holy Roman Empire; others were simply ruled from Vienna as Habsburg family holdings.



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MAP 16.3 State Building in Central and Eastern Europe, 1648–1699

The Austrian Habsburgs had long contested the Ottoman Turks for dominance of eastern Europe, and by 1699 they had pushed the Turks out of Hungary. In central Europe, the Austrian Habsburgs confronted the growing power of Brandenburg-Prussia, which had emerged from relative obscurity after the Thirty Years' War to begin an aggressive program of expanding its military and its territorial base. As emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, the Austrian Habsburg ruler governed a huge expanse of territory, but the emperor's control was in fact only partial because of guarantees of local autonomy.

In response to the weakening of the Holy Roman Empire by the ravages of the Thirty Years' War, the emperor and his closest officials took control over recruiting, provisioning, and strategic planning and worked to replace the mercenaries hired during the war with a permanent standing army that promoted professional discipline. Intent on replacing Bohemian nobles who had supported the 1618 revolt against Austrian authority, the Habsburgs promoted a new nobility made up of Czechs, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and even Irish who used German as their common tongue, professed Catholicism, and loyally served the Austrian dynasty. Bohemia became a virtual Austrian colony. In addition to holding Louis XIV in check on his western frontiers, Leopold confronted the ever-present challenge of the Ottoman Turks to the east. Austria had fought the Turks for control of Hungary for more than 150 years. In 1682, war broke out again. As they had in 1529, the Turks in 1683 pushed all the way to the gates of Vienna and laid siege to the Austrian capital. With the help of Polish cavalry, the Austrians finally broke the siege and turned the tide in a major counteroffensive. By the Treaty of Karlowitz of 1699, the Ottoman Turks surrendered almost all of Hungary to the Austrians, marking the beginning of the decline of Ottoman power.

Once the Turks had been beaten back, Austrian rule over Hungary tightened. In 1687, the Habsburg dynasty's hereditary right to the Hungarian crown was acknowledged by the Hungarian diet, a parliament revived by Leopold in 1681 to gain the cooperation of Hungarian nobles. The diet was dominated by a core of pro-Habsburg Hungarian aristocrats, who would support the dynasty until it fell in 1918. To root out remaining Turkish influence and assert Austrian superiority, Leopold systematically destroyed Turkish buildings and rebuilt Catholic churches, monasteries, roadside shrines, and monuments in the flamboyant Austrian baroque style.

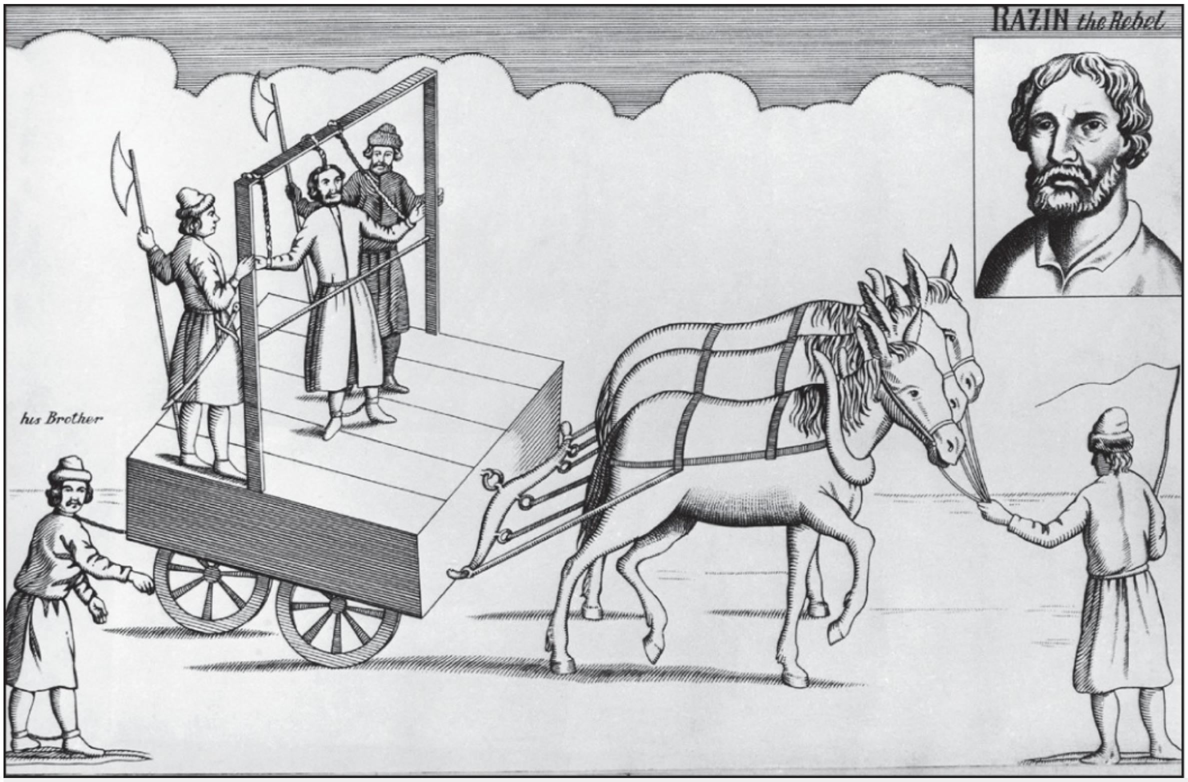
The Ottoman Turks pursued their state consolidation in a different fashion. Hundreds of thousands of Turkish families had moved with Turkish soldiers into the Balkan peninsula in the 1400s and 1500s. As locals converted to Islam, administration passed gradually into their hands. The Ottoman state, ultimately, would last longer than the French absolutist monarchy, even though the Ottoman rulers, the sultans, were often challenged by mutinous army officers. Despite frequent palace coups and assassinations of sultans, the Ottoman state continued to pose a massive military threat on Europe's southeastern borders.

Russia: Setting the Foundations of Bureaucratic Absolutism

Seventeenth-century Russia seemed a world apart from the Europe of Leopold I and Louis XIV. Straddling Europe and Asia, the Russian lands stretched across Siberia to the Pacific Ocean. Western visitors either sneered or shuddered at the “barbarism” of Russian life, and Russians reciprocated by nursing deep suspicions of everything foreign. But under the surface, Russia was evolving as an absolutist state; the tsars wanted to claim unlimited autocratic power, but like their European counterparts they had to surmount internal disorder and come to an accommodation with noble landlords.

In 1649, the Russian tsar Alexei (r. 1645–1676) convened the Assembly of the Land (consisting of noble delegates from the provinces) to consult on a sweeping law code to organize Russian society in a strict social hierarchy. The Code of 1649 — which held for nearly two centuries — assigned all subjects to a hereditary class according to their current occupation or state needs. Slaves and free peasants were merged into a serf class. As serfs, they could not change occupations or move; they were tightly tied to the soil and to their noble masters. To prevent tax evasion, the code also forbade townspeople to move from the community where they resided. Nobles owed absolute obedience to the tsar and were required to serve in the army, but in return no other group could own estates worked by serfs. Serfs became the chattel of their lord, who could sell them like horses or land.

Some peasants resisted enserfment. In 1667, **Stenka Razin** (1630–1671), the head of a powerful band of pirates and outlaws in southern Russia, led a rebellion that promised liberation from the great noble landowners. Captured four years later by the tsar’s army, Razin was taken to Moscow, where he was dismembered in front of the public and his body thrown to the dogs. Thousands of his followers also suffered grisly deaths, but Razin’s memory lived on in folk songs and legends.



Imagno/Hulton Archive/Getty Images.

Stenka Razin in Captivity After leading a revolt of thousands of serfs, peasants, and members of non-Russian tribes of the middle and lower Volga region, Stenka Razin was captured by Russian forces and led off to Moscow, as shown here, where he was executed in 1671. He has been the subject of songs, legends, and poems ever since.

Like his Western rivals, Tsar Alexei wanted a bigger army, exclusive control over state policy, and a greater say in religious matters. The size of the army increased dramatically from thirty-five thousand in the 1630s to 220,000 by the end of the century. The Assembly of the Land, once an important source of consultation for the nobles, never met again after 1653. Alexei also imposed firm control over the Russian Orthodox church. The state-dominated church took action against a religious group called the Old Believers, who rejected church efforts to bring Russian worship in line with Byzantine tradition. Whole communities of Old Believers starved or burned themselves to death rather than submit to the crown.

Nevertheless, modernizing trends prevailed. Tsar Alexei set up the first Western-style theater in the Kremlin, and his daughter Sophia translated French plays. The most adventurous nobles began to wear German-style clothing. Some even argued that service, not just birth, should determine rank. Russia's long struggle over Western influences had begun.

REVIEW QUESTION

Why did absolutism flourish everywhere in eastern Europe except Poland-Lithuania?

The Search for Order in Elite and Popular Culture

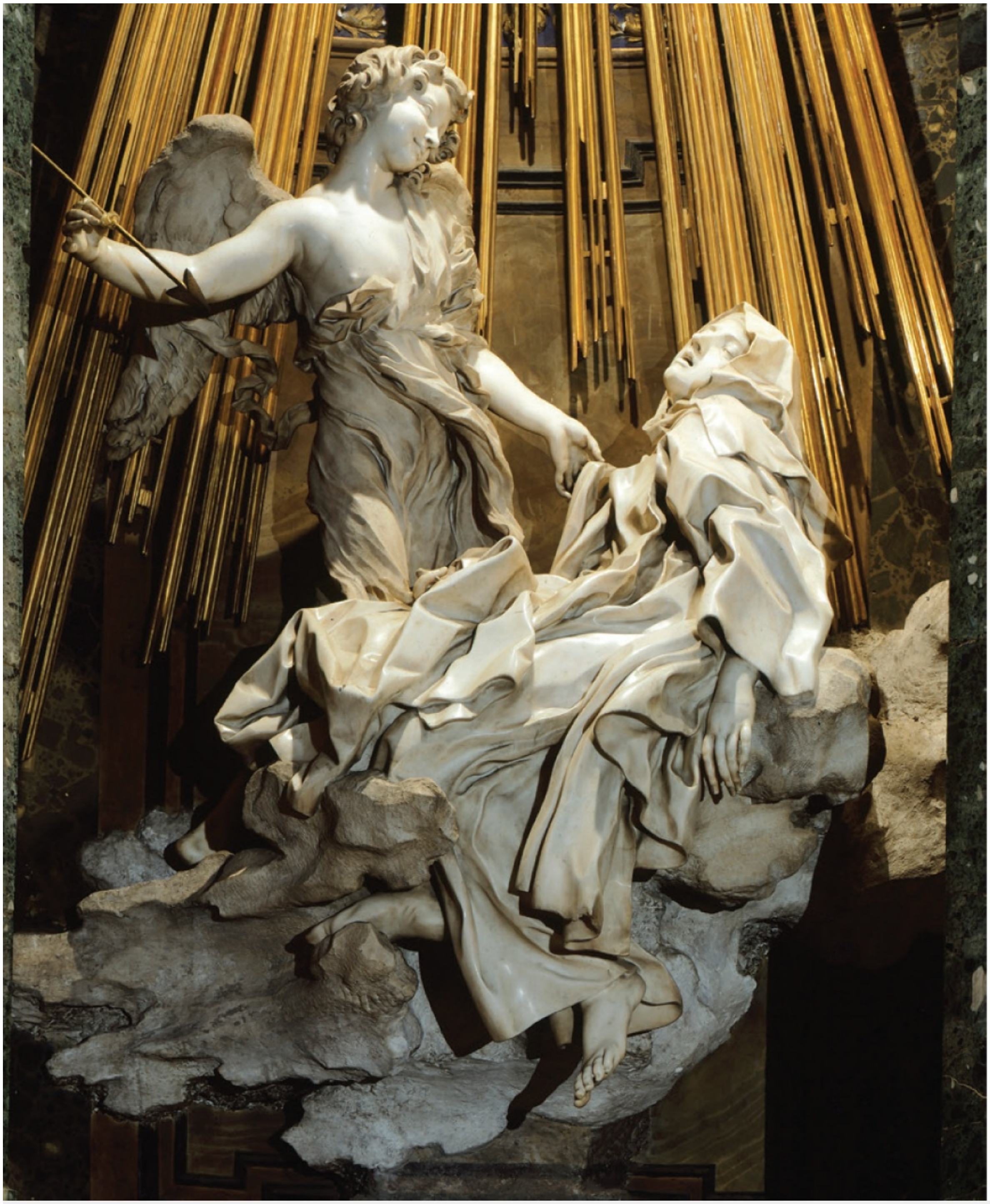
In the period of state building from 1640 to 1715, questions about obedience, order, and the limits of state power occupied poets, painters, architects, and men of science as much as they did rulers and their ministers. How much freedom of expression could be allowed? How did the individual's needs and aspirations fit with the requirements of state authority? The greatest thinkers and writers wrestled with these issues and helped frame debates for generations to come. At the same time, elites worked to distinguish themselves from the lower classes by developing new codes of correct behavior and teaching order and discipline to their social inferiors. Their repeated efforts show, however, that popular culture had its own dynamics that resisted control from above.

Freedom and Constraint in the Arts and Sciences

Most Europeans feared disorder above all else. The French mathematician Blaise Pascal vividly captured their worries in his *Pensées* (Thoughts) of 1660: "I look on all sides, and I see only darkness everywhere." Reason could not determine whether God existed or not, Pascal concluded. Poets, painters, and architects all grappled with similar issues of faith, reason, and authority, but most of them came to more positive conclusions than Pascal about human capacities.

The English Puritan poet John Milton (1608–1674) wrestled with the inevitable limitations on individual liberty. In 1643, in the midst of the civil war between king and Parliament, he published writings in favor of allowing married couples to divorce. When Parliament enacted a censorship law aimed at such literature, Milton responded in 1644 with one of the first defenses of freedom of the press, *Areopagitica*. In it, he argued that even controversial books about religion should be allowed. Forced into retirement after the restoration of the monarchy, Milton published his epic poem *Paradise Lost* in 1667. He used the biblical Adam and Eve's fall from grace to meditate on human freedom and the tragedies of rebellion. His Satan, the proud angel who challenges God and is cast out of heaven, is so compelling as to be heroic. In the end, Adam and Eve learn the limits to their freedom, yet personal liberty remains essential to their humanity.

The dominant artistic styles of the time — the baroque and the classical — both submerged the ordinary individual in a grander design. The combination of religious and political purposes in baroque art is best exemplified in the architecture and sculpture of Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), the papacy's official artist. His architectural masterpiece was the gigantic square facing St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. Bernini's use of freestanding colonnades and a huge open space was meant to impress the individual observer with the power of the popes and the Catholic religion.

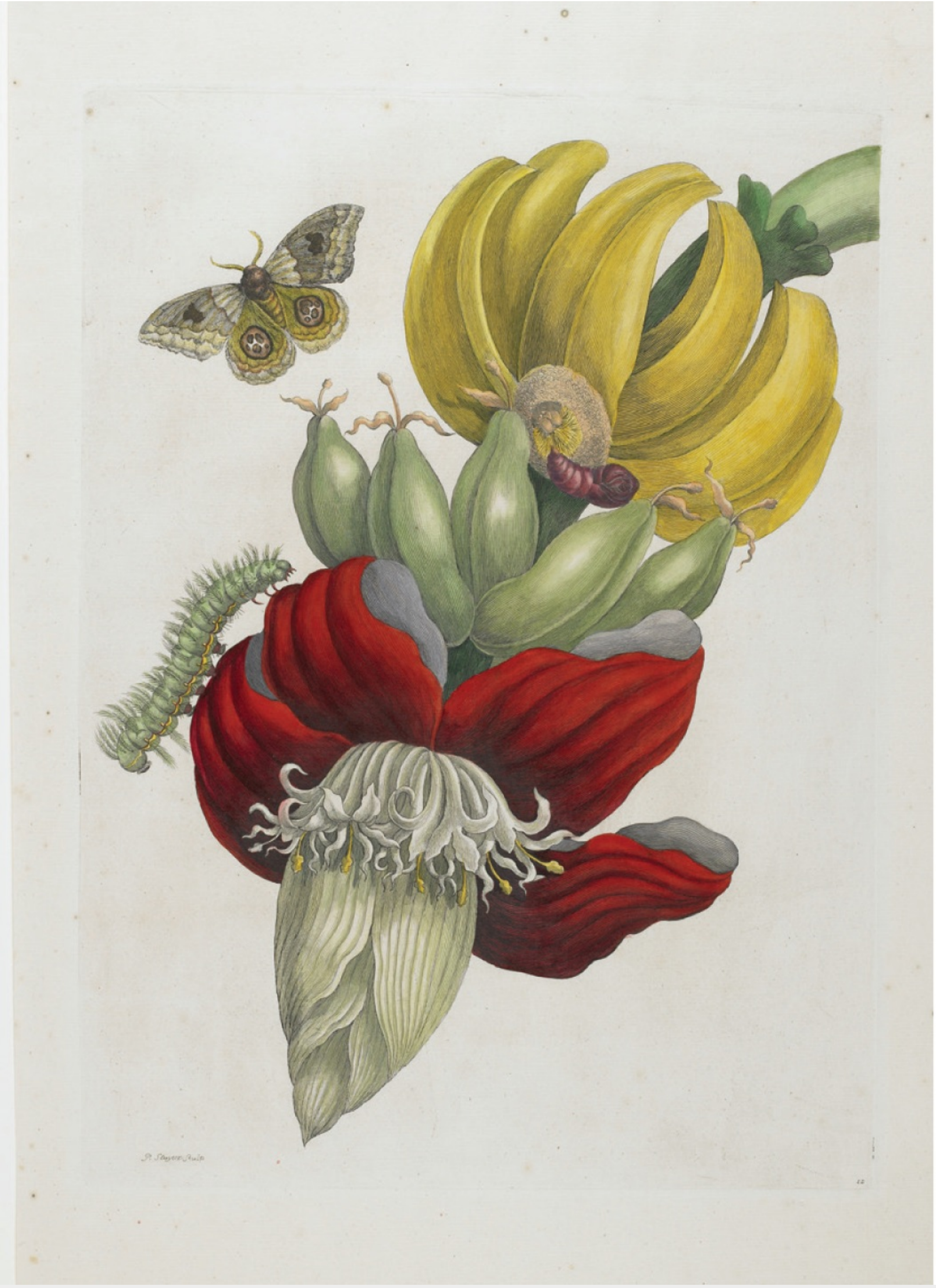


De Agostini Picture Library/G. Nimatallah/Bridgeman Images.

Gian Lorenzo Bernini, ***Ecstasy of St. Teresa of Ávila*** **(c. 1650)** This ultimate statement of baroque sculpture captures all the drama and even sensationalism of a mystical religious faith. Bernini based his figures on a vision reported by St. Teresa in which she saw an angel: "In his hands I saw a great golden spear, and at the iron tip there appeared to be a point of fire. This he plunged into my heart several times so that it penetrated my entrails. When he pulled it out I felt that he took them with it, and left me utterly consumed by the great love of God.”

Although France was a Catholic country, French artists, like their patron Louis XIV, preferred the standards of **classicism** to those of the baroque. As its name suggests, classicism reflected the ideals of the art of antiquity: geometric shapes, order, and harmony of lines took precedence over the sensuous, exuberant, and emotional forms of the baroque. Rather than being overshadowed by the sheer power of emotional display, in classicism the individual could be found at the intersection of converging, symmetrical, straight lines. These influences were apparent in the work of the leading French painters of the period, Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665) and Claude Lorrain (1600–1682), both of whom tried to re-create classical Roman values in their mythological scenes and Roman landscapes.

Art could also serve the interests of science. One of the most skilled illustrators of insects and flowers was Maria Sibylla Merian (1647–1717), a German-born painter-scholar whose engravings were widely celebrated for their brilliant realism and microscopic clarity. Merian separated from her husband and accompanied missionaries to the Dutch colony of Surinam, in South America. She painted watercolors of the exotic flowers, birds, and insects she found in the jungle around the cocoa and sugarcane plantations.



Minneapolis Institute of Arts, MN, USA/The Ethel Morrison Van Derlip Fund/Bridgeman Images.

European Fascination with Products of the New World In this painting of a banana plant, Maria

Sibylla Merian offers a scientific study of one of the many exotic plants and animals found by Europeans who traveled to the colonies overseas. In 1699, Merian traveled to the Dutch South American colony of Surinam with her daughter.

Despite the initial religious controversies associated with the scientific revolution, absolutist rulers quickly saw the potential of the new science for enhancing their prestige and glory. Various German princes supported the work of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), who claimed that he, and not Isaac Newton, had invented modern calculus. A lawyer, mathematician, and philosopher who wrote about metaphysics, cosmology, and history, Leibniz also helped establish scientific societies in the German states. Government involvement in science was greatest in France. In 1666, Jean-Baptiste Colbert founded the Royal Academy of Sciences, which supplied fifteen scientists with government stipends. In contrast, the Royal Society of London grew out of informal meetings of scientists at London and Oxford. It received a royal charter in 1662 but maintained complete independence.

Because of their exclusion from most universities, women only rarely participated in the new scientific discoveries. In 1667, nonetheless, the Royal Society of London invited the writer Margaret Cavendish to watch the exhibition of experiments. Labeled “mad” by her critics, she attacked the use of telescopes and microscopes because she detected in the new experimentalism a mechanistic view of the world that exalted masculine prowess and challenged the Christian belief in freedom of the will. Yet she urged the formal education of women, complaining that “we are kept like birds in cages to hop up and down in our houses.”

Women and Manners

Although excluded from the universities and the professions, women played important roles not only in the home but also in more formal spheres of social interaction, such as the courts of rulers. Under the tutelage of their mothers and wives, nobles learned manners, or the fine points of social etiquette. In some ways, aristocratic men were expected to act more like women; just as women had long been expected to please men, now aristocratic men had to please their monarch or patron by displaying proper manners and conversing with elegance and wit.

The upper classes began to reject popular festivals and fairs in favor of private theaters, where seats were relatively expensive and behavior was formal. Clowns and buffoons now seemed vulgar; the last king of England to keep a court fool was Charles I. Some tastes spread downward from the upper classes, however. Chivalric romances that had long entranced the nobility, such as Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, now appeared in simplified form in cheap booklets printed for lower-class readers.

Molière, the greatest French playwright of the seventeenth century, wrote sparkling comedies of manners that revealed much about the new aristocratic behavior. His play *The Middle-Class Gentleman*, first performed for Louis XIV in 1670, revolves around the yearning of a rich middle-class Frenchman, Monsieur Jourdain, to learn to act like a *gentilhomme* (both "gentleman" and "nobleman"). Monsieur Jourdain buys fancy clothes; hires private instructors in dancing, music, fencing, and philosophy; and lends money to a debt-ridden noble in hopes that the noble will marry his daughter. Only his sensible wife and his daughter's love for a worthier commoner stand in his way. The message for the king's courtiers seemed to be a reassuring one: only born nobles can hope to act like nobles. But the play also showed how the middle classes were learning to emulate the nobility: if one could learn to act nobly through self-discipline, could not anyone with some education and money pass himself off as noble?

As Molière's play demonstrated, new attention to manners trickled down from the court to the middle class. A French treatise on manners written in 1672 explained proper behavior:

> Formerly one was permitted … to dip one's bread into the sauce, provided only that one had not already bitten it. Nowadays that would be a kind of rusticity. Formerly one was allowed to take from one's mouth what one could not eat and drop it on the floor, provided it was done skillfully. Now that would be very disgusting.

The key words *rusticity* and *disgusting* reveal the association of unacceptable social behavior with the peasantry, dirt, and repulsion. Similar rules governed spitting and blowing one's nose in public.

Courtly manners often permeated the upper reaches of society by means of the **salon**, an informal gathering held regularly in a private home and presided over by a socially eminent woman. The French government occasionally worried that these gatherings might challenge its authority, but the three main topics of salon conversation were love, literature, and philosophy. Before publishing a manuscript, many authors, including court favorites like Pierre Corneille and Jean Racine, would read their compositions to a salon gathering.

Some women went beyond encouraging male authors and began to write their own works, but they faced many obstacles. Madame de Lafayette wrote several short novels that were published anonymously because it was considered inappropriate for aristocratic women to appear in print. Following the publication of *The Princess of Clèves* in 1678, she denied having written it. Despite these limitations, French women began to turn out best sellers of that new type of literary form, the novel. Their success prompted the philosopher Pierre Bayle to remark in 1697 that "our best French novels for a long time have been written by women."

The new importance of women in the world of manners and letters did not sit well with everyone. Although the French writer François Poulain de la Barre, in a series of works published in the 1670s, used the new science to assert the equality of women's minds, most men resisted the idea. Clergymen, lawyers, scholars, and playwrights attacked women's growing public influence. Women, they complained, were corrupting forces and needed restraint. Molière wrote plays denouncing women's pretension to judge literary merit. English playwrights derided learned women by creating characters with names such as Lady Knowall, Lady Meanwell, and Mrs. Lovewit.

A real-life target of the English playwrights was Aphra Behn (1640–1689), one of the first professional woman authors. Her short novel *Oroonoko* (1688) told the story of an African prince mistakenly sold into slavery. The story was so successful that it was adapted by playwrights and performed repeatedly in England and France for the next hundred years.

Reforming Popular Culture

Controversies over female influence had little effect on the unschooled peasants who made up most of Europe’s population. Peasant culture had three main elements: religion, which shaped every aspect of life and death; knowledge needed to work at farming or in a trade; and popular forms of entertainment such as village fairs and dances. What changed most noticeably in the seventeenth century was the social elites’ attitude toward lower-class culture.

In the seventeenth century, Protestant and Catholic churches alike pushed hard to change popular religious practices. Their campaigns against popular “paganism” began during the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counter-Reformation but reached much of rural Europe only in the seventeenth century. Puritans in England tried to root out maypole dances, Sunday village fairs, gambling, taverns, and bawdy ballads. In Lutheran Norway, pastors denounced a widespread belief in the miracle-working powers of St. Olaf. The word *superstition* previously meant “false religion” (Protestantism was a superstition for Catholics, Catholicism for Protestants); in the seventeenth century it took on its modern meaning of irrational fears, beliefs, and practices that anyone educated or refined would avoid.

PHAS/Getty Images.

Popular Revelry Weddings, like the one depicted here by David Teniers the Younger in 1650, provided then, as they do now, an occasion for popular rejoicing and merrymaking.

Catholic bishops in the French provinces trained parish priests to reform their flocks by using catechisms in local dialects and insisting that parishioners attend Mass. The church faced a formidable challenge. One bishop in France complained in 1671, “Can you believe that there are in this diocese entire villages where no one has even heard of Jesus Christ?” In some places, believers sacrificed animals to the Virgin; prayed to the new moon; and, as in pre-Christian times, worshipped at the sources of streams.

Like its Protestant counterpart, the Catholic campaign against ignorance and superstition helped extend state power. Clergy, officials, and local police worked together to limit carnival celebrations, to regulate pilgrimages to shrines, and to replace “indecent” images of saints with more restrained and decorous ones. In Catholicism, the cult of the Virgin Mary and devotions closely connected with Jesus, such as the Holy Sacrament and the Sacred Heart, took precedence over the celebration of popular saints who seemed to have pagan origins or were credited with unverified miracles.

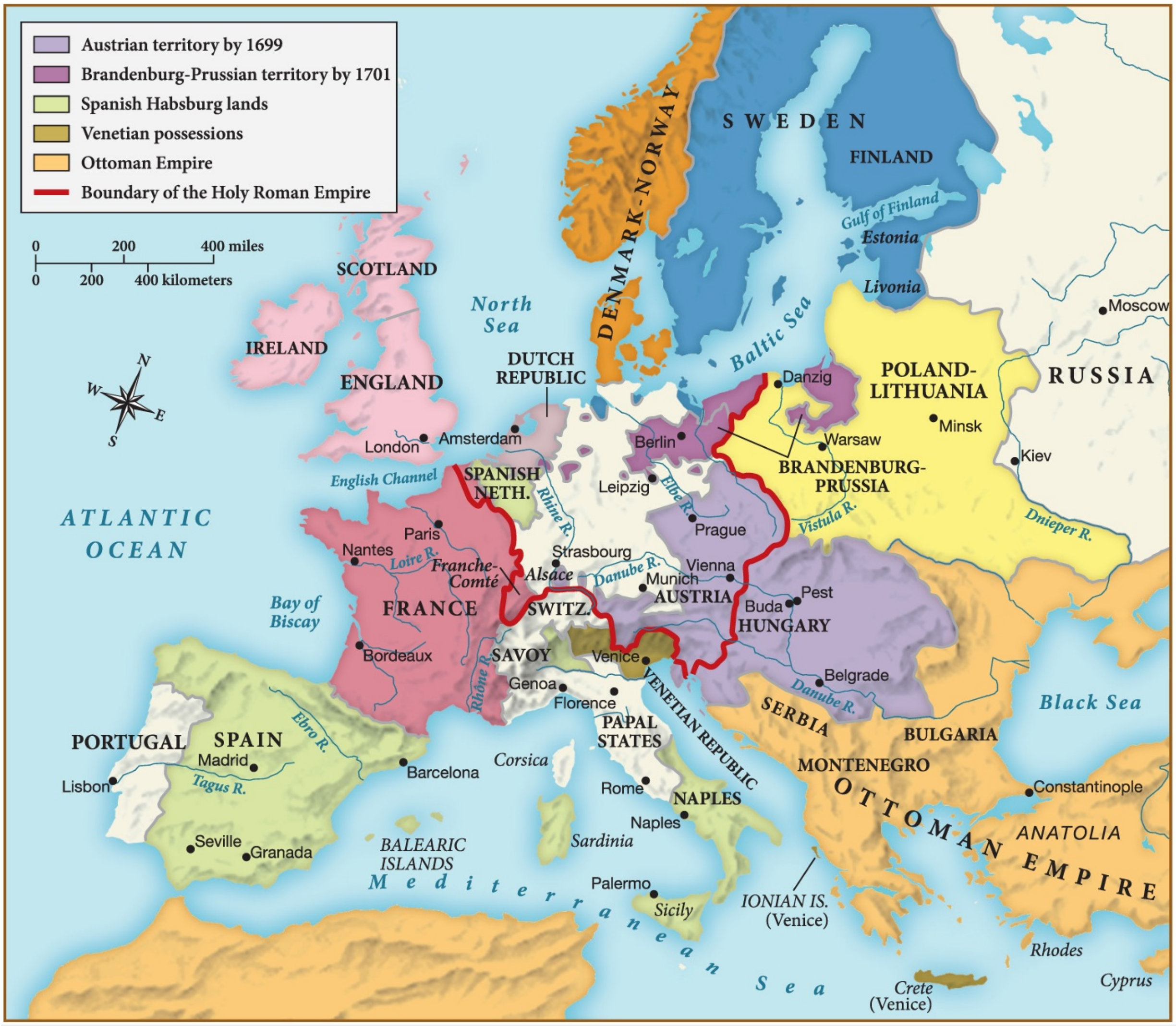
The campaign for more disciplined religious practices helped generate a new attitude toward the poor. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the upper classes, the church, and the state increasingly regarded the poor as dangerous, deceitful, and lacking in character. The courts had previously expelled beggars from cities; now local leaders, both Catholic and Protestant, tried to reform their character. Municipal magistrates and local notables worked together to transform hospitals into houses of confinement for beggars. In Catholic France, upper-class women’s religious associations, known as confraternities, set up asylums that confined prostitutes (by arrest if necessary) and rehabilitated them. Such groups advocated harsh discipline as the cure for poverty.

Even as reformers from church and state tried to regulate popular activities, villagers and townspeople pushed back with reassertions of their own values. For hundreds of years, peasants had maintained their own forms of village justice — called variously “rough music,” “charivari,” or, in North America, “shivaree.” If a young man married a much older woman for her money, for example, villagers would serenade the couple by playing crude flutes, banging pots and pans, and firing muskets. If a man was rumored to have been physically assaulted by his wife, a reversal of the usual sex roles, he (or effigies of him and his wife) might be ridden on a donkey facing backward (to signify the role reversal) and pelted with dung before being ducked in a nearby pond or river. Others directed their mockery at tax officials, gamekeepers on big estates who tried to keep villagers from hunting, or unpopular preachers.

No matter how much care went into controlling religious festivals, such events almost invariably opened the door to popular reinterpretation and sometimes drunken celebration. When the Spanish introduced Corpus Christi processions to their colony in Peru in the seventeenth century, elite Incas dressed in royal costumes to carry the banners of their parishes. Their clothing and ornaments combined Christian symbols with their own indigenous ones. They thus signaled their conversion to Catholicism but also reasserted their own prior identities. The Corpus Christi festival, held in late May or early June, conveniently took place about the same time as Inca festivals from the pre-Spanish era. Carnival, the days preceding Lent on the Christian calendar — of which Mardi Gras (“Fat Tuesday”) is the last — offered the occasion for public revelry of all sorts. Although Catholic clergy worked hard to clamp down on the more riotous aspects of Carnival, many towns and villages still held parades, like those of present-day New Orleans or Rio de Janeiro, that included companies of local men dressed in special costumes and gigantic stuffed figures, sometimes with animal skins, animal heads, or elaborate masks.

REVIEW QUESTION

How did elite and popular culture become more separate in the seventeenth century?



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MAPPING THE WEST

Europe at the End of the Seventeenth Century

Size was not necessarily an advantage in the late 1600s. Poland-Lithuania, a large country on the map, had been fatally weakened by internal conflicts. In the next century it would disappear entirely. While the Ottoman Empire still controlled an extensive territory, outside of Anatolia its rule depended on intermediaries. The Austrian Habsburgs had pushed the Turks out of Hungary and back into the Balkans. The tiny Dutch Republic, meanwhile, had become very rich through international commerce and was the envy of far larger nations.

Analyzing the Map: Look closely at the Dutch Republic. It is small compared with almost any other

European country. What geographical advantages did it have that would help explain its rise to prominence in international commerce?

Making Connections: How is France as a territory different from Brandenburg-Prussia and the Holy Roman Empire? What are the consequences of those differences when it comes to fighting wars?

Conclusion

The search for order took place on various levels, from the reform of the disorderly poor to the establishment of bureaucratic routines in government. The absolutist government of Louis XIV served as a model for all those who aimed to increase the power of the central state. Even Louis's rivals — such as the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I and Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg-Prussia — followed his lead in centralizing authority and building up their armies. Whether absolutist or constitutionalist in form, seventeenth-century states aimed to penetrate more deeply into the lives of their subjects. They wanted more men for their armed forces; higher taxes to support their projects; and more control over foreign trade, religious dissent, and society's unwanted.

Some tears had begun to appear, however, in the seamless fabric of state power. The civil war between Charles I and Parliament in England in the 1640s opened the way to new demands for political participation. When Parliament overthrew James II in 1688, it also insisted that the new king and queen, William and Mary, agree to the Bill of Rights. In the eighteenth century, new levels of economic growth and the appearance of new social groups would exert pressures on the European state system. The success of seventeenth-century rulers created the political and economic conditions in which their critics would flourish.

Chapter 16 Review

Key Terms and People

Be sure that you can identify the term or person and explain its historical significance.

absolutism
constitutionalism
Louis XIV
revocation of the Edict of Nantes
Glorious Revolution
bureaucracy
mercantilism
Levellers
William, prince of Orange
social contract
Frederick William of Hohenzollern
Stenka Razin
classicsism
salon

Review Questions

1. How “absolute” was the power of Louis XIV?

2. What differences over religion and politics caused the conflict between king and Parliament in England?
3. Why did constitutionalism thrive in the Dutch Republic and the British North American colonies, even as their participation in the slave trade grew?
4. Why did absolutism flourish everywhere in eastern Europe except Poland-Lithuania?
5. How did elite and popular culture become more separate in the seventeenth century?

Making Connections

1. What accounts for the success of absolutism in some parts of Europe and its failure in others?
2. How did religious differences in the late seventeenth century still cause political conflict?
3. What were the chief differences between eastern and western Europe in this period?
4. Why was the search for order a major theme in science, politics, and the arts during this period?

Important Events

1642–1646	English civil war between Charles I and Parliament
1648	Peace of Westphalia ends Thirty Years' War; the Fronde challenges royal authority in France; Ukrainian Cossack warriors rebel against king of Poland-Lithuania; Spain formally recognizes independence of Dutch Republic
1649	Charles I of England executed; new Russian legal code assigns all to hereditary class
1651	Thomas Hobbes publishes *Leviathan*
1660	Monarchy restored in England
1661	Slave code set up in Barbados
1667	Louis XIV begins first of many wars that continue throughout his reign
1678	Madame de Lafayette anonymously publishes *The Princess of Clèves*
1683	Austrian Habsburgs break Turkish siege of Vienna
1685	Louis XIV revokes Edict of Nantes
1688	Parliament deposes James II; William, prince of Orange, and Mary take the throne
1690	John Locke publishes *Two Treatises of Government* and *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*

Consider three events

Thomas Hobbes publishes *Leviathan* (1651), Madame de Lafayette anonymously publishes *The Princess of Clèves* (1678), and John Locke publishes *Two Treatises of Government* (1690). How did Hobbes's new doctrine of absolute political authority, de Lafayette's novel, and Locke's emphasis on a social contract represent both an effort to create order and a challenge to the established order?

Suggested References

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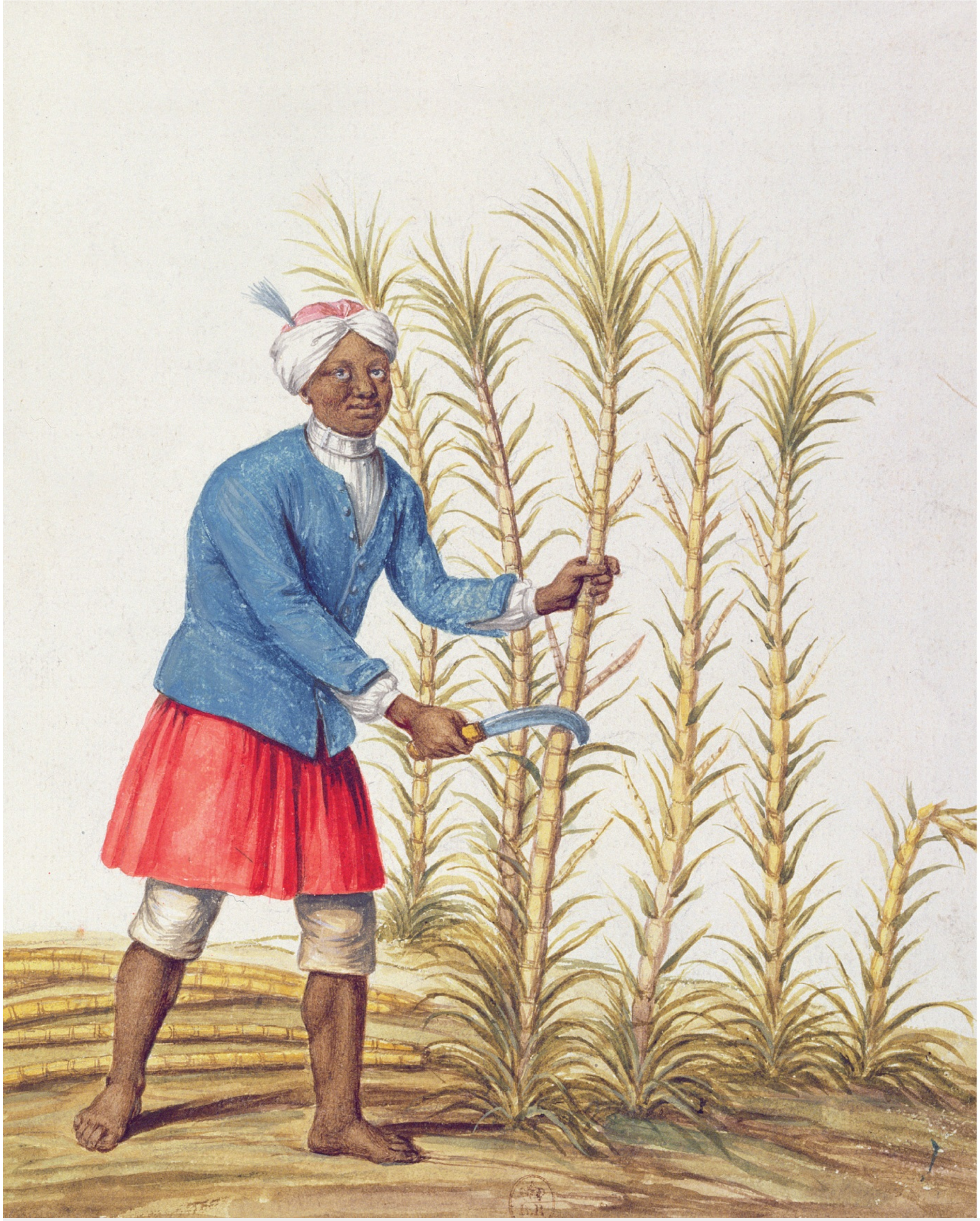
Chapter 17

The Atlantic System and Its Consequences

1700–1750



Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, France/Photo © Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Images.

A Domestic Slave Cutting Sugar Cane This watercolor drawing depicts an enslaved man cutting sugar cane in a French Caribbean colony. Like many of the European renditions of slavery, it eliminates all the violence of the slave system and makes the work itself seem less than back-breaking. In reality, enslaved people worked in large groups and during the harvest worked day and night to get the sugar cane to the mills before it spoiled. Work in the mills was dangerous because the cane was crushed by machinery and then boiled.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

The Atlantic System and the World Economy

How was consumerism related to slavery in the early eighteenth century?

New Social and Cultural Patterns

How were new social trends reflected in cultural life in the early 1700s?

Consolidation of the European State System

What events and developments led to greater stability and more limited warfare within Europe?

The Birth of the Enlightenment

What were the major issues in the early decades of the Enlightenment?

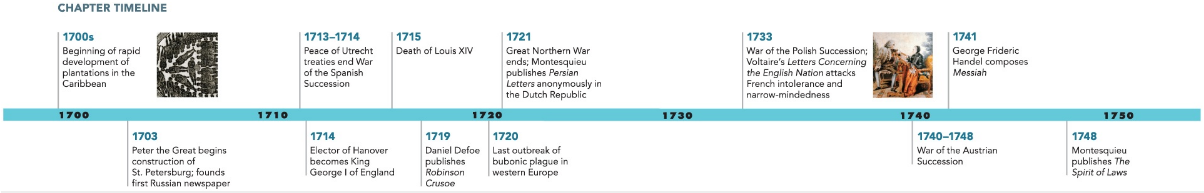
In 1699, a few coffee plants changed the history of the world. European travelers at the end of the sixteenth century noticed Middle Eastern people drinking a “black drink” called *kavah*, but the Arab monopoly on its production kept prices high. This all changed in 1699, when Dutch traders brought a few coffee plants from the east coast of India to their colony of Java (now Indonesia), which proved ideal for growing the beans. Within two decades, the trickle of beans going from Java to Europe became a flood of 200,000 pounds a year. After a shoot from a Dutch plant made its way to the Caribbean island of Martinique in 1721, coffee plants quickly spread throughout the Caribbean, where enslaved Africans provided the plantation labor.

European consumption of coffee, tea, sugar, and other novelties increased dramatically as European nations forged worldwide economic links. At the center of this new global economy was the **Atlantic system**, the web of trade routes that bound together western Europe, Africa, and the Americas. Europeans bought slaves in western Africa, transported them to be sold in the colonies in North and South America and the Caribbean, bought raw commodities such as coffee and sugar that were produced by the new colonial plantations, and then sold those commodities in European ports for refining and reshipment. This Atlantic system, which first took clear shape in the early eighteenth century, became the hub of European expansion throughout the world.

Coffee drinking is just one example of the many new social and cultural patterns that took root between 1700 and 1750. Improvements in agricultural production at home reinforced the effects of trade overseas; Europeans now had more disposable income for extras, and they spent their money not only in the new coffeehouses and cafés that sprang up all over Europe but also on newspapers, musical concerts, paintings, and novels. A new middle-class public began to make its presence felt in every domain of culture and social life.

Although the rise of the Atlantic system gave Europe new prominence in the global context, European rulers still focused most of their political, diplomatic, and military energies on their rivalries within Europe. A coalition of countries had succeeded in containing French aggression under Louis XIV, and a more balanced diplomatic system emerged. The more evenly matched competition among the great powers encouraged the development of diplomatic skills and drew attention to public health as a way of encouraging population growth.

In the aftermath of Louis XIV's revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, a new intellectual movement known as the Enlightenment began to germinate. An initial impetus came from French Protestant refugees who published works critical of absolutism in politics and religion. Fed by the popularization of science and the growing interest in travel literature, the early Enlightenment encouraged greater skepticism about religious and state authority. Eventually, the movement would question almost every aspect of social and political life in Europe. The Enlightenment, which began in western Europe in those countries most affected by the new Atlantic system — Britain, France, and the Dutch Republic — can be considered a product of the age of coffee.



CHAPTER TIMELINE

1700s Beginning of rapid development of plantations in the Caribbean

1703 Peter the Great begins construction of St. Petersburg; founds first Russian newspaper

1713–1714 Peace of Utrecht treaties end War of the Spanish Succession

1714 Elector of Hanover becomes King George I of England

1715 Death of Louis XIV

1719 Daniel Defoe publishes *Robinson Crusoe*

1720 Last outbreak of bubonic plague in western Europe

1721 Great Northern War ends; Montesquieu publishes *Persian Letters* anonymously in the Dutch Republic

1733 War of the Polish Succession; Voltaire's *Letters Concerning the English Nation* attacks French intolerance and narrow-mindedness

1740–1748 War of the Austrian Succession

1741 George Frideric Handel composes *Messiah*

1748 Montesquieu publishes *The Spirit of Laws*

The Picture Art Collection/Alamy Stock Photo; DEA/G. Dagli Orti/Getty Images

CHAPTER FOCUS

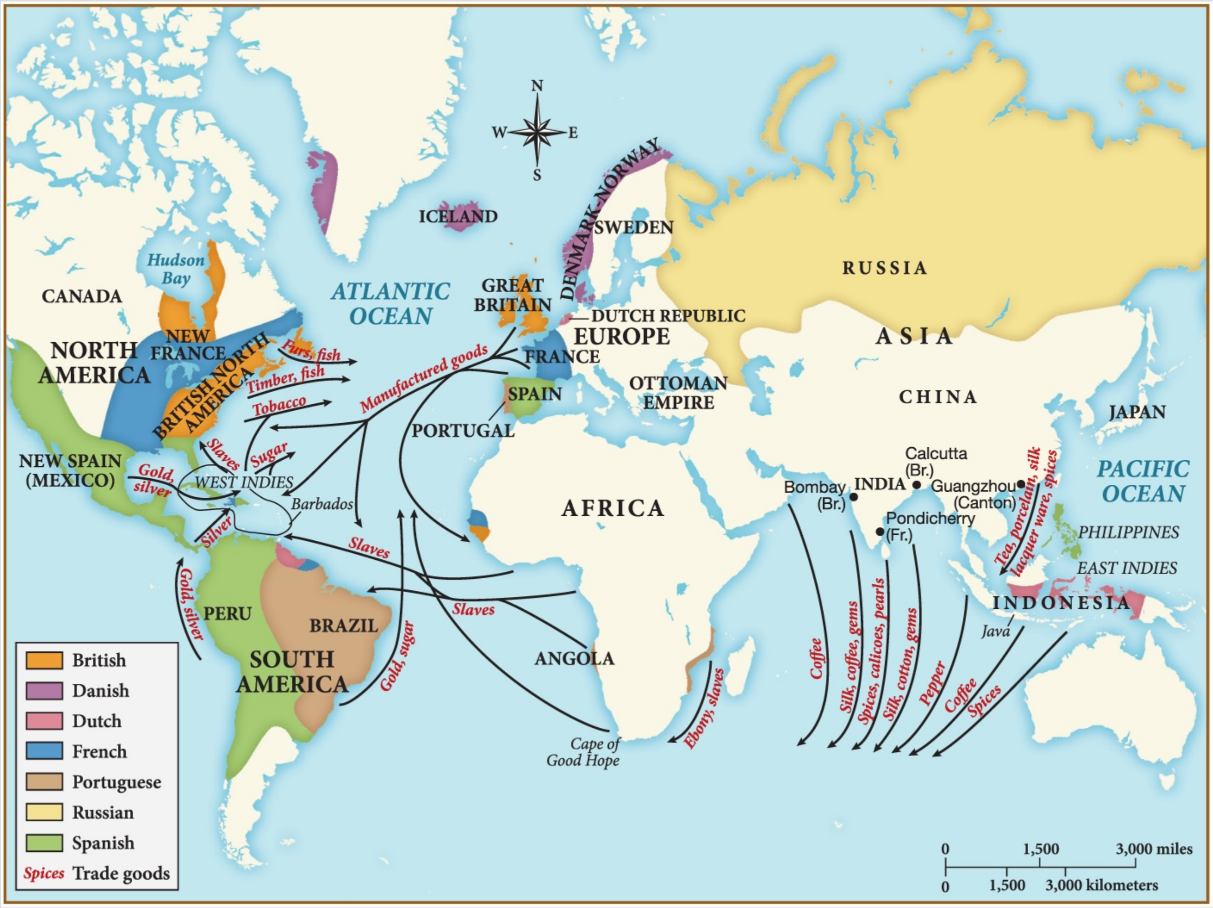
What were the most important consequences of the growth of the Atlantic system?

The Atlantic System and the World Economy

Although their ships had been circling the globe since the early 1500s, Europeans did not draw most of the world into their economic orbit until the 1700s. Western European nations sent ships loaded with goods to buy slaves from local rulers on the western coast of Africa; the slaves were then transported to the colonies in North and South America and the Caribbean and sold to the owners of plantations producing coffee, sugar, cotton, and tobacco. Money from the slave trade was used to buy the raw commodities produced in the colonies and ship them back to Europe, where they were refined or processed and then sold within Europe and around the world. The Atlantic system and the growth of international trade thus helped create a new consumer society on the backs of slaves given no choice in the matter.

Slavery and the Atlantic System

In the eighteenth century, European trade in the Atlantic rapidly expanded and became more systematically interconnected (Map 17.1). By 1650, Portugal had already sent forty thousand enslaved Africans to Brazilian plantation owners, which were producing some fifteen thousand tons of sugar a year. A **plantation** was a large tract of land that produced a staple crop such as sugar, coffee, or tobacco; was farmed by slave labor; and was usually owned by a colonial settler from western Europe.



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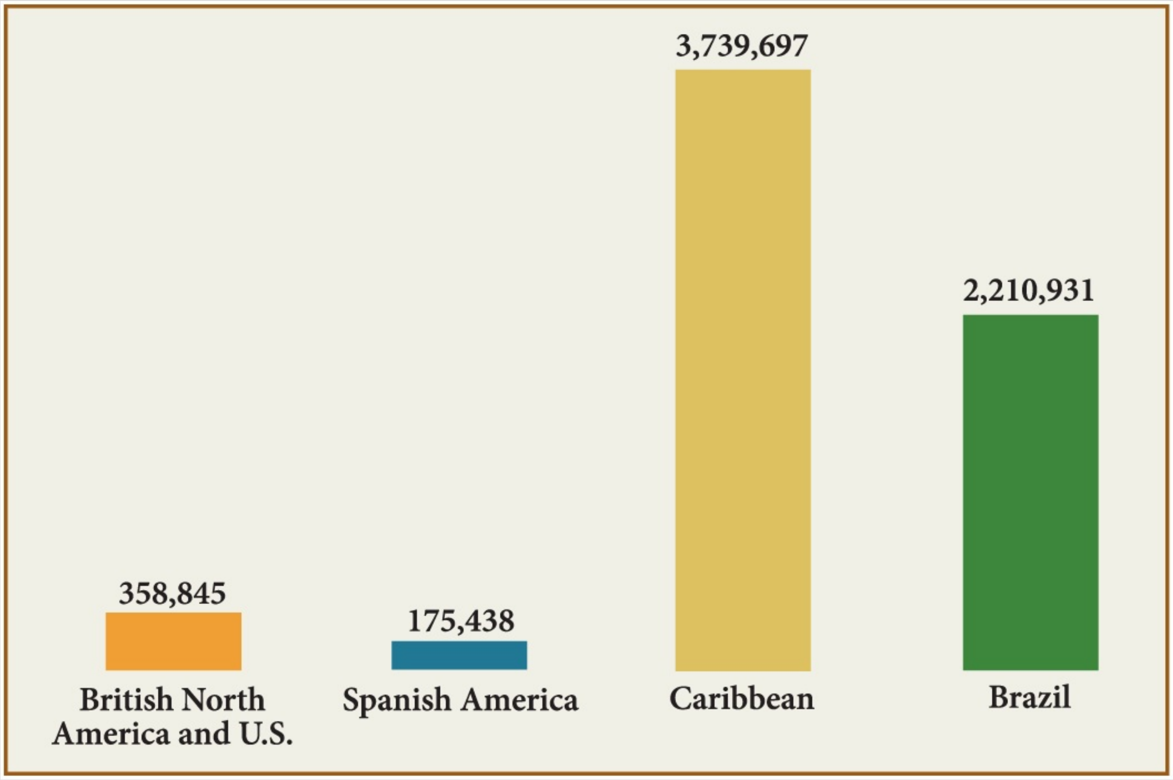
MAP 17.1 European Trade Patterns, c. 1740

By 1740, the European powers had colonized much of North and South America and incorporated their colonies there into a worldwide system of commerce centered on the slave trade and plantation production of staple crops. Europeans still sought spices and luxury goods in China and the East Indies, but few Europeans had settled permanently in these areas (with the exception of Java). How did control over colonies determine dominance in international trade in this period?

Realizing that plantations producing staples for Europeans could bring fabulous wealth, the European powers grew less interested in the dwindling trade in precious metals and became more eager to colonize. In the 1700s, large-scale planters of sugar, tobacco, and coffee began displacing small farmers who relied on one or two indentured servants (white European men and women who gained passage to the Americas in exchange for several years of work). Planters and their plantations won out because even cheaper slave labor allowed them to produce mass quantities of commodities at low prices. Unlike indentured servants, enslaved people lost everything when they were transported to the Americas and sold to new owners — their right to freedom, to marriage, to family life, and even to their names.

State-chartered private companies from Portugal, France, Britain, the Dutch Republic, Prussia, and even Denmark exploited the 3,500-mile coastline of West Africa for slaves. Before 1675, most Black people taken from Africa had been sent to Brazil or Spanish America on Portuguese or Dutch ships, but by 1725, more than 60 percent of African slaves landed in the Caribbean (Figure 17.1), and more and more of them were carried on British or French ships.



Adapted from http://www.slavevoyages.org.

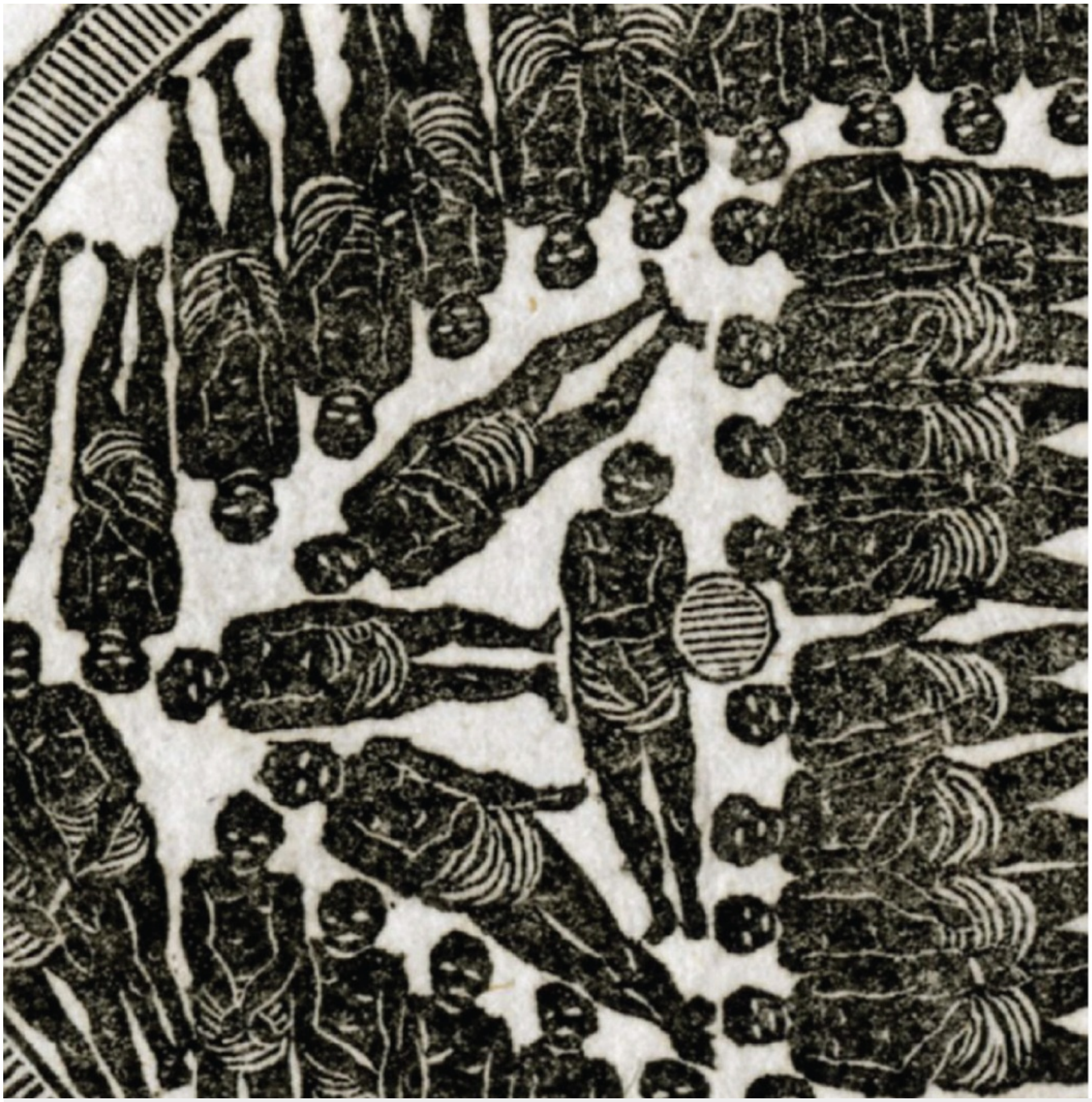
FIGURE 17.1 African Enslaved People Imported into American Territories, 1701–1800

During the eighteenth century, planters in the newly established Caribbean colonies purchased millions of African enslaved people to work the new plantations that produced sugar, coffee, indigo, and cotton for the European market. The vast majority of Africans forcibly transported to the Americas ended up in either the Caribbean or Brazil. Why were so many enslaved people transported to the Caribbean islands, which are relatively small compared to Spanish America or British North America?

After 1700, the plantation economy also began to expand on the North American mainland. The numbers stagger the imagination. In all, more than ten million Africans, not counting those who were captured but died before or during the sea voyage, were forcibly transported to the Americas before 1850, after which the slave trade finally began to wind down. Europeans traded textiles, cowries (shells from the Indian

Ocean), and firearms for enslaved people, altering local African power structures and creating political instability. Population declined in West Africa, and because two-thirds of those enslaved were men, husbands were in short supply and men increasingly took two or more wives in a practice known as polygyny.

The enslaved women and men suffered terribly. Most had been sold to European traders by Africans from the west coast who acquired them through warfare or kidnapping. The vast majority were between fourteen and thirty-five years old. Before cramming them onto the ships for the three-month trip, slavers shaved their heads and stripped them naked; they also branded some with red-hot irons. They separated men and women, and shackled men with leg irons. Sailors and officers raped the women at will. In the cramped and appalling conditions of the voyage, as many as one-fourth of the enslaved people died.



The Picture Art Collection/Alamy Stock Photo.

Crowded Conditions on Board a Slave Ship This wood engraving from 1789 shows a cross section of an English slave ship built in Liverpool in 1780–1781 for the merchant Joseph Brooks. In 1782, the ship carried 609 enslaved Africans across the Atlantic in a space designed for 451 people; 351 of them were men, 127 women, 90 boys, and 41 girls. Abolitionists showed members of Parliament a model of this ship to convince them of the brutality of the slave trade.

Those who survived the transit were sold and given new names, often only first names. Enslaved people had no social identities of their own;

they were expected to learn their master’s language and to do any job assigned. Enslaved people worked fifteen- to seventeen-hour days and were fed only enough to keep them on their feet. The death rate among slaves was high, especially on the sugar plantations, where enslaved people had to cut and haul sugarcane to the grinders and boilers before it spoiled. During the harvest, grinding and boiling went on around the clock. Because so many enslaved people died in the sugar-growing regions, more and more slaves, especially strong males, had to be imported. In North America, in contrast, where sugar was a minor crop, the slave population increased tenfold by 1863 through natural population growth.

Not surprisingly, despite the threat of torture or death on recapture, enslaved people sometimes ran away. Outright revolt was uncommon, but slaveholders’ fears about conspiracy and revolt lurked beneath the surface of every slave-based society. In 1710, the royal governor of Virginia reminded the colonial legislature of the need for unceasing vigilance: “We are not to Depend on Either Their Stupidity, or that Babel of Languages among ’em; freedom Wears a Cap which Can Without a Tongue, Call Togather all Those who Long to Shake off the fetters of Slavery.” Masters defended whipping and other forms of physical punishment as essential to maintaining discipline. Laws called for the castration of a slave who struck a white person.

The balance of white and Black populations in the New World colonies varied greatly. Because they did not own plantations, New England merchants and farmers bought few slaves. Black people — both slave and free — made up only 3 percent of the population in eighteenth-century New England, compared with 60 percent in South Carolina. The imbalance of white and Black people was even more extreme in the Caribbean, where most indigenous people had already died fighting Europeans or the diseases brought by them. By 1713, the French Caribbean colony of St. Domingue (on the western part of Hispaniola, present-day Haiti) had four times as many enslaved Black people as white people; by 1754, slaves there outnumbered whites more than ten to one.

Caribbean plantation owners often left their colonial possessions in the care of agents and merely collected the revenue so that they could live as wealthy landowners back home, where they built opulent mansions and gained influence in local and national politics. William Beckford, for example, left his inherited sugar plantations in Jamaica and moved the headquarters of the family business to London in the 1730s to be close to the government and financial markets. His holdings formed the single most powerful economic interest in Jamaica, but he preferred to live in England, where he held political office (he was lord mayor of London and a member of Parliament) and even loaned money to the government.

The slave trade permanently altered consumption patterns for ordinary people. Sugar had been prescribed as a medicine before the end of the sixteenth century, but the development of plantations in Brazil and the Caribbean made it a standard food item. By 1700, the British were sending home fifty million pounds of sugar a year, a figure that doubled by 1730. Equally pervasive was the spread of tobacco; by the 1720s, men of every country and class smoked pipes or took snuff.

Even though the traffic in enslaved people disturbed some Europeans, in the 1700s slaveholders began to justify their actions by demeaning the mental and spiritual qualities of the enslaved Africans. White Europeans and colonists sometimes described Black slaves as animal-like, akin to apes. One of the great paradoxes of this time was that talk of liberty and rights, especially prevalent in Britain and its North American colonies, coexisted with the belief that some people were meant to be slaves. The churches often defended or at least did not oppose the iniquities of slavery.

World Trade and Settlement

The Atlantic system helped extend European trade relations across the globe. The textiles that Atlantic shippers exchanged for slaves on the west coast of Africa, for example, were manufactured in India and exported by the British and French East India companies. As much as one-quarter of the British exports to Africa in the eighteenth century were actually re-exports from India. To expand their trade in the rest of the world, Europeans seized territories and tried to establish permanent settlements. The eighteenth-century extension of European power prepared the way for Western global domination in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In contrast to the sparsely inhabited European trading outposts in Asia and Africa, the colonies in the Americas bulged with settlers. The British North American colonies contained about 1.5 million nonnative (that is, white settler and Black slave) residents by 1750. While the Spanish competed with the Portuguese for control of South America, the French competed with the British for control of North America.

Local economies shaped colonial social relations; men in French trapper communities in Canada, for example, had little in common with the men and women of the plantation societies in Barbados or Brazil. Racial attitudes also differed from place to place. Unlike the French and English, the Spanish and Portuguese tolerated intermarriage with the native populations in both the Americas and Asia. By 1800, **mestizos**, people born to a Spanish father and a native American mother, accounted for more than a quarter of the population in the Spanish colonies in the Americas. Where intermarriage between colonizers and natives was common, conversion to Christianity proved most successful. However, greater racial diversity seems not to have improved the treatment of enslaved people.

In the early years of American colonization, many more men than women emigrated from Europe. Although the sex imbalance began to decline at the end of the seventeenth century, it remained substantial; for example, two and a half times more men than women were among the immigrants who left Liverpool, England, between 1697 and 1707. Women who emigrated as indentured servants ran great risks: many died of disease during the voyage, and at least one in five gave birth to an illegitimate child.

However, the uncertainties of life in the American colonies provided new opportunities for European women and men willing to live outside the law. In the 1500s and 1600s, the English and Dutch governments had routinely authorized pirates to prey on the ships of their rivals, the

Spanish and Portuguese. Then, in the late 1600s, English, French, and Dutch bands made up of deserters and crews from wrecked vessels began to form their own associations of pirates, especially in the Caribbean. Called **buccaneers** from their custom of curing strips of beef, called *boucan* by the native Caribs of the islands, the pirates governed themselves and preyed on everyone's shipments without regard to national origin. After 1700, the colonial governments tried to stamp out piracy.

In comparison to those in the Americas, white settlements in Africa and Asia remained small. A handful of Portuguese trading posts in Angola and a few Dutch farms on the Cape of Good Hope provided the only toeholds in Africa for future expansion. In China, the emperors had welcomed Catholic missionaries at court in the seventeenth century, but the priests' credibility diminished as they squabbled among themselves and associated with European merchants, whom the Chinese considered pirates. In 1720, only one thousand Europeans resided in Guangzhou (Canton), the sole place where foreigners could legally trade for spices, tea, and silk (see Map 17.1 on page 604).

Europeans exercised more influence in Java (in what was then called the East Indies) and in India. Many Dutch settled in Java to oversee coffee production and Asian trade. Dutch, English, French, Portuguese, and Danish companies competed in India for spices, cotton, and silk; by the 1740s, the English and French had become the leading rivals in India, just as they were in North America. Both countries extended their power as India's Muslim rulers lost control to local Hindu princes, rebellious Sikhs, invading Persians, and their own provincial governors. A few thousand Europeans lived in India, though many thousand more soldiers were stationed there to protect them. The staple of trade with India in the early 1700s was calico — lightweight, brightly colored cotton cloth that caught on as a fashion in Europe. English and French slave traders sold calico to the Africans in exchange for slaves.

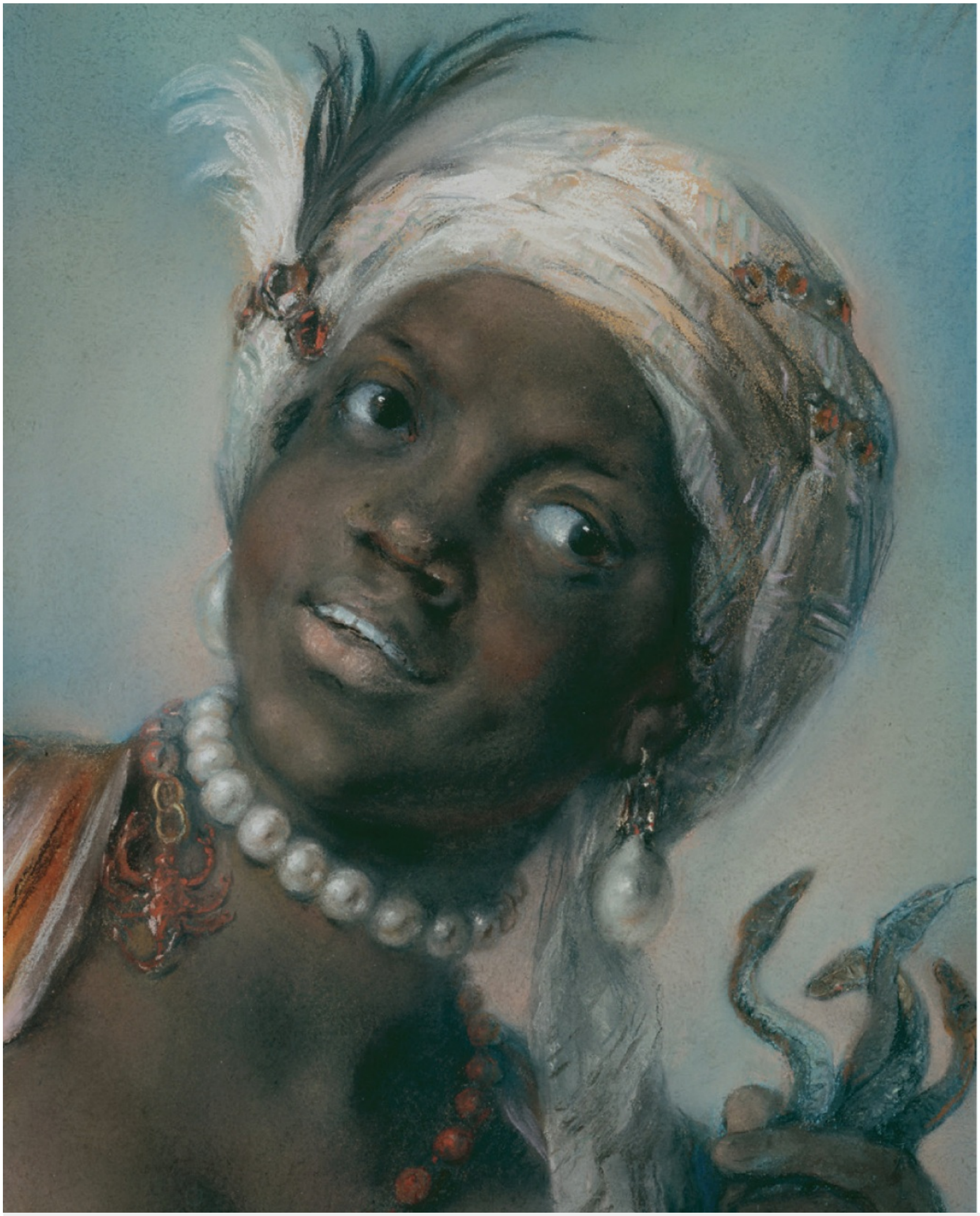
The Birth of Consumer Society

As worldwide colonization produced new supplies of goods, from coffee to calico, population growth in Europe fueled demand for them. Beginning in Britain, then in France and the Italian states, and finally in eastern Europe, population surged, growing by about 20 percent between 1700 and 1750. The gap between a fast-growing northwest and a more stagnant south and central Europe now diminished as regions that had lost population during the seventeenth-century downturn recovered. Cities, in particular, grew. Between 1600 and 1750, Paris's population more than doubled and London's more than tripled.

Although contemporaries could not have realized it then, this was the start of the modern population explosion. It appears that a decline in the death rate, rather than a rise in the birthrate, explains the turnaround. Three main factors contributed to increased longevity: better weather and hence more bountiful harvests, improved agricultural techniques, and the plague's disappearance after 1720.

By the early eighteenth century, the effects of economic expansion and population growth brought about a **consumer revolution**. For example, at Nantes, the center of the French sugar trade, imports quadrupled between 1698 and 1733. Tea, chocolate, and coffee became virtual necessities. In 1700, England had two thousand coffeehouses; by 1740, every English country town had at least two. Paris got its first cafés at the end of the seventeenth century, and Berlin opened its first coffeehouse in 1714.

A new economic dynamic steadily took shape that has influenced all of subsequent history. More and more people escaped the confines of a subsistence economy, in which peasants produced barely enough to support themselves from year to year. As ordinary people gained more disposable income, demand for nonessential consumer goods rose. These included not only the new colonial products such as coffee and tea but also tables, chairs, sheets, chamber pots, lamps, and mirrors — and for the better-off still, coffee- and teapots, china, cutlery, chests of drawers, desks, clocks, and pictures for the walls.



Heritage Images/Hulton Fine Art Collection/Getty Images.

The Exotic as Consumer Item This painting by the Venetian artist Rosalba Carriera (1675–1757) is titled *Africa*. The young Black girl wearing a turban represents the African continent. Carriera was known for her use of pastels. In 1720, she journeyed to Paris, where she became an associate of Antoine Watteau and helped inaugurate the rococo style in painting. Why might the artist have chosen to paint an African girl?

Rising demand created more jobs and more income and yet more purchasing power in a mutually reinforcing cycle. In the English economic literature of the 1690s and early 1700s, writers reacted to these developments by expressing a new view of humans as consuming animals with boundless appetites. Change did not occur all at once, however. The consumer revolution spread from the cities to the countryside, from England to the continent, and from western Europe to eastern Europe only over the long run.

Europe was not the only region experiencing such changes. China’s population grew even faster — it may have tripled during the 1700s — and there, too, consumption of cloth, furniture, tea, sugar, and tobacco all increased. In China, these goods could be locally produced, and China did not pursue colonization of far-flung lands. Still, foreign trade also increased, especially with lands on China’s borders.

REVIEW QUESTION

How was consumerism related to slavery in the early eighteenth century?

New Social and Cultural Patterns

The rise of consumption in Europe was fueled in part by a revolution in agricultural techniques that made it possible to produce larger quantities of food with a smaller agricultural workforce. As population increased, more people moved to the cities, where they found themselves caught up in innovative urban customs such as attending musical concerts and reading novels. Along with a general increase in literacy, these activities helped create a public that responded to new writers and artists. As always, people's experiences varied depending on whether they lived in wealth or poverty, in urban or rural areas, or in eastern or western Europe.

Agricultural Revolution

Although Britain, France, and the Dutch Republic shared the enthusiasm for consumer goods, Britain's domestic market grew most quickly. In Britain, as agricultural output increased by 43 percent over the course of the 1700s, the population increased by 70 percent. The British imported grain to feed the growing population, but they also benefited from the development of techniques that together constituted an **agricultural revolution**. It was not new machinery but rather increasingly aggressive attitudes toward investment and management that propelled this revolution. The Dutch and the Flemish had pioneered many agricultural management techniques in the 1600s, but the British took them further.

Four major changes occurred in British agriculture that eventually spread to other countries. First, farmers increased the amount of land under cultivation by draining wetlands and by growing crops on previously uncultivated common lands (acreage maintained by the community for grazing). Second, those farmers who could afford it consolidated small, scattered plots into larger, more efficient units. Third, livestock raising became more closely linked to crop growing, and the yields of each increased. For centuries, most farmers had rotated their fields in and out of production to replenish the soil. Now farmers planted carefully chosen fodder crops such as clover and turnips that added nutrients to the soil, thereby eliminating the need to leave a field fallow (unplanted) every two or three years. With more fodder available, farmers could raise more livestock, which in turn produced more manure to fertilize grain fields. Fourth, selective breeding of animals combined with the increase in fodder to improve the quality and size of herds. By the 1730s and 1740s, agricultural output had increased dramatically, and prices for food had fallen because of these interconnected innovations.

Changes in agricultural practices did not benefit all landowners equally. The biggest British landowners consolidated their holdings in the enclosure movement. They put pressure on small farmers and villagers to sell their land or give up their common lands. The big landlords then enclosed their property with fences. Because enclosure eliminated community grazing rights, it frequently sparked a struggle between the big landlords and villagers, and in Britain it normally required an act of Parliament. Such acts became increasingly common in the second half of the eighteenth century, and by the century’s end, six million acres of common lands had been enclosed and developed. In this way the

English peasantry largely disappeared, replaced by a more hierarchical society of big landlords, enterprising tenant farmers, and poor agricultural laborers.

The new agricultural techniques spread slowly from Britain and the Low Countries (the Dutch Republic and the Austrian Netherlands) to the rest of western Europe. Outside a few pockets, however, subsistence agriculture (producing just enough to get by rather than surpluses for the market) continued to dominate farming in western Europe and Scandinavia. Unlike the populations of the highly urbanized Low Countries (where half the people lived in towns and cities), most Europeans, western and eastern, eked out their existence in the countryside and could barely participate in the new markets for consumer goods.

In eastern Europe, the condition of peasants worsened in the areas where landlords tried hardest to improve crop yields. To produce more for the Baltic grain market, aristocratic landholders in Prussia, Poland, and parts of Russia drained wetlands, cultivated moors, and built dikes. They also forced peasants off lands that the peasants had worked for themselves, and they increased compulsory labor services (the critical element in serfdom). Some eastern landowners grew fabulously wealthy. The Potocki family in the Polish Ukraine, for example, owned three million acres of land and had 130,000 serfs.

Social Life in the Cities

Because of emigration from the countryside, cities grew in population and consequently exercised a growing influence on culture and social life. Between 1650 and 1750, cities with at least ten thousand inhabitants increased in population by 44 percent. From the eighteenth century onward, urban growth has been continuous. Along with the general growth of cities, an important south-to-north shift occurred in the pattern of urbanization. Around 1500, half of the people in cities of at least ten thousand residents could be found in the Italian states, Spain, or Portugal; by 1700, the urbanization of northwestern and southern Europe was roughly equal. Eastern Europe, despite the huge cities of Istanbul and Moscow, was still less urban than western Europe. With 675,000 inhabitants, London was by far the most populous European city in 1750; Berlin had ninety thousand people, Warsaw only twenty-three thousand.

Many landowners kept a residence in town, so the separation between rural and city life was not as extreme as might be imagined, at least not for the very rich. At the top of the ladder in the big cities were the landed nobles. Some of them filled their lives only with conspicuous consumption of fine food, extravagant clothing, carriages, books, and opera; others held key political, administrative, or judicial offices. However they spent their time, these rich families employed thousands of artisans, shopkeepers, and domestic servants. Many English peers (highest-ranking nobles) had thirty or forty servants at each of their homes.

Photo Josse/Leemage/Getty Images.

Domestic Servant Polishing the Silver This painting by André Bouys from 1737 depicts a scene common in prosperous households. In French towns and cities, servants made up as much as 10 percent of the population. Those at the top of the social scale employed the largest number, but even modest artisans might engage one servant to help in the home or the shop. Servants were just as important in London and Amsterdam.

The middle classes of officials, merchants, professionals, and landowners occupied the next rung down on the social ladder. London's population, for example, included about twenty thousand middle-class families (constituting, at most, one-sixth of the city's population). In this period, the middle classes began to develop distinctive ways of life that set them apart from both the rich noble landowners and the lower classes. Unlike the rich nobles, the middle classes lived primarily in the cities and towns, even if they owned small country estates.

Below the middle classes came the artisans and shopkeepers (most of whom were organized in professional guilds), then the journeymen, apprentices, servants, and laborers. At the bottom of the social scale were the unemployed poor, who survived by intermittent work and charity. Women married to artisans and shopkeepers often kept the accounts, supervised employees, and ran the household as well. Every middle-class and upper-class family employed servants; artisans and shopkeepers frequently hired them too. Women from poorer families usually worked as domestic servants until they married. Four out of five domestic servants in the city were female. In large cities such as London, the servant population grew faster than the population of the city as a whole.

Social status in the cities was readily visible. Wide, spacious streets graced rich districts; the houses had gardens, and the air was relatively fresh. In poor districts, the streets were narrow, dirty, dark, humid, and smelly, and the houses were damp and crowded. The poorest people were homeless, sleeping under bridges or in abandoned buildings. A Neapolitan prince described his homeless neighbors as “lying like filthy animals, with no distinction of age or sex.”

Like shelter, clothing was a reliable social indicator. The poorest workingwomen in Paris wore woolen skirts and blouses of dark colors over petticoats, a bodice, and a corset. They also donned caps of various sorts, cotton stockings, and shoes (probably their only pair). Workingmen dressed even more drably. Many occupations could be recognized by their dress: for example, no one could confuse lawyers in their dark robes with masons or butchers in their special aprons. People higher on the social ladder were more likely to sport a variety of fabrics, colors, and unusual designs in their clothing and to own many different outfits. Social status was not an abstract idea; it permeated every detail of daily life.

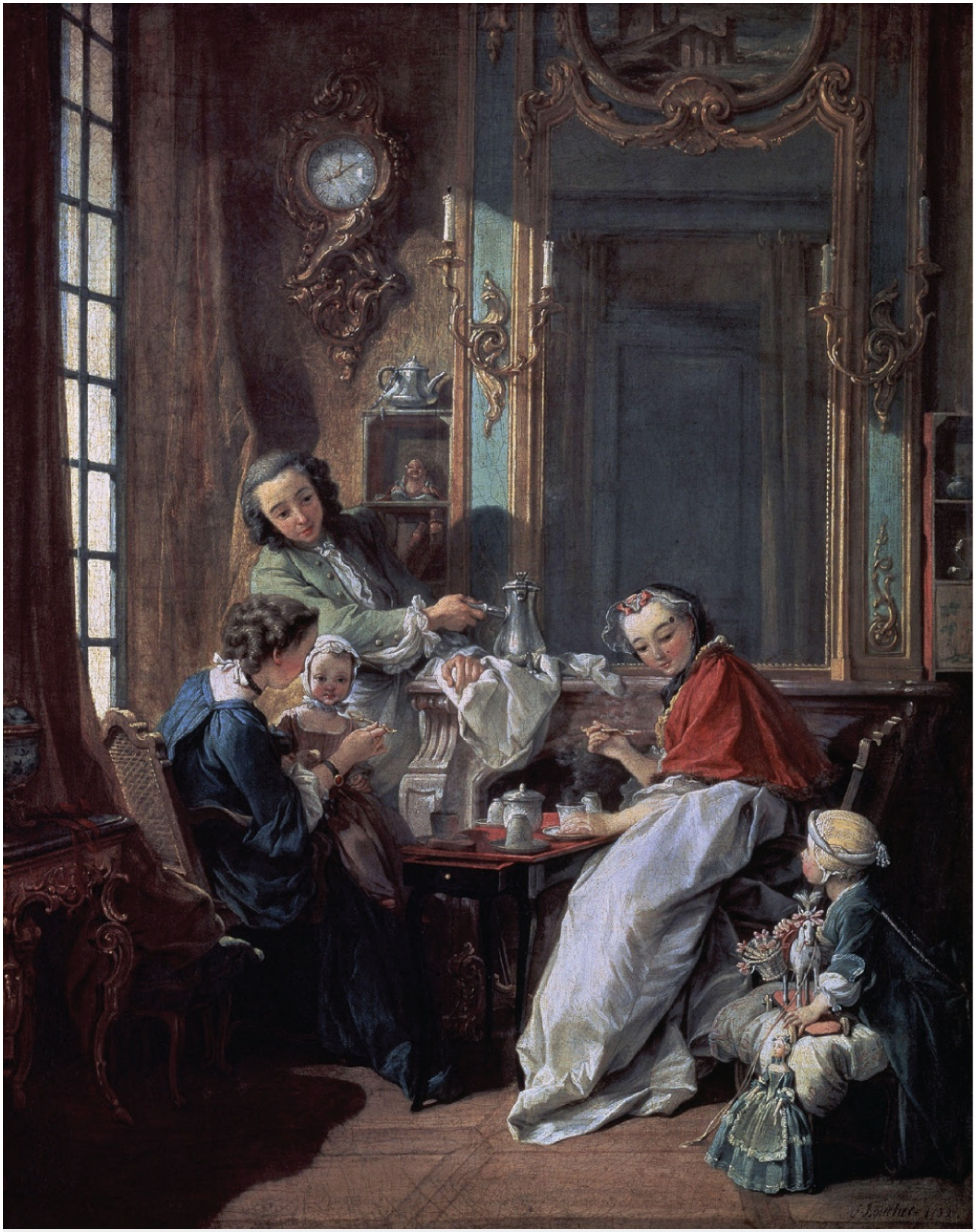
The ability to read and write also reflected social differences. People in the upper classes were more literate than those in the lower classes; city people were more literate than peasants. Protestant countries appear to have been more successful at promoting education and literacy than Catholic countries, perhaps because of the Protestant emphasis on Bible reading. Widespread literacy among the lower classes was first achieved in the Protestant areas of Switzerland and in Presbyterian Scotland. In France, literacy doubled in the eighteenth century thanks to the spread of parish schools, but still only one in two men and one in four women could read and write. Most peasants remained illiterate. Few schools existed, teachers received low wages, and no country had yet established a national system of education.

A new literate public nonetheless arose among the middle classes of the cities. More books and periodicals were published than ever before, another aspect of the consumer revolution. The trend began in the 1690s in England and the Dutch Republic and gradually accelerated. In 1695, new newspapers and magazines proliferated when the British government stopped demanding that each publication have a government-approved license. The first London daily newspaper came out in 1702, and in 1709, Joseph Addison and Richard Steele published the first literary magazine, *The Spectator*. They devoted their magazine to the cultural improvement of the increasingly influential middle class. By the 1720s, twenty-four provincial newspapers were published in England. In the London coffeehouses, an edition of a single newspaper might reach ten thousand male readers. Women did their reading at home. Except in the Dutch Republic, newspapers on the continent lagged behind and often consisted mainly of advertising with little critical commentary. France, for example, had no daily paper until 1777.

New Tastes in the Arts

The new literate public did not just read newspapers; its members now pursued an interest in painting, attended concerts, and besieged booksellers in search of popular novels. Because increased trade and prosperity put money into the hands of the growing middle classes, a new urban audience began to compete with the churches, rulers, and courtiers as chief patrons for new work.

Developments in painting reflected the tastes of the new public, as the **rococo** style challenged the hold of the baroque and classical schools, especially in France. *Rococo*, like *baroque*, was an invented word (from the French word *rocaille*, "shellwork") and originally a derogatory label, meaning "frivolous decoration." Many rococo paintings depicted scenes of intimate sensuality rather than the monumental, emotional grandeur favored by classical and baroque painters. Personal portraits and pastoral paintings took the place of heroic landscapes and grand, ceremonial canvases. Rococo paintings adorned homes as well as palaces and served as a form of interior decoration rather than as a statement of piety. Its decorative quality made rococo art an ideal complement to newly discovered materials such as stucco and porcelain, especially the porcelain vases now imported from China.



Album/Alamy Stock Photo.

Rococo Painting The rococo emphasis on interiors, on decoration, and on intimacy rather than monumental grandeur are evident in François Boucher's painting *Breakfast* (1739). The painting also draws attention to new consumer items, from the mirror and the clock to chocolate, children's toys, a small Buddha statue, and the intricately designed furniture.

Public music concerts were first performed in England in the 1670s and became much more regular and frequent in the 1690s. On the continent, Frankfurt organized the first regular public concerts in 1712; Hamburg and Paris began holding them within a few years. Opera continued to spread in the eighteenth century; Venice had sixteen public opera houses by 1700, and the Covent Garden opera house opened in London in 1732.

The growth of a public that appreciated and supported music had much the same effect as the extension of the reading public: like authors, composers could now begin to liberate themselves from court patronage and work for a paying audience. The composer George Frideric Handel (1685–1759) was among the first to grasp the new directions in music. A German by birth, Handel wrote operas in Italy and then moved in 1710 to Britain, where he wrote music for the court and began composing oratorios. The oratorio, a form Handel introduced in Britain, combined the drama of opera with the majesty of religious and ceremonial music and featured the chorus over the soloists. The “Hallelujah Chorus” from Handel’s oratorio *Messiah* (1741) is perhaps the single best-known piece of Western classical music. It reflected the composer’s personal, deeply felt piety but also his willingness to combine musical materials into a dramatic form that captured the enthusiasm of the new public.

Nothing excited the imagination of the new public more than the novel, the literary genre whose very name underscored the eighteenth-century taste for novelty. More than three hundred French novels appeared between 1700 and 1730. During this unprecedented explosion, the novel took on its modern form and became more concerned with individual psychology and social description than with the adventure tales popular earlier (such as Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quixote*). The novel's popularity was closely tied to the expansion of the reading public, and novels were available in serial form in periodicals or from the many booksellers who served the new market.

Women figured prominently in novels as characters, and women writers abounded. The English author Eliza Haywood (1693?–1756) earned her living turning out a stream of novels with titles such as *Persecuted Virtue, Constancy Rewarded*, and *The History of Betsy Thoughtless* — all showing a concern for the proper place of women as models of virtue in a changing world. Haywood's male counterpart was Daniel Defoe (1660–1731), a merchant's son who had a diverse and colorful career as a manufacturer, political spy, novelist, and social commentator. Defoe is best known for his novel *Robinson Crusoe* (1719). The story of the adventures of a shipwrecked sailor, *Robinson Crusoe* portrayed the new values of the time: to survive, Crusoe had to employ fearless entrepreneurial ingenuity. He had to be ready for the unexpected and be able to improvise in every situation. He was, in short, the model for the new man in an expanding economy. Crusoe's patronizing attitude toward the Black man Friday now draws much critical attention, but his discovery of Friday shows how the fates of Black and white people had become intertwined in the new colonial environment.

Religious Revivals

Despite the novel’s growing popularity, religious books and pamphlets still sold in huge numbers, and most Europeans remained devout, even as their religions were changing. In this period, a Protestant revivalist movement known as **Pietism** rocked the complacency of the established churches in northern Europe. Pietists believed in a mystical religion of the heart; they wanted a deeply emotional, even ecstatic religion. They urged intense Bible study, which in turn promoted popular education and contributed to the increase in literacy. Many Pietists attended catechism instruction every day and also went to morning and evening prayer meetings in addition to regular Sunday services. Although Pietism appealed to both Lutherans and Calvinists, it had the greatest impact in Lutheran Prussia, where it taught the virtues of hard work, obedience, and devotion to duty.

Catholicism also had its versions of religious revival, especially in France. A Frenchwoman, Jeanne Marie Guyon (1648–1717), attracted many noblewomen and a few leading clergymen to her own Catholic brand of Pietism, known as Quietism. Claiming miraculous visions and astounding prophecies, she urged a mystical union with God through prayer and simple devotion. Despite papal condemnation and intense controversy within Catholic circles in France, Guyon had followers all over Europe.

Even more influential were the Jansenists, who gained many new adherents to their austere form of Catholicism despite Louis XIV’s harassment and repeated condemnation by the papacy. Under the pressure of religious and political persecution, Jansenism took a revivalist turn in the 1720s. At the funeral of a Jansenist priest in Paris in 1727, the crowd who flocked to the grave claimed to witness a series of miraculous healings. Some believers fell into frenzied convulsions, claiming to be inspired by the Holy Spirit through the intercession of the dead priest. After midcentury, Jansenism became even more politically active as its adherents joined in opposition to the crown's policies on religion.

Review Question

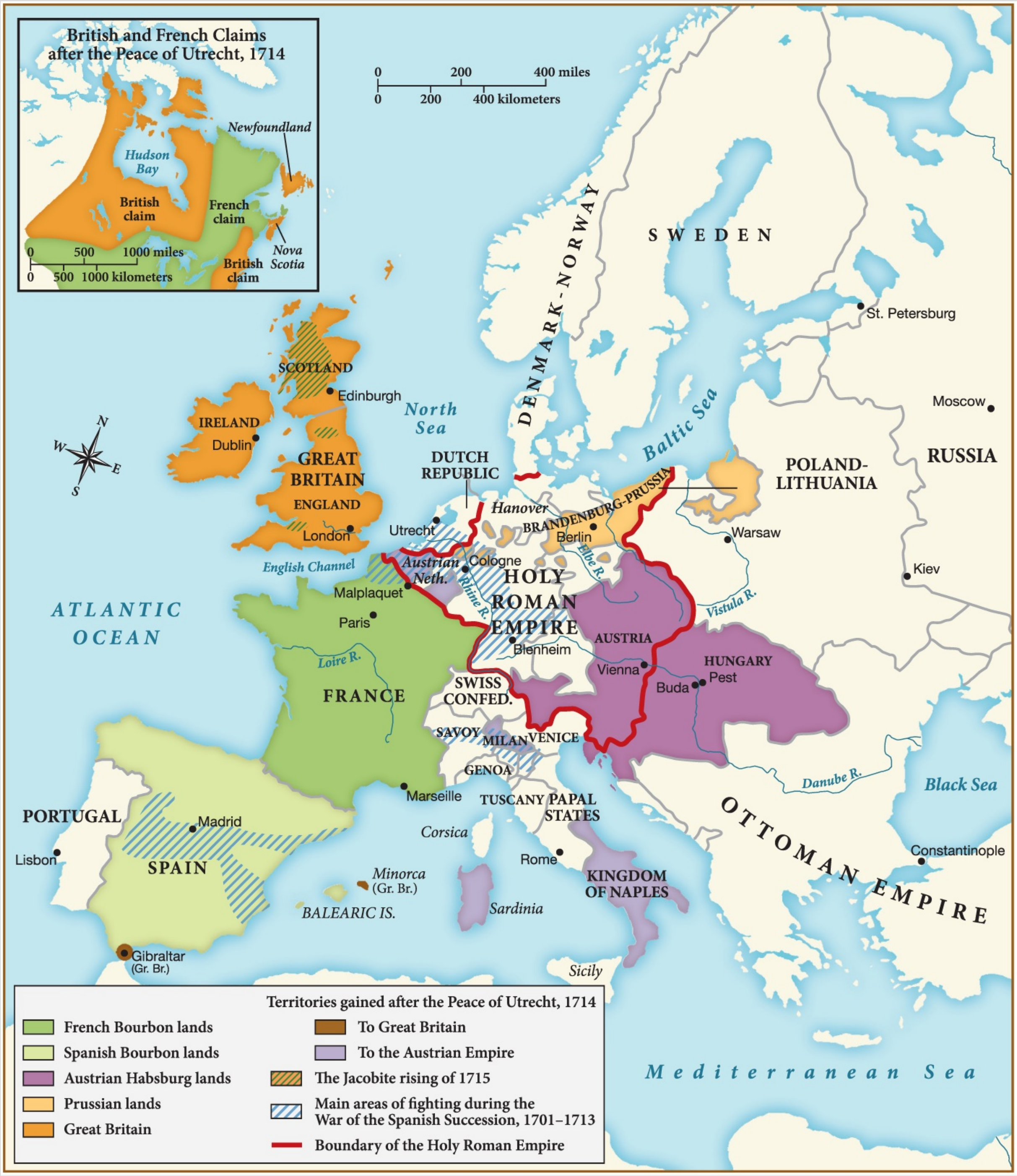
How were new social trends reflected in cultural life in the early 1700s?

Consolidation of the European State System

The spread of Pietism and Jansenism reflected the emergence of a middle-class public that now participated in every new development, including religion. The middle classes could pursue these interests because the European state system gradually stabilized despite the increasing competition for wealth in the Atlantic system. Warfare settled three main issues between 1700 and 1750: a coalition of powers held France in check on the continent, Great Britain emerged from the wars against France as the preeminent maritime power, and Russia defeated Sweden in the contest for supremacy in the Baltic. After Louis XIV's death in 1715, Europe enjoyed the fruits of a more balanced diplomatic system, in which warfare became less frequent and less widespread. States could then spend their resources establishing and expanding control over their own populations, both at home and in their colonies.

A New Power Alignment

The peace treaties that ended the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1713) signaled a new alignment of power in western Europe (see Chapter 16). Spain began a long decline, French ambitions for dominance were thwarted, and Great Britain emerged as the new center in the balance of power. A coalition led by Britain and joined by most of the European powers had confronted Louis XIV's French forces across Europe. The conflict extended to the Caribbean and North and South America as well. The casualties mounted inexorably: in the battle of Blenheim in southern Germany in 1704, 108,000 soldiers fought and thirty-three thousand were killed or wounded — in just one day. At Malplaquet, near the northern French border, a great battle in 1709 engaged 166,000 soldiers and cavalrymen, and thirty-six thousand of them were killed or wounded. Those allied against Louis won at Malplaquet, but they lost twice as many men as the French did and could not pursue their advantage. Everyone rejoiced when peace came (Map 17.2).



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 17.2 Europe, c. 1715

Although Louis XIV succeeded in putting his grandson Philip on the Spanish throne, France emerged considerably weakened from the War of the Spanish Succession. France ceded large territories in Canada to Britain, which also gained key Mediterranean outposts from Spain as well as a monopoly on providing enslaved people to the Spanish colonies. Spanish losses were catastrophic. Philip had to renounce any future claim to the French crown and give up considerable territories in the Netherlands and Italy to the Austrians. How did the competing English and French claims in North America around 1715 create potential conflicts for the future?

By the terms of the peace, French king Louis XIV’s grandson was confirmed as King Philip V of Spain (r. 1700–1746), but only on the condition that he renounce any claim to the French throne. None of the other powers could countenance a joint French-Spanish monarchy. Philip opened Spain further to the rest of Europe and stabilized the currency, but he could not revive Spain’s military prestige or commercial position. Spain consistently imported more from Britain and France than it exported to them. As a country that had been created by a campaign against Muslims within its boundaries, Spain remained firmly in the grip of the Catholic clergy, which insisted on the censorship of dissident or heretical ideas. Although the capital city, Madrid, had 200,000 inhabitants, laws prohibited people from smoking, reading newspapers, or talking politics in the cafés and inns of the city — precisely the activities flourishing in England, France, and the Dutch Republic.

When Louis XIV died in 1715, his five-year-old great-grandson succeeded him as Louis XV (r. 1715–1774), with the duke of Orléans (1674–1723), nephew of the dead king, serving as regent for the young boy. To raise much-needed funds, in 1719, the regent encouraged the Scottish financier John Law to set up an official trading company for North America and a state bank that issued paper money and stock (without which trade depended on the available supply of gold and silver). The bank was supposed to offer lower interest rates to the state, thus cutting the cost of financing the government's debts. The value of the stock rose rapidly in a frenzy of speculation, only to crash a few months later. France finally achieved a measure of financial stability under the leadership of Cardinal Hercule de Fleury (1653–1743), the most powerful member of the government after the death of the regent. Colonial trade boomed. Peace and the acceptance of limits on territorial expansion inaugurated a century of French prosperity.

British Rise and Dutch Decline

The British and the Dutch had formed a coalition against Louis XIV under their joint ruler, William III, who was simultaneously stadholder (elected head) of the Dutch Republic and, with his English wife, Mary (d. 1694), ruler of England, Wales, and Scotland. After William's death in 1702, the British and Dutch went their separate ways. Over the next decades, England incorporated Scotland and subjugated Ireland, becoming "Great Britain" in 1707. At the same time, Dutch imperial power declined; by 1700, the British dominated the seas, and the Dutch, with their small population of less than two million, came to depend on alliances with bigger powers.

English relations with Scotland and Ireland were complicated by the problem of succession: William and Mary had no children. To ensure a Protestant succession, Parliament ruled that Mary's sister, Anne, would succeed William and Mary and that the Protestant house of Hanover in Germany would succeed Anne if she had no surviving heirs. Catholics were excluded. When Queen Anne (r. 1702–1714) died leaving no children, the elector of Hanover, a Protestant great-grandson of James I, consequently became King George I (r. 1714–1727). The house of Hanover — renamed the house of Windsor during World War I — still occupies the British throne today.

Support from the Scots and Irish for this solution did not come easily because many in Scotland and Ireland supported the claims to the throne of the deposed Catholic king, James II, and, after his death in 1701, his son James Edward. Out of fear of this Jacobitism (from the Latin *Jacobus*, for "James"), Scottish Protestant leaders agreed to the Act of Union of 1707, which abolished the Scottish Parliament and affirmed the Scots' recognition of the Protestant Hanoverian succession. The Scots agreed to obey the Parliament of Great Britain, which would include Scottish members in the House of Commons and the House of Lords. A Jacobite rebellion in Scotland in 1715, aiming to restore the Stuart line, was suppressed (see Map 17.2 on page 617). The threat of Jacobitism nonetheless continued into the 1740s.

The Irish — 90 percent of whom were Catholic — proved even more difficult to subdue. William III had to take command of the joint English and Dutch forces to defeat the Irish supporters of James II, and after that defeat, Catholics in Ireland faced yet more confiscation and legal restrictions. By 1700, Irish Catholics, who in 1640 had owned 60 percent of the land in Ireland, owned just 14 percent. The Protestant-controlled Irish Parliament passed a series of laws limiting the rights of the Catholic majority: Catholics could not marry Protestants, send children abroad for education, or establish Catholic schools at home. Moreover, Catholics could not sit in Parliament, nor could they vote for its members unless they took an oath renouncing Catholic doctrine. These and a host of other laws reduced Catholic Ireland to the status of a colony.

In Britain’s constitutional system, the monarch ruled with Parliament. The crown chose ministers, directed policy, and supervised administration, while Parliament raised revenue, passed laws, and represented the interests of the people to the crown. The powers of Parliament were reaffirmed by the Triennial Act in 1694, which provided that parliaments meet at least once every three years (this was extended to seven years in 1716, after the Whigs had established their ascendancy). Only 200,000 propertied men could vote, out of a population of more than five million, and a few hundred families controlled all the important political offices.

George I and George II (r. 1727–1760) relied on one man, Sir **Robert Walpole** (1676–1745), to help them manage their relations with Parliament. From his position as First Lord of the Treasury, Walpole made himself into the first, or “prime,” minister, leading the House of Commons from 1721 to 1742. Although appointed initially by the king, Walpole established an enduring pattern of parliamentary government in which a prime minister from the leading party guided legislation through the House of Commons. Walpole also built a vast patronage machine that dispensed government jobs to win support for the crown’s policies.

The partisan division between the Whigs, who supported the Hanoverian succession and the rights of dissenting Protestants, and the Tories, who had backed the Stuart line and the Church of England, did not hamper Great Britain’s pursuit of economic, military, and colonial power. In this period, Great Britain became a great power on the world stage by virtue of its navy and its ability to finance major military involvement in wars. The founding in 1694 of the Bank of England — which, unlike the French bank, endured — enabled the government to raise money at low interest for foreign wars. By the 1740s, the government could borrow more than four times what it could in the 1690s.

When William of Orange (William III of England) died in 1702, he left no heirs, and for forty-five years the Dutch lived without a stadholder. The merchant ruling class of some two thousand families dominated the Dutch Republic more than ever, but they presided over a country that counted for less in international power politics. The Dutch population was not growing as fast as others, and the Dutch share of the Baltic trade decreased from 50 percent in 1720 to less than 30 percent by the 1770s. The output of Leiden textiles dropped to one-third of its 1700 level by 1740. Shipbuilding, paper manufacturing, tobacco processing, salt refining, and pottery production all dwindled as well. The biggest exception to the downward trend was trade with the New World, which increased with escalating demands for sugar and tobacco. The Dutch shifted their interest away from great-power rivalries and toward those areas of international trade and finance where they could establish an enduring presence.

Russia’s Emergence as a European Power

The commerce and shipbuilding of the Dutch and British so impressed Russian Tsar Peter I (r. 1689–1725) that he traveled incognito to their shipyards in 1697 to learn their methods firsthand. Known to history as **Peter the Great**, he dragged Russia kicking and screaming all the way to great-power status (see Contrasting Views on pages 622–623.) Although he came to the throne while still a minor (on the eve of his tenth birthday), grew up under the threat of a palace coup, and enjoyed little formal education, his accomplishments soon matched his seven-foot-tall stature. Peter transformed public life in Russia and established an absolutist state based on the Western model. His attempts to create a society patterned after western Europe, known as **Westernization**, ignited an enduring controversy: Did Peter set Russia on a course of inevitable Westernization required to compete with the West? Or did he forever and fatally disrupt Russia's natural evolution into a distinctive Slavic society? To pursue his goal of Westernizing Russian culture, Peter set up the first laboratories and technical schools and founded the Russian Academy of Sciences. He ordered translations of Western classics and hired a German theater company to perform the French plays of Molière. He replaced the traditional Russian calendar with the Western one,* introduced Arabic numerals, and brought out the first public newspaper. He ordered his officials and the nobles to shave their beards and dress in Western fashion.

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*Peter introduced the Julian calendar, then still used in Protestant but not Catholic countries. Later in the eighteenth century, Protestant Europe abandoned the Julian for the Gregorian calendar. Not until 1918 was the Gregorian calendar adopted in Russia, at which point Russia's calendar had fallen thirteen days behind Europe's.

Peter encouraged foreigners to move to Russia to offer their advice and skills, especially for building the capital city. Named St. Petersburg after the tsar, the new capital symbolized Russia’s opening to the West. (See Environment Matters.) Construction began in 1703 in a Baltic province that had been recently conquered from Sweden. By the end of 1709, thirty thousand laborers had been enlisted in the construction. Peter ordered skilled workers to move to the new city and commanded all landowners possessing more than forty serf households to build houses there. In the 1720s, a German minister described St. Petersburg “as a wonder of the world, considering its magnificent palaces, … and the short time that was employed in the building of it.” At Peter’s death in 1725, the new city had forty thousand residents; by 1750 it had 100,000.

Peter aimed to set Russia on a new course. At his new capital he tried to improve the traditionally denigrated, secluded status of women by ordering them to dress in European styles and appear publicly at his dinners for diplomatic representatives. A foreigner headed every one of Peter’s new technical and vocational schools, and for its first eight years the new Academy of Sciences included no Russians. Every ministry was assigned a foreign adviser. Upper-class Russians learned French or German, which they spoke even at home. Such changes affected only the very top of Russian society, however; the mass of the population had no contact with the new ideas and ended up paying for the innovations either in ruinous new taxation or by building St. Petersburg, a project that cost the lives of thousands of workers. Serfs remained tied to the land, completely dominated by their noble lords.

Peter also reorganized government and finance on Western models and, like other absolute rulers, strengthened his army. With ruthless recruiting methods, which included branding a cross on every recruit’s left hand to prevent desertion, he forged an army of 200,000 men and equipped it with modern weapons. He not only built the first navy in Russian history but also created schools for artillery, engineering, and military medicine. Not surprisingly, taxes tripled.

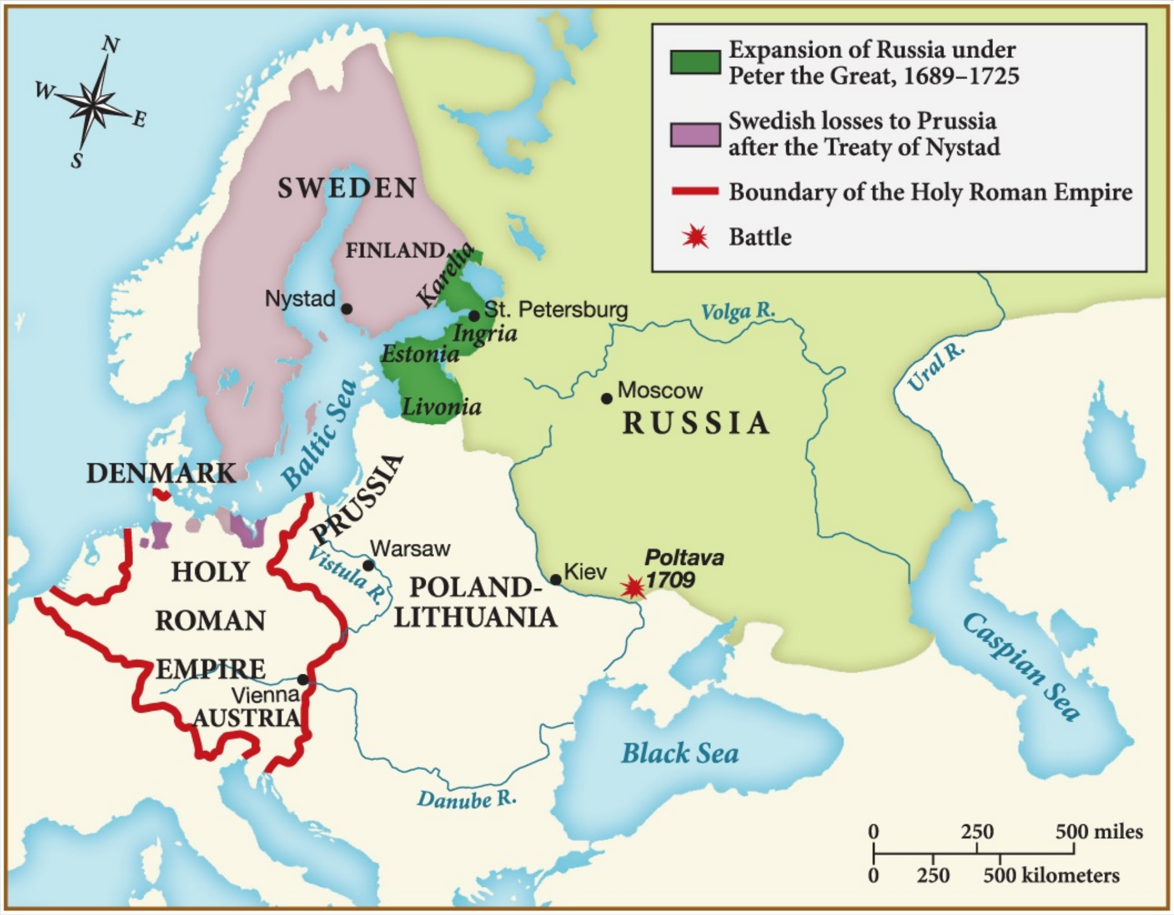
WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

Imagine yourself as a high-ranking Russian noble during the time of Peter the Great. Would you support his reforms or resist them? Keep in mind that you would have to build a new house in his new capital of St. Petersburg, and it might be very far away from your estates and serfs. Think about which reforms would be beneficial to you (or the country as a whole) and which might be more difficult to swallow. Would you be in favor of Westernization or opposed to it?

The tsar allowed nothing to stand in his way. He did not hesitate to use torture, and he executed thousands. He gave a special guard regiment unprecedented power to expedite cases against those suspected of rebellion, espionage, pretensions to the throne, or just “unseemly utterances” against him. Because his only son, Alexei, had allied himself with Peter’s critics, the tsar threw him into prison, where the young man mysteriously died.

To control the often restive nobility, Peter insisted that all noblemen engage in state service. The Table of Ranks (1722) classified them into military, administrative, and court categories, a codification of social and legal relationships in Russia that would last for nearly two centuries. Because the nobles lacked a secure independent status, Peter could command them to a degree that was unimaginable in western Europe. State service was not only compulsory but also permanent. Moreover, the male children of those in service had to be registered by the age of ten and begin serving at fifteen. To increase his authority over the Russian Orthodox church, Peter allowed the office of patriarch (supreme head) to remain vacant, and in 1721, he replaced it with the Holy Synod, a bureaucracy of laymen under his supervision.

Peter the Great's success in building up state authority changed the balance of power in eastern Europe. First he took on Sweden, which had dominated the Baltic region since the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). Peter joined an anti-Swedish coalition in 1700 with Denmark, Saxony, and Poland, but the ensuing Great Northern War (1700–1721) went badly for the allies at first. The Swedes defeated Denmark, quickly marched into Poland and Saxony, and then invaded Russia. Peter's rebuilt army finally defeated the Swedes at the battle of Poltava (1709), taking twenty-three thousand Swedish soldiers prisoner and marking the end of Swedish imperial ambitions in the Baltic (Map 17.3). Russia could then begin to compete with the great powers Prussia, Austria, and France.



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MAP 17.3 Russia and Sweden after the Great Northern War, 1721

After the Great Northern War, Russia supplanted Sweden as the major power in the north. Although Russia had a much larger population from which to draw its armies, Sweden made the most of its advantages and gave way only after a great military struggle.

When the tide turned in the Great Northern War, King Frederick William I of Prussia (r. 1713–1740) joined the Russian side and gained new territories. Prussia had to make the most of every military opportunity because it was much smaller in size and population than the other powers. Frederick William doubled the size of the Prussian army; though still smaller than those of his rivals, it was the best-trained and most up-to-date force in Europe. The army so dominated life in Prussia that the country earned the label “a large army with a small state attached.” One of the first rulers to wear a military uniform as his everyday dress, Frederick William subordinated the entire domestic administration to the army’s needs. He financed the army’s growth by subjecting all the provinces to an excise tax on food, drink, and manufactured goods and by increasing rents on crown lands.

ENVIRONMENT MATTERS

The Building of St. Petersburg

DE AGOSTINI PICTURE LIBRARY/Getty Images

The print shows Russian tsar Peter the Great supervising the construction of St. Petersburg, which began in 1703. He insisted on building an entirely new city on lands recently conquered from Sweden even though the desolate marshlands located where the River Neva flows into the Gulf of Finland posed many challenges. Peter brought European engineers and architects to work with him to create the “Venice of the North” with canals and European-style stone buildings. Thousands died making Peter’s dream come true; now the biggest problem is balancing a desire for historic preservation with the needs of twenty-first-century inhabitants.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. Why would Peter choose a site on the western border of his country for his new city?
2. Why did Peter bring in so many western European engineers and architects to build his city?

CONTRASTING VIEWS

Peter the Great of Russia

Western Europeans were fascinated, and sometimes horrified, by the conduct of the Russian rulers who had reputation for brutality. Peter was no exception in this regard, but he also earned praise for his eagerness to remake Russia in the Western image. Bishop Gilbert Burnet was asked by English King William III to meet with Peter during his visit to England in 1698 (Document 1). Writing when Peter is still a young man, Burnet emphasized the defects of Peter’s temperament. Jean Rousset de Missy was a French Calvinist who migrated to the Dutch Republic. He wrote an early history of the reign of Peter in which he commented very favourably on Peter’s policies, including his concern with the dress and appearance of his people (Document 2).

1. Bishop Gilbert Burnet reports on Peter’s visit to England in 1698

Burnet (1643–1715) was an adviser to English King William III and so had a firsthand view of many of the most crucial political developments of his time. He began his memoir in 1683 but it was published only after his death in two volumes (1724 and 1734).

I waited often on him, and was ordered, both by the King, and the Archbishop and Bishops, to attend upon him, and to offer him such information of our religion and constitution as he was willing to receive; I had good interpreters, so I had much free discourse with him; he is a man of a very hot temper, soon inflamed and very brutal in his passion; he raises his natural heat, by drinking much brandy, … he wants not capacity, and has a larger measure of knowledge, than might be expected from his education, which was very indifferent: a want of judgment, with an instability of temper, appear in him too often and too evidently; he is mechanically turned, and seems designed by nature rather to be a ship carpenter, than a great Prince.… He was desirous to understand our doctrine, but he did not seem disposed to mend matters in *Muscovy*: he was indeed resolved to encourage learning, and to polish his people, by sending some of them to travel in other countries, and to draw strangers to come and live among them; he seemed apprehensive still of his sister's intrigues. There was a mixture both of passion and severity in his temper. He is resolute but understands little of war, and seemed not at all inquisitive that way.

Source: Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time … carefully corrected, and revised by the folio copy* (Edinburgh, 1753 [first published 1734]), vol. 4 of 6, 322–23.

2. Jean Rousset de Missy, *Memoirs of the Reign of Peter the Great*

Like many authors of the eighteenth century, Rousset de Missy (1686–1762) published his life of Peter the Great under a pseudonym, Iwan Nestesuranoi, so that he could present a first-person account. His four volumes are one of the first Western histories of the policies and wars of the Russian tsar who reshaped his country.

The Czar thus established a type of government like those of the most civilized states, reserving to himself the right to name the governors of the provinces of his empire that he grouped together into a certain number of greater regions. He took from the governors the responsibility for financial affairs and established a Chamber of Accounts that he charged with levying taxes. … He ordered that in the future only persons of greater than 50 years of age could join a monastery. He had in view conserving for the state the many young people who embraced this life out of idleness and with time the number of monks being greatly diminished, he would appropriate for himself the better part of their revenues which were immense.…

From the reform of beards [a tax on all those who continued to wear long beards] one moved on to that of clothing. Our way of dressing was like that of all the Orientals, very long, of the sort that fell to just above the heel. The Czar ordered the abolition of this dress, requiring all the boyars [aristocrats] and all those who had a position at the court to dress in the French fashion. … As for the rest of the people, this is what was done: a new style frock coat was hung at the city gates with the order that required everyone, with the exception of peasants, to have made for themselves coats based on this model. Those who did not obey would be made to kneel and have cut off any part of their clothing that fell below the knees or pay [a tax] every time they came into town wearing an old-style item of clothing.…

The dress of women changed in a similar manner.… Instead of the threat of some penalty, added to this order was the statement that in the future women would be invited as well as men to celebrations such as weddings, banquets and others, where both sexes would be in the same room as in Holland and in England and that these celebrations would end with concerts and dances but that only those women dressed in the English manner would be admitted.

Source: Jean Rousset de Missy, *Mémoires du règne de Pierre-le-Grand, Empereur de Russia, Père de la patrie, etc.etc.etc.*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1740 [first published 1725]), IV, 165–69.

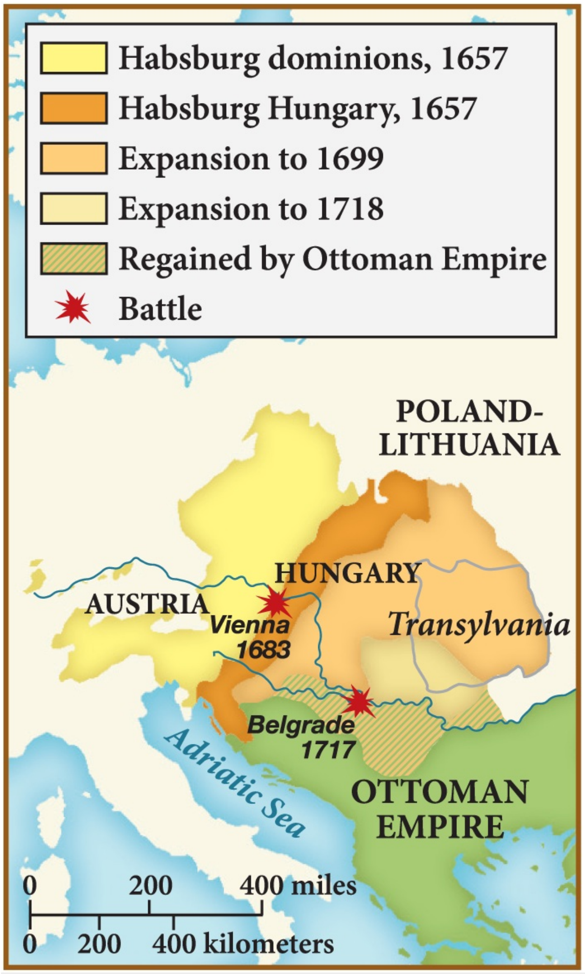
Questions to Consider

1. In what ways does the account of Burnet reflect the superiority western Europeans felt toward their eastern European counterparts?
2. How did the successes of Peter the Great's wars change the view of western Europeans toward Russia?
3. Why were clothing and the role of women important to Peter the Great?

Continuing Dynastic Struggles

War broke out again in 1733 when the king of Poland-Lithuania died. France, Spain, and Sardinia joined in the War of the Polish Succession (1733–1735) against Austria and Russia, each side supporting rival claimants to the Polish throne. Prussia chose to sit on the sidelines. Although Peter the Great had been followed by a series of weak rulers, Russian forces were still strong enough to drive the French candidate out of Poland-Lithuania, prompting France to accept the Austrian candidate. In exchange, Austria gave the province of Lorraine to the French candidate, the father-in-law of Louis XV, with the promise that the province would pass to France on his death. France and Britain went back to pursuing their colonial rivalries. Prussia and Russia concentrated on shoring up their influence within Poland-Lithuania.

Because its armies still faced the Turks on its southeastern border, Austria did not want to become mired in a long struggle in Poland-Lithuania. Even though the Austrians had forced the Turks to recognize their rule over all of Hungary and Transylvania in 1699 and had occupied Belgrade in 1717, the Turks did not stop fighting. In the 1730s, the Turks retook Belgrade, and Russia now claimed a role in the struggle against the Turks. Moreover, Hungary proved less than enthusiastic about submitting to Austria. In 1703, the wealthiest Hungarian noble landlord, Ferenc Rákóczi (1676–1735), raised an army of seventy thousand men who fought for “God, Fatherland, and Liberty” until 1711. They forced the Austrians to recognize local Hungarian institutions, grant amnesty, and restore confiscated estates in exchange for confirming hereditary Austrian rule.



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Austrian Conquest of Hungary, 1657–1730

When Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI died without a male heir in 1740, another war of succession, the **War of the Austrian Succession** (1740–1748), began. Most European rulers recognized the emperor's chosen heiress, his daughter Maria Theresa, because Charles's Pragmatic Sanction of 1713 had given a woman the right to inherit the Habsburg crown lands. The new king of Prussia, Frederick II, who had just succeeded his father a few months earlier in 1740, saw his chance to grab territory and immediately invaded the rich Austrian province of

Silesia. France joined Prussia in an attempt to further humiliate its traditional enemy Austria, and Great Britain allied with Austria to prevent the French from taking the Austrian Netherlands. The war soon expanded to the overseas colonies of Great Britain and France. French and British colonials in North America fought each other all along their boundaries, enlisting native American auxiliaries. Hostilities broke out in India too.

Maria Theresa (r. 1740–1780) survived only by conceding Silesia to Prussia in order to split the Prussians off from France. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) recognized Maria Theresa as the heiress to the Austrian lands; her husband, Francis I, became Holy Roman Emperor, thus reasserting the integrity of the Austrian Empire. The peace of 1748 failed to resolve the colonial conflicts between Britain and France, however, and fighting for domination continued unofficially.

The Power of Diplomacy and the Importance of Population

No single power emerged from the wars of the first half of the eighteenth century clearly superior to the others, and the Peace of Utrecht explicitly declared that maintaining a balance of power was crucial to keeping peace in Europe. Diplomacy helped preserve that balance, and to meet the new demands placed on it, the diplomatic service, like the military and financial bureaucracies before it, had to develop regular procedures. The French set a pattern that the other European states soon imitated. By 1685, France had embassies in all the important capitals. Nobles of ancient families served as ambassadors to Rome, Madrid, Vienna, and London, whereas royal officials were chosen for Switzerland, the Dutch Republic, and Venice. The ambassador selected and paid for his own staff, which might be as large as eighty people. The diplomatic system ensured a continuation of the principles of the Peace of Westphalia (1648); in the midst of every crisis and war, the great powers would convene and hammer out a written agreement detailing the requirements for peace.

Adroit diplomacy could smooth the road toward peace, but success in war still depended on sheer numbers — of men and of muskets. Because each state's strength depended largely on the size of its army, the growth and health of the population increasingly entered into government calculations. William Petty's *Political Arithmetick* (1690) offered statistical estimates of human capital — that is, of population and wages — to determine Britain's national wealth. Government officials devoted increased effort to the statistical estimation of total population and rates of births, deaths, and marriages.

Physicians used the new population statistics to explain the environmental causes of disease, another new preoccupation in this period. Petty, trained as a physician himself, devised a quantitative scale that distinguished healthy from unhealthy places largely on the basis of air quality, an early precursor of modern environmental studies. Cities were the unhealthiest places because garbage and excrement (animal and human) accumulated where people lived densely packed together. The Irish writer Jonathan Swift described what happened in London after a big rainstorm: "Filths of all hues and colors … sweepings from butchers’ stalls, dung, guts and blood … dead cats and turniptops come tumbling down the flood.” Reacting to newly collected data on climate, disease, and population, local governments undertook such measures as draining low-lying areas, burying refuse, and cleaning wells.

Not all changes came from direct government intervention. Hospitals, founded originally as charities concerned foremost with the moral worthiness of the poor, gradually evolved into medical institutions that defined patients by their diseases. Physicians began to rely on postmortem dissections in the hospital to gain better knowledge, a practice most patients’ families resented. Press reports of body snatching and grave robbing by surgeons and their apprentices outraged the public well into the 1800s.

Despite the change in hospitals, a medical profession with nationwide organizations and licensing had not yet emerged, and no clear line separated trained physicians from quacks. Patients in a hospital were as likely to catch a deadly disease as to be cured there. Antiseptics were virtually unknown. Because doctors believed that most insanity was caused by disorders in the system of bodily “humors,” their prescribed treatments included blood transfusions; ingestion of bitter substances such as coffee, quinine, and soap; immersion in water; various forms of exercise; and burning or cauterizing the body to allow “black vapors” to escape.

Hardly any infectious diseases could be cured, though inoculation against smallpox spread from the Middle East to Europe in the early eighteenth century, thanks largely to the efforts of Lady Mary Wortley

Montagu (1689–1762). Wife of the British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Montagu witnessed firsthand the Turkish use of inoculation. When a new smallpox epidemic threatened England in 1721, she called on her physician to inoculate her daughter. Inoculation against smallpox spread more widely only after 1796, when the English physician Edward Jenner developed a serum based on cowpox, a milder disease.

Public bathhouses had disappeared from cities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries because they seemed to be a source of disorderly behavior and epidemic illness. In the eighteenth century, even private bathing came into disfavor because people feared the effects of contact with water. Bathing was hazardous, physicians insisted, because it opened the body to disease. The upper classes associated cleanliness not with baths but with frequently changed linens, powdered hair, and perfume, which was thought to strengthen the body and refresh the brain by counteracting corrupt and foul air.

Review Question

What events and developments led to greater stability and more limited warfare within Europe?

The Birth of the Enlightenment

Economic expansion, the emergence of a new consumer society, and the stabilization of the European state system all generated optimism about the future. The intellectual corollary was the **Enlightenment**, a term used later in the eighteenth century to describe the movement begun by a loosely knit group of writers and scholars who believed that human beings could apply a critical, reasoning spirit to every problem they encountered in this world. The result of the application of reason would be progress (see Terms of History) in every aspect of life. The new secular, scientific, and critical attitude first emerged in the 1690s, scrutinizing everything from the absolutism of Louis XIV to the traditional role of women in society. After 1750, criticism took a more systematic turn as writers provided new theories for the organization of society and politics; but as early as the 1720s, established authorities realized they faced a new set of challenges. Even while slavery expanded in the Atlantic system, Enlightenment writers began to insist on the need for new freedoms in Europe.

TERMS OF HISTORY

Progress

Believing as they did in the possibilities of improvement, many Enlightenment writers preached a new doctrine about the meaning of human history. They challenged the traditional Christian belief that the original sin of Adam and Eve condemned human beings to unhappiness in this world and offered instead an optimistic vision: human nature, they claimed, was inherently good, and progress would be continuous if education developed human capacities to the utmost. Science and reason could bring happiness in this world. The idea of novelty or newness itself now seemed positive rather than threatening. Europeans began to imagine that they could surpass all those who preceded them in history, and they began to think of themselves as more “advanced” than the “backward” cultures they encountered in other parts of the world.

More than an intellectual concept, the idea of progress included a new conception of historical time and of Europeans’ place within world history. Europeans stopped looking back, whether to a lost Garden of Eden or to the writings of Greek and Roman antiquity. Growing prosperity, European dominance overseas, and the scientific revolution oriented them toward the future. To distinguish it from the Middle Ages (a new term), Europeans began to apply the word *modern* to their epoch — and they considered their modern period superior in achievement. Consequently, Europeans took it as their mission to bring their modern, enlightened ways of progress to the areas they colonized.

The economic and ecological catastrophes, destructive wars, and genocides of the twentieth century cast much doubt on this rosy vision of continuing progress. As the philosopher George Santayana (1863–1952) complained, “The cry was for vacant freedom and indeterminate progress: *Vorwarts! Avanti! Onward! Full Speed Ahead!*, without asking whether directly before you was a bottomless pit.” Historians are now chastened in their claims about progress. They would no longer side with the German philosopher Georg W. F. Hegel, who proclaimed in 1832, “The history of the world is none other than the progress of the consciousness of freedom.” They worry about the nationalistic claims inherent, for example, in the English historian Thomas Babington Macaulay’s insistence that “the history of England is emphatically the history of progress” (1843). As with many other historical questions, the final word is not yet in: Is there a direction in human history that can correctly be called progress? Or is history, as many in ancient times thought, a set of repeating cycles?

Popularization of Science and Challenges to Religion

The writers of the Enlightenment glorified the geniuses of the new science and championed the scientific method as the solution for all social problems. By 1700, mathematics and science had become fashionable topics in high society, and the public flocked to lectures explaining scientific discoveries.

As the prestige of science increased, some developed a skeptical attitude toward attempts to enforce religious conformity. Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), a French Huguenot refugee from Louis XIV's persecutions, launched an internationally influential campaign against religious intolerance from his safe haven in the Dutch Republic. His *News from the Republic of Letters* (first published in 1684) bitterly criticized the policies of Louis XIV and was quickly banned in Paris and condemned in Rome. After attacking Louis XIV's anti-Protestant policies, Bayle took a more general stand in favor of religious toleration. No state in Europe officially offered complete tolerance, though the Dutch Republic came closest with its tacit acceptance of Catholics, dissident Protestant groups, and open Jewish communities. In 1697, Bayle published his *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, which cited all the errors and delusions that he could find in past and present writers of all religions. Even religion must meet the test of reasonableness: "Any particular dogma, whatever it may be, whether it is advanced on the authority of the Scriptures, or whatever else may be its origins, is to be regarded as false if it clashes with the clear and definite conclusions of the natural understanding [reason]."

Bayle's insistence on rational investigation seemed to challenge the authority of faith. Other scholars challenged the authority of the Bible by subjecting it to historical criticism. Discoveries in geology in the early eighteenth century showed that marine fossils dated immensely farther back than the biblical flood story suggested. Investigations of miracles, comets, and oracles — like the growing literature against belief in witchcraft — urged the use of reason to combat superstition and prejudice. Defenders of church and state published books warning of the new skepticism's dangers. The spokesman for Louis XIV's absolutism, the bishop Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, warned that "reason is the guide of their choice, but reason only brings them face to face with vague conjectures and baffling perplexities." Human beings, the traditionalists held, were simply incapable of subjecting everything to reason, especially in the realm of religion.

State authorities found religious skepticism equally unsettling because it threatened to undermine state power too. The extensive literature of criticism was not limited to France, but much of it was published in French, and the French government took the lead in suppressing the more outspoken works. Forbidden books were then often published in the Dutch Republic, Britain, or Switzerland and smuggled back across the border to a public whose appetite was only whetted by censorship.

The most influential writer of the early Enlightenment was a Frenchman born into the upper middle class, François-Marie Arouet, known by his pen name, **Voltaire** (1694–1778). Voltaire took inspiration from Bayle, once giving him the following tongue-in-cheek description: "He gives facts with such odious fidelity, he exposes the arguments for and against with such dastardly impartiality, he is so intolerably intelligible, that he leads people of only ordinary common sense to judge and even to doubt." Voltaire's tangles with church and state began in the early 1730s, when he published his *Letters Concerning the English Nation* (the English version appeared in 1733), in which he devoted several chapters to scientist Isaac Newton and philosopher John Locke and used the virtues of the British as a way to attack Catholic bigotry and government rigidity in France. He spent two years in exile in Britain when the French state responded to his book with an order for his arrest.

DEA/G. Dagli Orti/Getty Images.

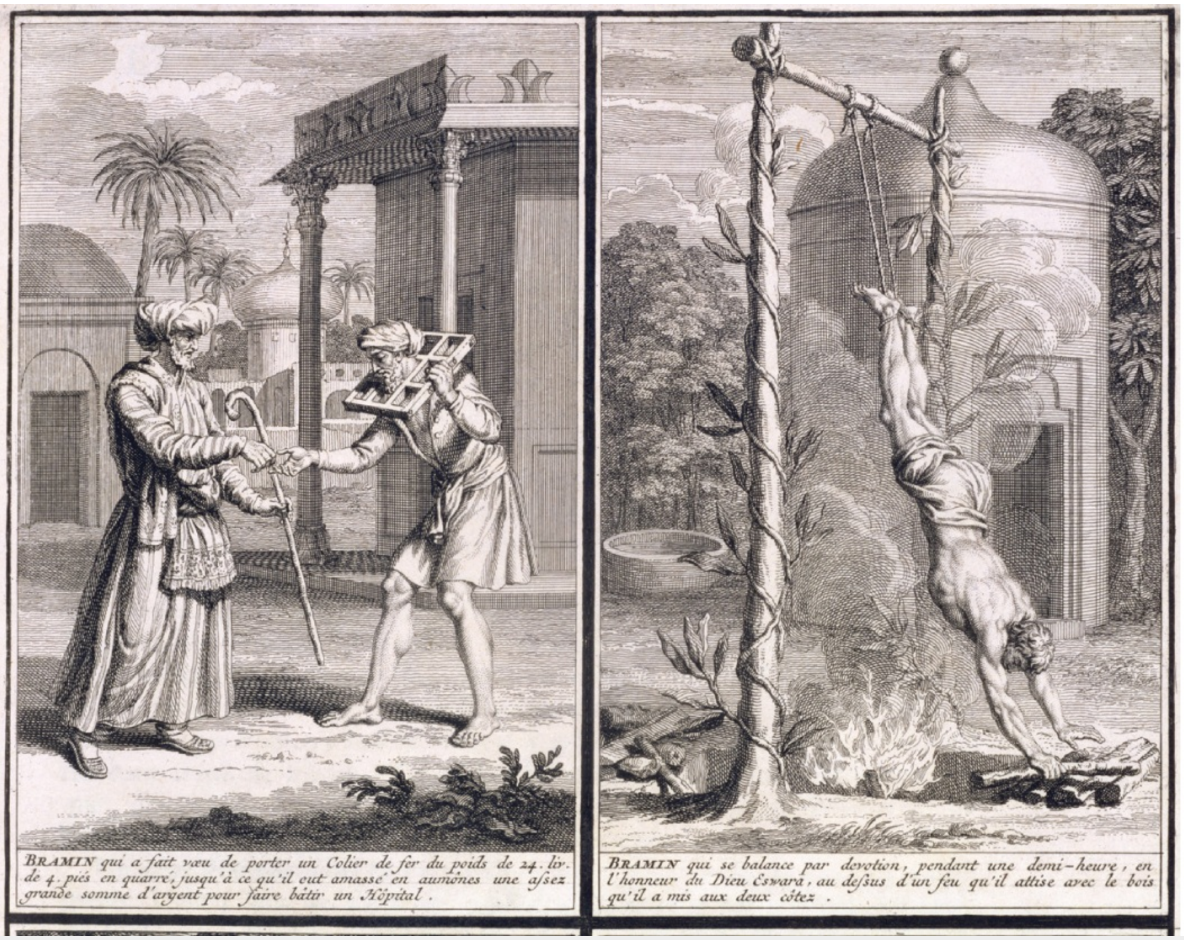
Voltaire and Émilie du Châtelet In this watercolor, painted in 1750 by the French artist Louis Carmontelle (1717–1806), Voltaire is shown conversing with Gabrielle Émilie Le Tonnelier de

Breteuil, marquise du Châtelet. She had died in 1749, after giving birth to a daughter, an untimely end for one of the few people — man or woman — who understood Newton's mathematics. Voltaire lived in her house for a number of years (tolerated by her husband), and they set up a scientific laboratory there to pursue their mutual interests. Émilie du Châtelet prepared a French translation of Newton's *Principia Mathematica* that was published after her death; it is still the standard French translation. In his typical tongue-in-cheek fashion, Voltaire said that she was "a great man whose only fault was being a woman."

Voltaire also popularized Newton's scientific discoveries in his *Elements of the Philosophy of Newton* (1738). The French state and many European theologians considered Newtonianism threatening because it glorified the human mind and seemed to reduce God to an abstract, external, rationalistic force. So sensational was the success of Voltaire's book on Newton that a hostile Jesuit reported that "all Paris resounds with Newton, all Paris stammers Newton, all Paris studies and learns Newton." Voltaire's fame continued to grow, reaching truly astounding proportions in the 1750s and 1760s.

Travel Literature and the Challenge to Custom and Tradition

Just as scientific method could be used to question religious and even state authority, a more general skepticism also emerged from the expanding knowledge about the world outside of Europe. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the number of travel accounts dramatically increased as travel writers used the contrast between their home societies and other cultures to criticize the customs of European society.


BRAMIN qui a fait vœu de porter un Colier de fer du poids de 24. liv. de 4. piés en quarré, jusqu'à ce qu'il eut amassé en aumônes une aſsez grande somme d'argent pour faire bâtir un Hôpital .
BRAMIN qui se balance par devotion, pendant une demi-heure, en l'honneur du Dieu Eswara, au deſsus d'un feu qu'il attise avec le bois qu'il a mis aux deux côtez .

The Stapleton Collection/Bridgeman Images.

Comparisons of Religions and the Rise of Skepticism These two engravings come from *Religious Customs and Ceremonies of the All the Peoples of the World*, an influential encyclopedia published in French between 1723 and 1743 in Amsterdam. The artist Bernard Picart depicts a Brahmin who wears an iron collar to raise funds for a hospital and a Brahmin suspended over a fire in devotion. Picart and his fellow French Protestant refugee Jean Frédéric Bernard, the author and publisher, wanted to put Christianity and especially Catholicism in a comparative light; they emphasized the similarities in religious customs across the globe, and in this way cast doubt on claims for the absolute truth of any one religion. Their book helped inspire the early Enlightenment.

Travelers to the Americas found "noble savages" (native peoples) who appeared to live in conditions of great freedom and equality; they were "naturally good" and "happy" without taxes, lawsuits, or much organized government. In China, in contrast, travelers found a people who enjoyed prosperity and an ancient civilization. Christian missionaries made little headway in China, and visitors had to admit that China's religious systems had flourished for four or five thousand years with no input from Europe or from Christianity. The basic lesson of travel literature in the 1700s, then, was that customs varied: justice, freedom, property, good government, religion, and morality all were relative to the place. One critic complained that travel encouraged the destruction of religion: "Some complete their demoralization by extensive travel, and lose whatever shreds of religion remained to them. Every day they see a new religion, new customs, new rites."

Travel literature turned explicitly political in Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* (1721) (see Primary Source Analysis on page 633). Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron of Montesquieu (1689–1755), the son of an eminent judicial family, was a high-ranking judge in a French court. He published *Persian Letters* anonymously in the Dutch Republic, and the book went into ten printings in just one year — a best seller for the times. Montesquieu tells the fictional story of two Persians, Rica and Usbek, who visit France in the last years of Louis XIV's reign and write home with their impressions. By imagining an outsider's perspective, Montesquieu could satirize French customs and politics without taking them on directly. Montesquieu chose Persians for his travelers because they came from what was widely considered the most despotic of all governments, in which rulers had life-and-death powers over their subjects. In the book, the Persians constantly compare France to Persia, suggesting that the French monarchy might verge on despotism.

Montesquieu’s anonymity did not last long, and in the late 1720s, he sold his judgeship and traveled extensively in Europe, staying eighteen months in Britain. In 1748, he published a widely influential work on comparative government, *The Spirit of Laws*. Like the politique Jean Bodin before him (see page 552), Montesquieu examined the various types of government, but unlike Bodin he did not favor absolute power in a monarchy. His time in Britain made him much more favorable to constitutional forms of government. The Catholic church soon listed both *Persian Letters* and *The Spirit of Laws* on its Index of forbidden books.

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

Montesquieu, *Persian Letters*: Letter 37 (1721)

Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron of Montesquieu (1689–1755), was one of the leading figures of the early Enlightenment. In Persian Letters, he offered a kind of reverse travel account in which fictional Persians comment on what they see in France. Politics, religion, and social customs all came under critical scrutiny. Letter 37 points to one of his and other early Enlightenment authors’ main targets: the French king, Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715), and his absolutist state. Written by one of the book’s two main characters, a Persian named Usbek, to a friend back home, the letter explicitly criticizes the king’s vanity, ostentation, and life at court. The letter implicitly passes even more serious judgment on the aging ruler in noting his esteem for “oriental policies.” Montesquieu condemns these same policies elsewhere in his letters as inhumane and unjust.

The King of France is old. We have no examples in our histories of such a long reign as his. It is said that he possesses in a very high degree the faculty of making himself obeyed: he governs with equal ability his family, his court, and his kingdom: he has often been heard to say, that, of all existing governments, that of the Turks, or that of our august Sultan, pleased him best: such is his high opinion of Oriental statecraft.[1]

I have studied his character, and I have found certain contradictions which I cannot reconcile. For example, he has a minister who is only eighteen years old,[2] and a mistress [Madame de Maintenon] who is fourscore; he loves his religion, and yet he cannot abide those [the

Jansenists] who assert that it ought to be strictly observed; although he flies from the noise of cities, and is inclined to be reticent, from morning till night he is engaged in getting himself talked about; he is fond of trophies and victories, but he has as great a dread of seeing a good general at the head of his own troops, as at the head of an army of his enemies. It has never I believe happened to anyone but himself, to be burdened with more wealth than even a prince could hope for, and yet at the same time steeped in such poverty as a private person could ill brook.

He delights to reward those who serve him; but he pays as liberally the assiduous indolence of his courtiers, as the labors in the field of his captains; often the man who undresses him, or who hands him his serviette at table, is preferred before him who has taken cities and gained battles; he does not believe that the greatness of a monarch is compatible with restriction in the distribution of favors; and, without examining into the merit of a man, he will heap benefits upon him, believing that his selection makes the recipient worthy; accordingly, he has been known to bestow a small pension upon a man who had run off two leagues from the enemy, and a good government on another who had gone four.

Paris, the 7th of the moon of Maharram, 1713.

Source: Montesquieu, *Persian Letters*, trans. John Davidson (London: Privately printed, 1892), 1:85–86.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. In the commentary of the fictional character of Usbek in this letter, in what ways is Montesquieu criticizing Louis XIV's version of absolutism?
2. Look closely at the end of the first paragraph. How does Montesquieu use "Oriental statecraft" to make a satirical comment about Louis XIV?
3. What is Montesquieu implying about Louis XIV's views on religion?

[1] When Louis XIV was in his sixteenth year, some courtiers discussed in his presence the absolute power of the Sultans, who dispose as they like of the goods and the lives of their subjects. "That is something like being a king," said the young monarch. Marshal d'Estrées, alarmed at the tendency revealed in that remark, rejoined, "But, sire, several of these emperors have been strangled even in my time."

[2] Barbezieux, son of Louvois, Louis's youngest minister, held office at twenty-three, not eighteen; and he was dead in 1713.

Raising the Woman Question

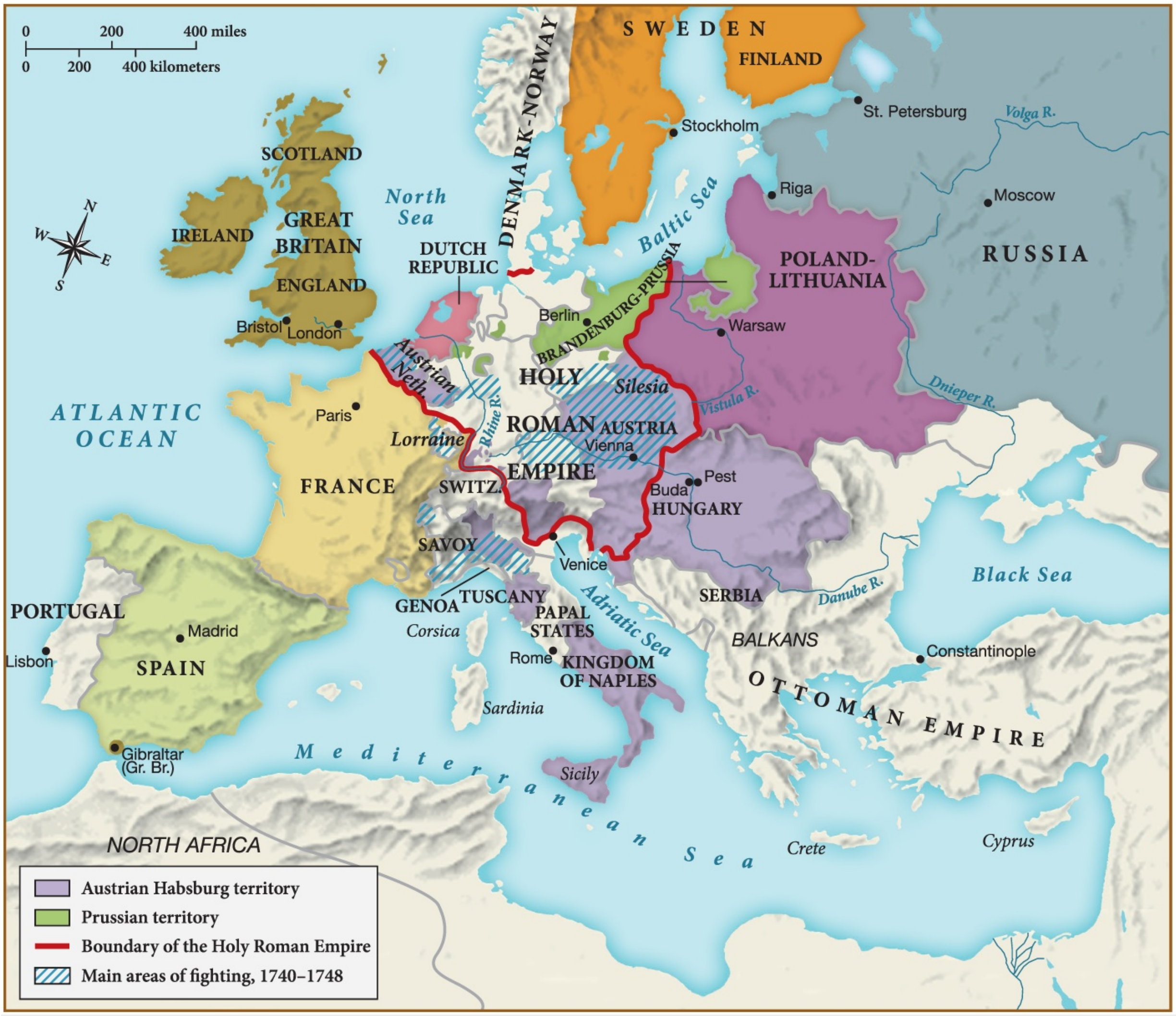
Many of the letters exchanged in *Persian Letters* focused on women because Montesquieu considered the position of women a sure indicator of the nature of government and morality. Although Montesquieu was not a feminist, his depiction of Roxana, the favorite wife in Usbek's harem, struck a chord with many women. Roxana revolts against the authority of Usbek's eunuchs and writes a final letter to her husband announcing her impending suicide: "I may have lived in servitude, but I have always been free, I have amended your laws according to the laws of nature, and my mind has always remained independent." Women writers used the same language of tyranny and freedom to argue for concrete changes in their status. Feminist ideas were not entirely new, but they were presented systematically for the first time during the Enlightenment and represented a fundamental challenge to the ways of traditional societies.

The most systematic and successful of these women writers was the English author Mary Astell (1666–1731). In 1694, she published *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies,* in which she advocated founding a private women's college to remedy women's lack of education. Addressing women, she asked, "How can you be content to be in the World like Tulips in a Garden, to make a fine *shew* [show] and be good for nothing?" In later works such as *Reflections upon Marriage* (1706), Astell criticized the relationship between the sexes within marriage: "If absolute sovereignty be not necessary in a state, how comes it to be so in a family? … *If all men are born free,* how is it that all women are born slaves?”

Most male writers held that women were less capable of reasoning than men and therefore did not need systematic education. Such opinions often rested on biological suppositions. The long-dominant Aristotelian view of reproduction held that only the male seed carried spirit and individuality. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, scientists began to undermine this belief. Physicians and surgeons began to champion the doctrine of *ovism* — that the female egg was essential in making new humans. During the decades that followed, male Enlightenment writers would continue to debate women’s nature and appropriate social roles.

Review Question

What were the major issues in the early decades of the Enlightenment?



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAPPING THE WEST

Europe in 1750

By 1750, Europe had achieved a kind of diplomatic equilibrium in which no one power predominated despite repeated wars over dynastic succession. Spain, the Dutch Republic, Poland-Lithuania, and Sweden had all declined in power and influence while Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia gained prominence. France's ambitions to dominate had been thwarted, but its combination of a big army and rich overseas possessions made it a major player for a long time to come. In the War of the Austrian Succession, Austria lost its rich province of Silesia to Prussia.

Analyzing the Map: Consider the relative sizes of Poland-Lithuania and France. What geographic factors help explain why the smaller country — France — was more powerful?

Making Connections: Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia were all gaining power in this period. What are the different lessons that can be learned from their rising status?

Conclusion

Expansion of colonies overseas and economic development at home created greater wealth, longer life spans, and higher expectations for Europeans in the first half of the eighteenth century. In these better times for many, a spirit of optimism and belief in the progress prevailed. People could now spend money on newspapers, novels, travel literature, and music as well as on coffee, tea, and cotton cloth. Not everyone shared equally in the benefits, however: enslaved people toiled in misery for their masters in the Americas, eastern European serfs found themselves ever more closely bound to their noble lords, and rural folk almost everywhere tasted few fruits of consumer society.

Politics changed, too, as experts urged government intervention to improve public health, and states found it in their interest to settle many international disputes by diplomacy, which itself became more regular and routine. The consolidation of the European state system allowed a tide of criticism and new thinking about society to swell in Great Britain and France and begin to spill throughout Europe. Ultimately, the combination of the Atlantic system and the Enlightenment would give rise to a series of Atlantic revolutions.

Chapter 17 Review

Key Terms and People

Be sure that you can identify the term or person and explain its historical significance.

Atlantic system
plantation
mestizos
buccaneers
consumer revolution
agricultural revolution
rococo
Pietism
Robert Walpole
Peter the Great
Westernization
War of the Austrian Succession
Enlightenment
Voltaire

Review Questions

1. How was consumerism related to slavery in the early

eighteenth century?

2. How were new social trends reflected in cultural life in the early 1700s?
3. What events and developments led to greater stability and more limited warfare within Europe?
4. What were the major issues in the early decades of the Enlightenment?

Making Connections

1. How did the rise of slavery and the plantation system change European politics and society?
2. Why was the Enlightenment born just at the moment that the Atlantic system took shape?
3. What were the major differences between the wars of the first half of the eighteenth century and those of the seventeenth century? (Refer to Chapters 15 and 16.)
4. During the first half of the eighteenth century, what were the major issues affecting peasants in France and serfs in Poland and Russia?

Important Events

1700s	Beginning of rapid development of plantations in the Caribbean
1703	Peter the Great begins construction of St. Petersburg; founds first Russian newspaper
1713–1714	Peace of Utrecht treaties end War of the Spanish Succession
1714	Elector of Hanover becomes King George I of England
1715	Death of Louis XIV
1719	Daniel Defoe publishes *Robinson Crusoe*
1720	Last outbreak of bubonic plague in western Europe
1721	Great Northern War ends; Montesquieu publishes *Persian Letters* anonymously in the Dutch Republic
1733	War of the Polish Succession; Voltaire’s *Letters Concerning the English Nation* attacks French intolerance and narrow-mindedness
1740–1748	War of the Austrian Succession
1741	George Frideric Handel composes *Messiah*
1748	Montesquieu publishes *The Spirit of Laws*

Consider three events

Beginning of rapid development of plantations in the Caribbean (1700s), Daniel Defoe publishes *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), and Montesquieu publishes *Persian Letters* anonymously in the Dutch

Republic (1721). In what ways were these two works of literature responses to the new global economy?

Suggested References

The slave trade Web site listed here offers the most up-to-date information about the workings of the Atlantic system, in particular the trade in enslaved people and its terrible consequences for the lives of Africans. The definitive study of the early Enlightenment is the book by Hazard, but many others have contributed biographies of individual figures or studies of women writers.

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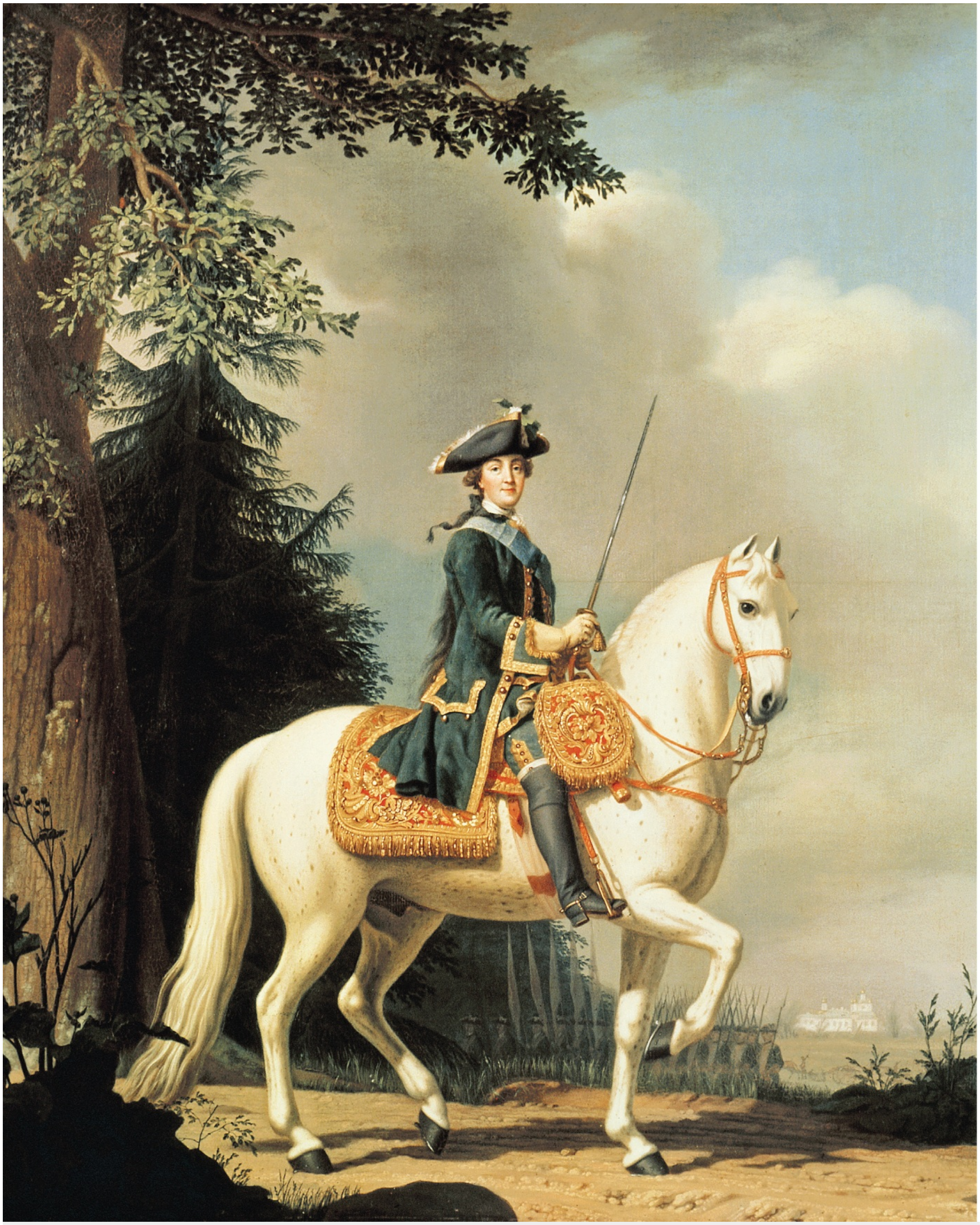
CHAPTER 18

The Promise of Enlightenment

1750–1789



Musee des Beaux-Arts, Chartres, France/Bridgeman Images.

Catherine the Great In this portrait (c. 1762) by the Danish painter Vigilius Eriksen, the Russian empress Catherine the Great is shown on horseback, much like any male ruler of the time. Born Sophia Augusta Frederika of Anhalt-Zerbst in 1729, Catherine was the daughter of a minor German prince. When she married the future tsar Peter III in 1745, she promptly learned Russian and adopted Russian Orthodoxy. Peter, physically and mentally frail, proved no match for her; in 1762 she staged a coup against him and took his place when he was killed.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

The Enlightenment at Its Height

What were the major differences between the Enlightenment in France, Great Britain, and the German states?

Society and Culture in an Age of Enlightenment

What were the major differences in the impact of the Enlightenment on the nobility, the middle classes, and the lower classes?

State Power in an Era of Reform

What prompted enlightened absolutists to undertake reforms in the second half of the eighteenth century?

Rebellions against State Power

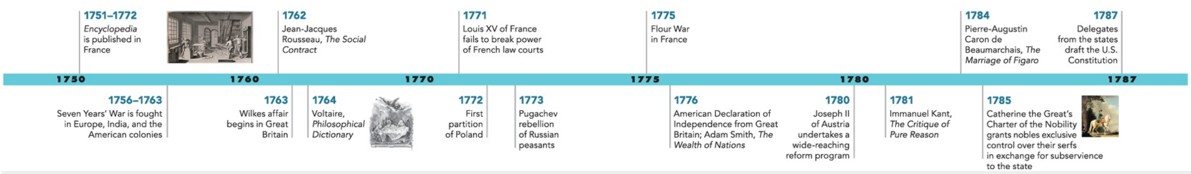
Why did public opinion become a new factor in politics in the second half of the eighteenth century?

In the summer of 1766, Empress Catherine II of Russia (known as Catherine the Great) wrote to Voltaire, one of the leaders of the Enlightenment, praising him for entering “into combat against the enemies of mankind” and for fighting superstition, fanaticism, ignorance, and “evil judges.” Catherine corresponded regularly with Voltaire, a writer who, at home in France, found himself in constant conflict with authorities of church and state. Her admiring letter shows how influential Enlightenment ideas had become by the middle of the eighteenth century. Even an absolutist ruler such as Catherine endorsed many aspects of the Enlightenment call for reform.

Enlightenment writers such as Voltaire used every means at their disposal — including personal interaction with rulers — to argue for reform. Everything had to be examined in the cold light of reason, and anything that did not promote the improvement of humanity was to be jettisoned. As a result, Enlightenment writers supported religious toleration, attacked the legal use of torture to extract confessions, and criticized censorship by state or church. The book trade and new places for urban socializing, such as coffeehouses and learned societies, spread these ideas within a new elite of middle- and upper-class men and women. In contrast, the lower classes had little contact with Enlightenment ideas. Their lives were shaped more profoundly by an increasing population, rising food prices, and ongoing wars among the great powers.

Rulers pursued Enlightenment reforms that they believed might enhance state power, but they feared changes that might unleash popular discontent. All reform-minded rulers faced potential challenges to their authority. They were right to be concerned, for Enlightenment ideas paved the way for something much more radical and unexpected. The American Declaration of Independence in 1776 showed how Enlightenment ideas could be translated into democratic political practice. After 1789, democracy would come to Europe as well.

CHAPTER TIMELINE


1751–1772
Encyclopedia is published in France
1756–1763
Seven Years' War is fought in Europe, India, and the American colonies
1762
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*
1763
Wilkes affair begins in Great Britain
1764
Voltaire, *Philosophical Dictionary*
1771
Louis XV of France fails to break power of French law courts
1772
First partition of Poland
1773
Pugachev rebellion of Russian peasants
1775
Flour War in France
1776
American Declaration of Independence from Great Britain; Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*
1780
Joseph II of Austria undertakes a wide-reaching reform program
1781
Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Pure Reason*
1784
Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais, *The Marriage of Figaro*
1785
Catherine the Great's Charter of the Nobility grants nobles exclusive control over their serfs in exchange for subservience to the state
1787
Delegates from the states draft the U.S. Constitution
1750
1760
1770
1775
1780
1787

DEA Picture Library/Getty Images; Hulton Archive/Getty Images; Musee des Beaux-Arts, Chartres, France/Bridgeman Images

CHAPTER FOCUS

How did the Enlightenment influence Western politics, culture, and society?

The Enlightenment at Its Height

The Enlightenment (see Terms of History) emerged as an intellectual movement before 1750 but reached its peak in the second half of the eighteenth century. The writers of the Enlightenment called themselves **philosophes** (fē-lə-ˈzȯf); the word is French for “philosophers,” but that definition is somewhat misleading. Whereas philosophers concern themselves with abstract theories, the philosophes were public intellectuals dedicated to solving the real problems of the world. They wrote on subjects ranging from current affairs to art criticism, and they wrote in every conceivable format. Between 1750 and 1789, the Enlightenment acquired its name and, despite heated conflicts between the philosophes and state and religious authorities, gained support in the highest reaches of government.

TERMS OF HISTORY

Enlightenment

In 1784, in an essay titled “What Is Enlightenment?,” the German philosopher Immanuel Kant gave widespread currency to a term that had been in the making for several decades. The term *enlightened century* had become common in the 1760s. The Enlightenment thus gave itself its own name, and the name clearly had propaganda value. The philosophes associated Enlightenment with philosophy, reason, and humanity; religious tolerance; natural rights; and criticism of outmoded customs and prejudices. They tied Enlightenment to “progress” and to the “modern,” and it came into question, just as these other terms did, when events cast doubt on the benefits of progress and the virtues of modernity. Although some opposed the Enlightenment from the very beginning as antireligious, undermining of authority, and even atheistic and immoral, the French Revolution of 1789 galvanized the critics of Enlightenment who blamed every excess of revolution on Enlightenment principles.

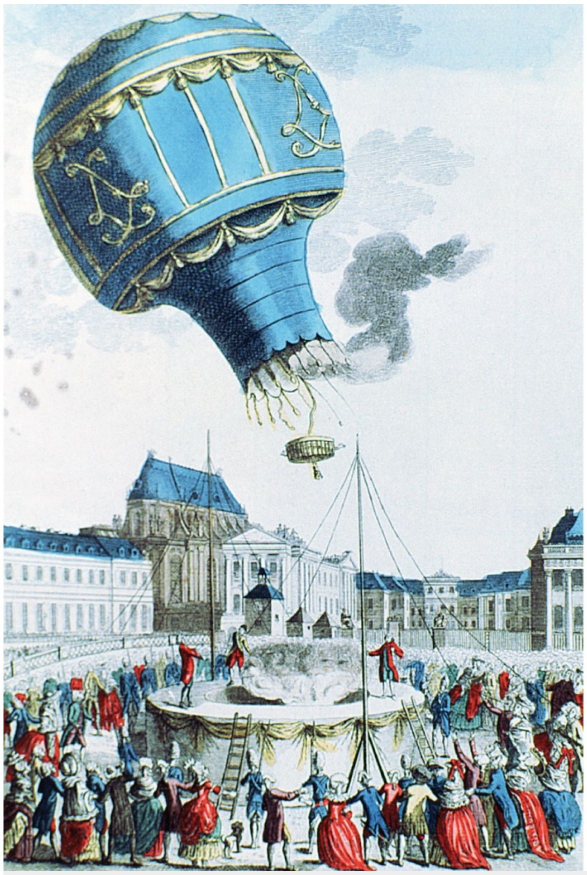
For most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, condemnation of the Enlightenment came from right-wing sources. Some of the more extreme of these critics denounced a supposed “Jewish-Masonic conspiracy,” believing that Jews and Freemasons benefited most from the spread of Enlightenment principles and worked in secret to jointly undermine Christianity and established monarchical authorities. Adolf Hitler and his followers shared these suspicions, and during World War II the Germans confiscated the records of Masonic lodges in every country they occupied. They sent the documents back to Berlin so that a special office could trace the links of this supposed conspiracy. They found nothing.

After the catastrophes of World War II, the Enlightenment came under attack from left-wing critics. They denounced the Enlightenment as “self-destructive” and even “totalitarian” because its belief in reason led not to freedom but to greater bureaucratic control. They asked why mankind was sinking into “a new kind of barbarism,” and they answered, “Because we have trusted too much in the Enlightenment and its belief in reason and science.” The Nazis used bureaucratic control and technology to kill millions of Jews and others they deemed inferior. Science gave us the atomic bomb and factories that pollute the atmosphere. These criticisms of the Enlightenment show how central the Enlightenment remains to the very definition of modern history.

Men and Women of the Republic of Letters

Although *philosophe* is a French word, the Enlightenment was distinctly cosmopolitan; philosophes could be found from Philadelphia to St. Petersburg. The philosophes considered themselves part of a grand “republic of letters” that transcended national political boundaries. They were not republicans in the usual sense, that is, people who supported representative government and opposed monarchy. What united them were the ideals of reason, reform, and freedom. In 1784, the German philosopher Immanuel Kant summed up the program of the Enlightenment in two Latin words: *sapere aude* (“dare to know”) — have the courage to think for yourself.

The philosophes used reason to attack superstition, bigotry, and religious fanaticism, which they considered the chief obstacles to free thought and social reform. Voltaire took religious fanaticism as his chief target: “Once fanaticism has corrupted a mind, the malady is almost incurable.… The only remedy for this epidemic malady is the philosophical spirit.” Enlightenment writers did not necessarily oppose organized religion, but they strenuously objected to religious intolerance. They believed that the systematic application of reason could do what religious belief could not: improve the human condition by pointing to needed reforms. Reason meant critical, informed, scientific thinking about social issues and problems.



Private Collection/Bridgeman Images.

Science in Action In September 1783, the Montgolfier brothers demonstrated their newly invented hot air balloon at Versailles with the royal family in attendance. The flight reached an altitude of 1,500 feet, covered 2 miles, and lasted 8 minutes. The passengers — a sheep, a duck, and a rooster — landed safely. Hydrogen balloons were developed at the same time and quickly replaced the hot-air versions because they could fly higher and longer. Thousands of people flocked to see the launches. Colored etchings such as the one shown here helped increase public interest.

Many Enlightenment writers collaborated on the multivolume *Encyclopedia* (published 1751–1772), which aimed to gather together knowledge about science, religion, industry, and society. The ancestor of all modern encyclopedias, from *Encyclopædia Britannica* to Wikipedia online, the Enlightenment version differed by using knowledge to criticize defects in society. The chief editor of the *Encyclopedia*, Denis Diderot (1713–1784), explained the goal: “All things must be examined, debated, investigated without exception and without regard for anyone’s feelings” (see Primary Source Analysis).

The philosophes believed that the spread of knowledge would encourage reform in every aspect of life, from the grain trade to the penal system. Chief among their desired reforms was intellectual freedom — the freedom to use one’s own reason to conduct studies and to publish the results. The philosophes wanted freedom of the press and freedom of religion, which they considered “natural rights” guaranteed by “natural law.” In their view, progress depended on these freedoms.

Most philosophes, like Voltaire, came from the upper classes, yet the Swiss philosophe Jean-Jacques Rousseau had been born to a modest watchmaker in Geneva, and Diderot was the son of a cutlery maker. Rarely were women philosophes; one, however, was the French noblewoman Émilie du Châtelet (1706–1749), who wrote extensively about the mathematics and physics of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and Isaac Newton. (Châtelet’s lover Voltaire learned much of his science from her.)

Few of the leading writers held university positions. Enlightenment ideas developed instead through printed books and pamphlets, through hand-copied letters that were circulated and sometimes published, and through informal readings of manuscripts. Salons — informal gatherings, usually sponsored by middle-class or aristocratic women — gave intellectual life an anchor outside the royal court and the church-controlled universities (see Contrasting Views on pages 646–647). In the Parisian salons of the eighteenth century, the philosophes could discuss ideas they might hesitate to put into print. Best known was the salon of Madame Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin (1699–1777), a wealthy middle-class widow. She corresponded extensively with influential people across Europe, including Catherine the Great. Women's salons helped galvanize intellectual life and reform movements all over Europe.

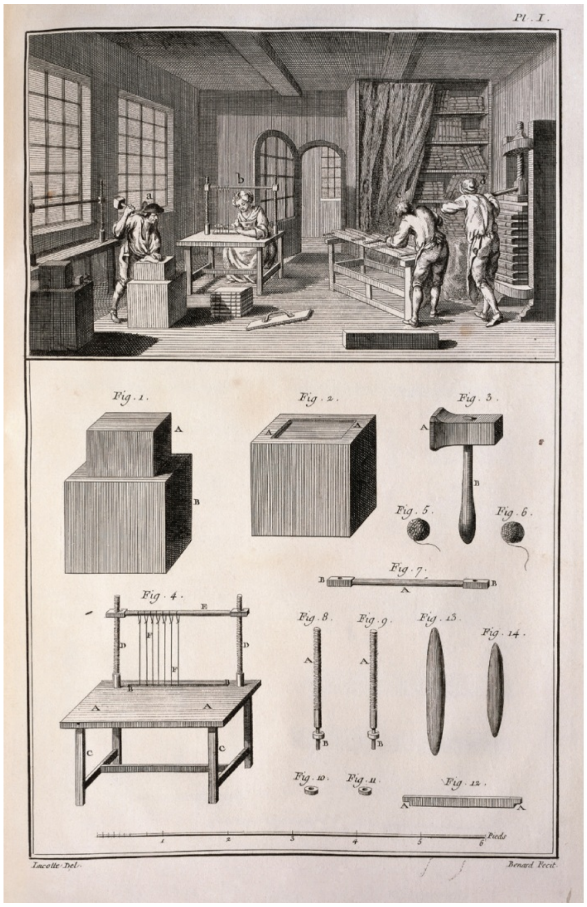

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Fig. 9.
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Fig. 11.
Fig. 12.
Fig. 13.
Fig. 14.
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DEA Picture Library/Getty Images.

Illustration of Bookbinding from the *Encyclopedia* This 1771 engraving from the *Encyclopedia* of Diderot and d'Alembert shows a bookbinding workshop and the tools in use to prepare the pages for sewing and binding. The *Encyclopedia* offered detailed illustrations of all the major artisanal, manufacturing, and mining techniques as part of its effort to collect and disseminate knowledge.

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

"Slavery" in the *Encyclopedia* (1755)

The article on slavery was written by Louis de Jaucourt, who had been born into a family that secretly practiced its Protestantism after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. A man of many talents, Jaucourt wrote hundreds of articles for Diderot's multi-volume work. The Encyclopedia *included other articles that touched on slavery, but this one stood out for its stark conclusion denouncing the practice. Diderot himself later collaborated in anti-slavery writings.*

After having reviewed the history of slavery, from its origin to our days, we now will prove that it damages the liberty of man and that it is contrary to natural and civil law, that it offends the structures of the best governments, and that finally it is useless in and of itself.

The liberty of man is a principle which had been recognized for a long time before the birth of J.C. [Jesus Christ] by all of the nations which have practiced generosity. The natural liberty of man is to know no sovereign power on the earth, and to never be subjected to legislative authority of any kind, but to follow only the laws of Nature: liberty in society is to be submitted to a legislative power established by the consent of the community, and not to be subject to whim, to the inconstant, uncertain, and arbitrary will of a single man in particular.

This liberty, by which one is never subjected to absolute power, is united so closely with the safekeeping of man, that it cannot be separated without destroying at the same time his safety and his life. Whoever attempts therefore to usurp absolute power over another, puts himself thereby in a state of war with him, such that the first can only regard the actions of the other as an obvious attempt upon his life. Indeed, from the moment that a man wants me to submit, despite myself, to his empire, I have reason to presume that if I fall into his hands, he will treat me according to his caprice and have no scruples against killing me when the whim takes him. Liberty is, so to speak, the bulwark of my safekeeping, and the foundation of all the other things that belong to me. Thus, he who, in the state of nature, wants to make me a slave authorizes me to resist by all means in order to ensure the security of my person and my goods.…

Source: “Esclavage.” *The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d’Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*. Translated by Naomi J. Andrews. Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, University of Michigan Library, 2012. Originally published as “Esclavage,” *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, 5:934–5:939 (Paris, 1755). http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0000.667

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. How does this article justify the resistance of slaves to their would-be masters?
2. Why would the French king find this article objectionable?

CONTRASTING VIEWS

Women and the Enlightenment

During the Enlightenment, women’s roles in society became the subject of heated debates. Some men resented what they saw as the growing power of women, especially in the salons. Rousseau railed against their corrupting influence: “Every woman at Paris gathers in her apartment a harem of men more womanish than she.” Rousseau’s Émile *(Excerpt 1) offered his own influential answer to the question of how women should be educated. The* Encyclopedia *ignored the contributions of salon women and praised women who stayed at home; in the words of one typical contributor, women “constitute the principal ornament of the world.… May they, through submissive discretion and through simple, adroit, artless cleverness, spur us [men] on to virtue.” Many women objected to these characterizations. The editor of a prominent newspaper for women, Madame de Beaumer, wrote editorials blasting the masculine sense of superiority (Excerpt 2). Many prominent women writers specifically targeted Rousseau’s book because it proved to be the most influential educational treatise of the time (Excerpt 3). Their ideas formed the core of nineteenth-century feminism.*

1. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile* (1762)

Rousseau used the character of Émile's wife-to-be, Sophie, to discuss his ideas about women's education. Sophie is educated for a domestic role as wife and mother, and she is taught to be obedient, always helpful to her husband and family, and removed from any participation in the public world. Despite his insistence on the differences between men's and women's roles, many women enthusiastically embraced Rousseau's ideas, for he placed great emphasis on maternal affections, breast-feeding, and child rearing. Rousseau's own children, however, suffered the contradictions that characterized his life. By his own admission, he abandoned to a foundling hospital all the children he had by his lower-class common-law wife because he did not think he could support them properly; if their fate was like that of most abandoned children of the day, they met an early death.

There is no parity between man and woman as to the importance of sex. The male is only a male at certain moments; the female all her life, or at least throughout her youth, is incessantly reminded of her sex and in order to carry out its functions she needs a corresponding constitution. She needs to be careful during pregnancy; she needs rest after childbirth; she needs a quiet and sedentary life while she nurses her children; she needs patience and gentleness in order to raise them; a zeal and affection that nothing can discourage.…

On the good constitution of mothers depends primarily that of the children; on the care of women depends the early education of men; and on women, again, depend their morals, their passions, their tastes, their pleasures, and even their happiness. Thus the whole education of women ought to be relative to men. To please them, to be useful to them, to make themselves loved and honored by them, to educate them when young, to care for them when grown, to counsel them, to console them, and to make life agreeable and sweet to them—these are the duties of women at all times, and should be taught them from their infancy.

Source: Susan Groag Bell and Karen M. Offen, *Women, the Family, and Freedom: The Debate in Documents*, vol. 1, *1750–1880* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), 46–49.

2. Madame de Beaumer, Editorial in *Le Journal des Dames* (1762)

Madame de Beaumer (d. 1766) was the first of three women editors of Le Journal des Dames *(The Ladies' Journal). She ran it for two years and published many editorials defending women against their male critics.*

The success of the *Journal des Dames* allows us to triumph over those frivolous persons who have regarded this periodical as a petty work containing only a few bagatelles suited to help them kill time. In truth, Gentlemen, you do us much honor to think that we could not provide things that unite the useful to the agreeable. To rid you of your error, we have made our Journal historical, with a view to putting before the eyes of youth striking images that will guide them toward virtue.… An historical *Journal des Dames*! these Gentlemen reasoners reply. How ridiculous! How out of character with the nature of this work, which calls only for little pieces to amuse [ladies] during their toilette.… Please, Gentlemen *beaux esprits* [wits], mind your own business and let us write in a manner worthy of our sex; I love this sex, I am jealous to uphold its honor and its rights. If we have not been raised up in the sciences as you have, it is you who are the guilty ones.

Source: Susan Groag Bell and Karen M. Offen, *Women, the Family, and Freedom: The Debate in Documents*, vol. 1, *1750–1880* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), 27–28.

3. Catharine Macaulay, *Letters on Education* (1787)

Catharine Sawbridge Macaulay-Graham (1731–1791) was one of the best-known English writers of the 1700s. She wrote immensely popular histories of England and also joined in the debate provoked by Rousseau's Émile.

There is another prejudice … which affects yet more deeply female happiness, and female importance; a prejudice, which ought ever to have been confined to the regions of the east, because [of the] state of slavery to which female nature in that part of the world has been ever subjected, and can only suit with the notion of a positive inferiority in the intellectual powers of the female mind. You will soon perceive, that the prejudice which I mean, is that degrading difference in the culture of the understanding, which has prevailed for several centuries in all European societies.…

Among the most strenuous asserters of a sexual difference in character, Rousseau is the most conspicuous, both on account of that warmth of sentiment which distinguishes all his writing, and the eloquence of his compositions: but never did enthusiasm and the love of paradox, those enemies of philosophical disquisition, appear in more strong opposition to plain sense than in Rousseau's definition of this difference. He sets out with a supposition, that Nature intended the subjection of the one sex to the other; that consequently there must be an inferiority of intellect in the subjected party; but as man is a very imperfect being, and apt to play the capricious tyrant, Nature, to bring things nearer to an equality, bestowed on the woman such attractive graces, and such an insinuating address, as to turn the balance on the other scale.…

The situation and education of women … is precisely that which must necessarily tend to corrupt and debilitate both the powers of mind and body. From a false notion of beauty and delicacy, their system of nerves is depraved before they come out of the nursery; and this kind of depravity has more influence over the mind, and consequently over morals, than is commonly apprehended.

Source: Susan Groag Bell and Karen M. Offen, *Women, the Family, and Freedom: The Debate in Documents*, vol. 1, *1750–1880* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), 54–55.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. Why would women in the eighteenth century read Rousseau with such interest and even enthusiasm?
2. Why does Madame de Beaumer address herself to male readers if the *Journal des Dames* is intended for women?
3. Why would Macaulay focus so much of her analysis on Rousseau? Why does she not just ignore him?
4. In what ways did Enlightenment ideas appeal to women?

Conflicts with Church and State

Madame Geoffrin did not approve of discussions that attacked the Catholic church, but elsewhere voices against organized religion could be heard. Criticisms of religion required daring because the church, whatever its denomination, wielded enormous power in society, and most influential people considered religion an essential foundation of good society and government. Defying such opinion, the Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711–1776) boldly argued in *The Natural History of Religion* (1755) that belief in God rested on superstition and fear rather than on reason.

At the time, most Europeans believed in God as creator of the universe. After Newton, however, and despite Newton's own deep religiosity, people could conceive of the universe as an eternally existing, self-perpetuating machine, in which God's intervention was unnecessary. In short, such people could become either atheists (people who do not believe in God) or **deists** (people who believe in God but give him no active role in earthly affairs). For the first time, writers claimed the label *atheist* and disputed the common view that atheism led inevitably to immorality.

Deists continued to believe in a benevolent, all-knowing God who had designed the universe and set it in motion. But they usually rejected the idea that God directly intercedes in the functioning of the universe, and they often criticized the churches for their dogmatic intolerance of dissenters. Voltaire was a deist, and in his influential *Philosophical Dictionary* (1764) he attacked most of the claims of organized Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant. Christianity, he argued, had been the prime source of fanaticism and brutality among humans. Throughout his life, Voltaire's motto was *Écrasez l'infâme* — "Crush the infamous thing" (the "thing" being bigotry and intolerance). French authorities publicly burned his *Philosophical Dictionary*.

Criticism of religious intolerance involved more than simply attacking the church. Critics also had to confront the states to which churches were closely tied. In 1762, a judicial case in Toulouse provoked an outcry throughout France that Voltaire soon joined. When the son of a local Calvinist was found hanged (he had probably committed suicide), magistrates accused the father, Jean Calas, of murdering him to prevent his conversion to Catholicism. (Since Louis XIV's revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, it had been illegal to practice Calvinism publicly in France.) The all-Catholic parlement of Toulouse tried to extract the names of accomplices through torture — using a rope to pull up Calas's arm while weighing down his feet and then pouring water down his throat (a version of waterboarding) — but Calas refused to confess. The torturers then executed him by breaking every bone in his body with an iron rod. Voltaire launched a successful crusade to rehabilitate Calas's good name and to restore the family's properties, which had been confiscated after his death. Voltaire's efforts eventually helped bring about the extension of civil rights to French Protestants and encouraged campaigns to abolish the judicial use of torture.

One of the most popular books of the time assailed state and church support for European colonization and slavery. In *Philosophical and Political History of European Colonies and Commerce in the Two Indies* (1770), the French Catholic clergyman Guillaume Raynal (1713–1796) and his collaborators described in excruciating detail the destruction of native populations by Europeans and denounced the slave trade. Despite the criticism, the slave trade continued. So did European exploration. British explorer James Cook (1728–1779) charted the coasts of New Zealand and Australia, discovered New Caledonia, and visited the ice fields of Antarctica.

The Enlightenment belief in natural rights helped fuel the antislavery movement, which began to organize political campaigns against slavery in Britain, France, and the new United States in the 1780s. Advocates of the abolition of slavery encouraged freed slaves to write the story of their enslavement. One such freed slave, Olaudah Equiano, wrote of his kidnapping and enslavement in Africa and his long effort to free himself. *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano,* published in 1788, became an international best seller. Armed with such firsthand accounts of slavery, **abolitionists** began to petition their governments for the abolition of the slave trade and then of slavery itself.

Enlightenment critics of church and state usually advocated reform, not revolution. For example, though he resided near the French-Swiss border in case he had to flee, Voltaire made a fortune in financial speculations and ended up being celebrated in his last years as a national hero even by many former foes. Other philosophes also believed that published criticism, rather than violent action, would bring about necessary reforms. The philosophes generally regarded the lower classes — “the people” — as ignorant, violent, and prone to superstition; as a result, they pinned their hopes on educated elites and enlightened rulers.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

Like Voltaire, many of the philosophes corresponded with European rulers and advised them on policy. If you were a philosophe would you choose to correspond with a ruler such as Catherine the Great of Russia or visit the court of Frederick the Great of Prussia? Would you be lending your intellectual authority to a despot or helping an absolutist ruler become more enlightened?

The Individual and Society

The controversy created by the conflicts between the philosophes and the various churches and states of Europe drew attention away from a subtle but profound transformation in worldviews. In previous centuries, questions of theological doctrine and church organization had been the main focus of intellectual and even political interest. The Enlightenment writers shifted attention away from religious questions and toward the secular (nonreligious) study of society and the individual's role in it. Religion did not drop out of sight, but the philosophes tended to make religion a private affair of individual conscience, even while rulers and churches still considered religion very much a public concern.

The Enlightenment interest in secular society produced two major results: it advanced the secularization of European political life that had begun after the French Wars of Religion of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it laid the foundations for the social sciences of the modern era. Not surprisingly, then, many historians and philosophers consider the Enlightenment to be the origin of modernity, which they define as the belief that human reason, rather than theological doctrine, should set the patterns of social and political life. This belief in reason as the sole foundation for secular authority has often been contested, but it has also proved to be a powerful force for change.

Although most of the philosophes believed that humans could use reason to understand and even remake society and politics, they disagreed about what reason revealed. Among the many different approaches were two that proved enduringly influential, those of the Scottish philosopher Adam Smith and the Swiss writer Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Smith provided a theory of modern capitalist society and devoted much of his energy to defending free markets as the best way to make the most of individual efforts. The modern discipline of economics took shape around the questions raised by Smith. Rousseau, by contrast, emphasized the needs of the community over those of the individual. His work, which led toward both democracy and communism, continues to inspire heated debate in political science and sociology.

Adam Smith (1723–1790) optimistically believed that individual interests naturally harmonized with those of the whole society. To explain how this natural harmonization worked, he published *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* in 1776. In this work, commonly known as *The Wealth of Nations,* Smith insisted that individual self-interest, even greed, was quite compatible with society's best interest: the laws of supply and demand served as an "invisible hand," ensuring that individual interests would be synchronized with those of the whole society. Market forces naturally brought individual and social interests in line.

Smith rejected the prevailing mercantilist views that the general welfare would be served by accumulating national wealth through agriculture or the hoarding of gold and silver. Instead, he argued that the division of labor in manufacturing increased productivity and generated more wealth for society and well-being for the individual. Using the example of the ordinary pin, Smith showed that when the manufacturing process was broken down into separate operations — one man to draw out the wire, another to straighten it, a third to cut it, a fourth to point it, and so on — workers who could make only one pin a day on their own could make thousands by pooling their labor.

To maximize the effects of market forces and the division of labor, Smith endorsed a concept called **laissez-faire** ("to leave alone"), in which the government neither controls nor intervenes in the economy. He insisted that governments eliminate all restrictions on the sale of land, remove restraints on the grain trade, and abandon duties on imports. Free international trade, he argued, would stimulate production everywhere and thus ensure the growth of national wealth. Governments, he insisted, should restrict themselves to providing "security," that is, national defense, internal order, and public works.

Much more pessimistic about the relation between individual self-interest and the good of society was **Jean-Jacques Rousseau** (1712–1778). In Rousseau's view, society itself threatened natural rights or freedoms: "Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains." Rousseau first gained fame by writing a prize-winning essay in 1749 in which he argued that the revival of science and the arts had corrupted social morals, not improved them. This startling conclusion seemed to oppose some of the Enlightenment's most cherished beliefs. Rather than improving society, he claimed, science and art raised artificial barriers between people and their natural state. Rousseau's works extolled the simplicity of rural life over urban society.

Later, however, in *The Social Contract* (1762) Rousseau aimed to show that the right kind of political order could make people truly moral and free. Individual moral freedom could be achieved only by learning to subject one's individual interests to "the general will," that is, the good of the community. Individuals did this by entering into a social contract not with their rulers, but with one another. If everyone followed the general will, then all would be equally free and equally moral because they lived under a law to which they had all consented.

Like Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) and John Locke (1632–1704) in the seventeenth century, Rousseau derived his social contract from human nature, not from history, tradition, or the Bible. He went much further than Hobbes or Locke, however, when he implied that people would be most free and moral under a republican form of government with direct democracy. Neither Hobbes nor Locke favored republics. Moreover, Rousseau roundly condemned slavery. Authorities in both Geneva and Paris banned *The Social Contract* for undermining political authority. Rousseau's works would become a kind of political bible for the French revolutionaries of 1789, and his attacks on private property inspired the communists of the nineteenth century such as Karl Marx. Rousseau's rather mystical concept of the general will remains controversial because he insisted that the individual could be "forced to be free." Rousseau's version of democracy did not guarantee the individual freedoms so important to Adam Smith.

Spreading the Enlightenment

The Enlightenment flourished in places where an educated middle class provided an eager audience for ideas of constitutionalism and reform. It therefore found its epicenter in the triangle formed by London, Amsterdam, and Paris and diffused outward to eastern and southern Europe and North America. Where constitutionalism and protections of individual freedoms were most advanced, as in Great Britain and the Dutch Republic, the movement had less of an edge because there was, in a sense, less need for it. As a result, Scottish and English writers concentrated on economics, philosophy, and history rather than on politics or social relations. The English historian Edward Gibbon, for example, portrayed Christianity in a negative light in his immensely influential work *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–1788), but when he served as a member of Parliament he never even gave a speech. At the other extreme, in places with small middle classes, such as Spain and Russia, Enlightenment ideas did not get much traction because governments immediately suppressed them. France was the Enlightenment hot spot because the French monarchy alternated between encouraging ideas for reform and harshly censuring criticisms it found too threatening.

French writers published the most daring critiques of church and state, and they often suffered harassment and persecution as a result. Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau all faced arrest, exile, or imprisonment. The Catholic church and royal authorities routinely forbade the publication of their books, and the police arrested booksellers who ignored the warnings. Yet the French monarchy was far from the most autocratic in Europe, and Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau all ended their lives as celebrities. France seems to have been curiously caught in the middle during the Enlightenment: with fewer constitutional guarantees of individual freedom than Great Britain, it still enjoyed much higher levels of prosperity and cultural development than most other European countries. In short, French elites had reason to complain, the means to make their complaints known, and a government torn between the desire to censor dissident ideas and the desire to appear open to modernity and progress.

By the 1760s, the French government regularly ignored the publication of many works once thought offensive or subversive. In addition, a growing flood of works printed abroad poured into France and circulated underground. Private companies in Dutch and Swiss cities made fortunes smuggling illegal books into France over mountain passes and back roads. Foreign printers provided secret catalogs of their offerings and sold their products through booksellers who were willing to market forbidden books for a high price — among them not only philosophical treatises of the Enlightenment but also pornographic pamphlets and books (some by Diderot) lampooning the Catholic clergy and leading members of the royal court. In the 1770s and 1780s, lurid descriptions of sexual promiscuity at the French court helped undermine the popularity of the throne.

Major Works of the Enlightenment

1751	Beginning of publication of the French *Encyclopedia*
1755	David Hume, *The Natural History of Religion*
1762	Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*
1764	Voltaire, *Philosophical Dictionary*
1770	Abbé Guillaume Raynal, *Philosophical and Political History of European Colonies and Commerce in the Two Indies*
1776	Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*
1781	Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Pure Reason*

Whereas the French philosophes often took a violently anticlerical and combative tone, their German counterparts avoided direct political confrontations with authorities. Gotthold Lessing (1729–1781) complained in 1769 that Prussia was still “the most slavish society in Europe” in its lack of freedom to criticize government policies. Lessing promoted religious toleration for the Jews and spiritual emancipation of Germans from foreign, especially French, models of culture, which still dominated. Lessing also introduced the German Jewish writer Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786) into Berlin salon society. Mendelssohn labored to build bridges between German and Jewish culture by arguing that Judaism was a rational and undogmatic religion. He believed that persecution and discrimination against the Jews would end as reason triumphed.

Reason was also the chief focus of the most influential German thinker of the Enlightenment, Immanuel Kant (1724–1804). A university professor who lectured on everything from economics to astronomy, Kant wrote one of the most important works in the history of Western philosophy, *The Critique of Pure Reason* (1781). Kant admired Smith and especially Rousseau, whose portrait he displayed proudly in his study. Kant established the doctrine of idealism, the belief that true understanding can come only from examining the ways in which ideas are formed in the mind. Ideas are shaped, Kant argued, not just by sensory information (a position central to empiricism, a philosophy based on John Locke’s writings), but also by the operation on that information of mental categories such as space and time. In Kant’s philosophy, these “categories of understanding” were neither sensory nor supernatural; they were entirely ideal and abstract and located in the human mind.

The Limits of Reason: Roots of Romanticism and Religious Revival

In reaction to what some saw as the Enlightenment's excessive reliance on the authority of human reason, a new artistic movement called **romanticism** took root. Although it would not fully flower until the early nineteenth century, romanticism traced its emphasis on individual genius, deep emotion, and the joys of nature to thinkers like Rousseau who had scolded the philosophes for ignoring those aspects of life that escaped and even conflicted with the power of reason.

A novel by the young German writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) captured the early romantic spirit with its glorification of emotion. *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774) told of a young man who loves nature and rural life and is unhappy in love. When the woman he loves marries someone else, he falls into deep melancholy and eventually kills himself. Reason cannot save him. The book spurred a veritable Werther craze: in addition to Werther costumes, engravings, embroidery, and medallions, there was even a perfume called Eau de Werther. The young Napoleon Bonaparte, who was to build an empire for France, claimed to have read Goethe's novel seven times.

Religious revivals sought to underline the limits of reason by emphasizing a direct emotional connection with God. Much of the Protestant world experienced an "awakening" in the 1740s. In the German states, Pietist groups founded new communities; and in the British North American colonies, revivalist Protestant preachers drew thousands of fervent believers in a movement called the Great Awakening. In North America, bitter conflicts between revivalists and their opponents in the established churches prompted the leaders on both sides to set up new colleges to support their beliefs. These included Princeton, Columbia, Brown, and Dartmouth, all founded between 1746 and 1769 by either revivalists or antirevivalists.

Sarin Images/Granger.

George Whitefield This colored etching depicts one of the most prominent preachers of the Great Awakening, the English Methodist George Whitefield, preaching in the British North American colonies. Whitefield visited the colonies seven times, sometimes for long periods, and drew tens of thousands of people to his dramatic and emotional open-air sermons, which moved many listeners to tears of repentance. Whitefield was a celebrity in his time and is considered by many to be the founder of the Evangelical movement.

Revivalism also stirred eastern European Jews at about the same time. Israel ben Eliezer (1698–1760) laid the foundation for Hasidism in the 1740s and 1750s. He traveled the Polish countryside offering miraculous cures and became known as the Ba’al Shem Tov (“Master of the Good Name”) because he used divine names to effect healing and bring believers into closer personal contact with God. He emphasized mystical contemplation of the divine, rather than study of Jewish law, and his followers, the Hasidim (Hebrew for “most pious” Jews), often expressed their devotion through music, dance, and fervent prayer. Their practices soon spread all over Poland-Lithuania.

Most of the waves of Protestant revivalism ebbed after the 1750s, but in Great Britain one movement continued to grow through the end of the century. John Wesley (1703–1791), the Oxford-educated son of a cleric in the Church of England, founded **Methodism**, a term evoked by Wesley’s insistence on strict self-discipline and a methodical approach to religious study and observance. In 1738, Wesley began preaching his new brand of Protestantism, which emphasized an intense personal experience of salvation and a life of thrift, abstinence, and hard work. Traveling all over the British Isles, Wesley preached forty thousand sermons in fifty years, an average of fifteen a week. The Church of England refused to let him preach in the churches. In response, Wesley began to ordain his own clergy. While considered radical in religious views, the Methodist leadership remained politically conservative during Wesley’s lifetime; Wesley himself wrote many pamphlets urging order, loyalty, and submission to higher authorities.

REVIEW QUESTION

What were the major differences between the Enlightenment in France, Great Britain, and the German states?

Society and Culture in an Age of Enlightenment

Religious revivals and the first stirrings of romanticism show that not all intellectual currents of the eighteenth century were flowing in the same channel. Some social and cultural developments manifested the influence of Enlightenment ideas, but others did not. The traditional leaders of European societies — the nobles — responded to Enlightenment ideas in contradictory fashion: many simply reasserted their privileges and resisted the influence of the Enlightenment, but an important minority embraced change and actively participated in reform efforts. The expanding middle classes saw in the Enlightenment a chance to make their claim for joining society's governing elite. They bought Enlightenment books, joined Masonic lodges, and patronized new styles in art, music, and literature. The lower classes were more affected by economic growth than by ideas. Trade boomed and the population grew, but people did not benefit equally. The ranks of the poor swelled, too, and with greater mobility, births to unmarried mothers also increased.

The Nobility's Reassertion of Privilege

Nobles made up about 3 percent of the European population, but their numbers and ways of life varied greatly from country to country. At least 10 percent of the population in Poland and 7 to 8 percent in Spain was noble, in contrast to only 2 percent in Russia and between 1 and 2 percent in the rest of western Europe. Many Polish and Spanish nobles lived in poverty, but the wealthiest European nobles luxuriated in almost unimaginable opulence. Many of the English peers, for example, owned more than ten thousand acres of land; invested widely in government bonds and trading companies, including slave trading; kept several country residences with scores of servants as well as houses in London; and occasionally even had their own private orchestras to complement libraries of expensive books, greenhouses for exotic plants, kennels of pedigreed dogs, and collections of antiques, firearms, and scientific instruments.

To support an increasingly expensive lifestyle in a period of inflation, European aristocrats sought to cash in on their remaining legal rights, called seigneurial dues (from the French *seigneur*, "lord"). Peasants felt the squeeze as a result. French landlords required their peasants to pay dues to grind grain at the lord's mill, bake bread in his oven, press grapes at his winepress, or even pass on their own land as inheritance. In addition, peasants had to work without compensation for a specified number of days every year on the public roads. They also paid taxes to the government on salt, an essential preservative, and on the value of their land; customs duties if they sold produce or wine in town; and the tithe on their grain (one-tenth of the crop) to the church.

In Britain, the landed gentry could not claim these same onerous dues from their tenants, but they tenaciously defended their exclusive right to hunt game. The game laws kept the poor from eating meat and helped protect the social status of the rich. The gentry enforced the game laws themselves by hiring gamekeepers who hunted down poachers and even set traps for them in the forests. According to the law, anyone who poached deer or rabbits while armed or disguised could be sentenced to death. In most other countries, too, hunting was the special right of the nobility, a cause of deep popular resentment.

Even though Enlightenment writers sharply criticized nobles' insistence on special privileges, most aristocrats maintained their marks of distinction. The male court nobility continued to sport swords, plumed hats, makeup, and elaborate wigs, while middle-class men wore simpler and more somber clothing. Aristocrats had their own seats in church and their own quarters in the universities. Frederick II of Prussia (r. 1740–1786), who came to be known as Frederick the Great, made sure that nobles dominated both the army officer corps and the civil bureaucracy. Russia's Catherine the Great (r. 1762–1796) granted the nobility vast tracts of land, the exclusive right to own serfs, and exemption from personal taxes and corporal punishment. Her Charter of the Nobility of 1785 codified these privileges in exchange for the nobles' political subservience to the state. In Austria, Spain, the Italian states, Poland-Lithuania, and Russia, most nobles consequently cared little about Enlightenment ideas; they did not read the books of the philosophes and feared reforms that might challenge their dominance of rural society.

In France, Britain, and the western German states, however, the nobility proved more open to the new ideas. Half of Rousseau's correspondents, for example, were nobles. The nobles of western Europe sometimes married into middle-class families and formed with them a new mixed elite, united by common interests in reform and new cultural tastes.

The Middle Class and the Making of a New Elite

The Enlightenment offered middle-class people an intellectual and cultural route to social improvement. The term *middle class* referred to the middle position on the social ladder; middle-class families did not have legal titles like the nobility above them, but neither did they work with their hands like the peasants, artisans, or laborers below them. Most middle-class people lived in towns or cities and earned their living in the professions — as doctors, lawyers, or lower-level officials — or through investment in land, trade, or manufacturing. In the eighteenth century, the ranks of the middle class — also known as the bourgeoisie (from *bourgeois*, French for "city dweller") — grew steadily in western Europe as a result of economic expansion. In France, for example, the overall population grew by about one-third in the 1700s, but the bourgeoisie nearly tripled in size.

Nobles and middle-class professionals mingled in Enlightenment salons and joined the new Masonic lodges and local learned societies. The Masonic lodges began as social clubs organized around elaborate secret rituals of stonemasons' guilds. They called their members **Freemasons** because that was the term given to apprentice masons when they were deemed "free" to practice as masters of their guild. Although the Freemasons were not explicitly political in aim, their members wrote constitutions for their lodges and elected their own officers, thus promoting a direct experience of constitutional government.

Freemasonry arose in Great Britain and spread eastward: the first French and Italian lodges opened in 1726; Prussia's Frederick the Great founded a lodge in 1740; and after 1750, Freemasonry spread in Poland, Russia, and British North America. In France, women set up their own Masonic lodges. Despite the papacy's condemnation of Freemasonry in 1738 as subversive of religious and civil authority, lodges continued to multiply throughout the eighteenth century. After 1789 and the outbreak of the French Revolution, conservatives would blame the lodges for every kind of political upheaval, but in the 1700s many high-ranking nobles became active members and saw no conflict with their privileged status.

Nobles and middle-class professionals also met in local learned societies, whose numbers greatly increased in this period. The societies, sometimes called academies, brought the Enlightenment down from the realm of books and ideas to the level of concrete reforms. They sponsored essay contests, such as the one won by Rousseau in 1749 and the one set by the society in Metz in 1785 on the question: "Are there means for making the Jews happier and more useful in France?" The Metz society approved essays that argued for granting civil rights to Jews.

Shared tastes in travel, architecture, the arts, and even reading helped strengthen the links between nobles and members of the middle class. "Grand tours" of Europe often led upper-class youths to recently discovered Greek and Roman ruins at Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Paestum in Italy (see Environment Matters on page 656). These excavations aroused enthusiasm for the neoclassical style in architecture and painting, which began pushing aside the rococo and the long-dominant baroque. Urban residences, government buildings, furniture, fabrics, wallpaper, and even pottery soon reflected the neoclassical emphasis on purity and clarity of forms. Employing neoclassical motifs, the English potter Josiah Wedgwood (1730–1795) almost single-handedly created a mass market for domestic crockery and appealed to middle-class desires to emulate the rich and royal. His pottery was marketed in France, Russia, Venice, the Ottoman Empire, and British North America.

A growing taste for moralistic family scenes in painting reflected the same middle-class preoccupation with the emotions of ordinary private life that could be seen in novels. The middle-class public now attended the official painting exhibitions in France that were held regularly every other year after 1737. Court painting (works commissioned by rulers and nobles) nonetheless remained much in demand. Music, too, began to reflect the broadening of the elite and the spread of Enlightenment ideals as classical forms replaced the baroque style. Large sections of string instruments became the backbone of professional orchestras, which now played to large audiences of well-to-do listeners in sizable concert halls. A new attitude toward "the classics" developed: for the first time in the 1770s and 1780s, concert groups began to play older music rather than simply playing the latest commissioned works.

The two supreme masters of the new musical style of the eighteenth century show that the transition from noble patronage to classical concerts was far from complete. Franz Joseph Haydn (1732–1809) and his fellow Austrian Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791) both wrote for noble patrons, but by the early 1800s their compositions had been incorporated into the canon of concert classics all over Europe. Incredibly prolific, both excelled in combining lightness, clarity, and profound emotion. Both also wrote numerous Italian operas, a genre whose popularity continued to grow: in the 1780s, the Papal States alone boasted forty opera houses. Haydn spent most of his career working for a Hungarian noble family, the Eszterházys. Asked once why he had written no string quintets (at which Mozart excelled), he responded simply: “No one has ordered any.”

Interest in reading, like attending public concerts, took hold of the middle classes and fed a frenzied increase in publication. By the end of the eighteenth century, six times as many books were being published in the German states, for instance, as at the beginning. Local newspapers, lending libraries, and book clubs multiplied. Despite the limits on women’s education, women benefited as much as men from the spread of print. As one Englishman observed, “By far the greatest part of ladies now have a taste for books.” Women also wrote them. Catherine Macaulay (1731–1791) published best-selling histories of Britain, and in France Stéphanie de Genlis (1746–1830) wrote children’s books — a genre that was growing in importance as middle-class parents became more interested in education.

ENVIRONMENT MATTERS

The Vogue for Classical Ruins

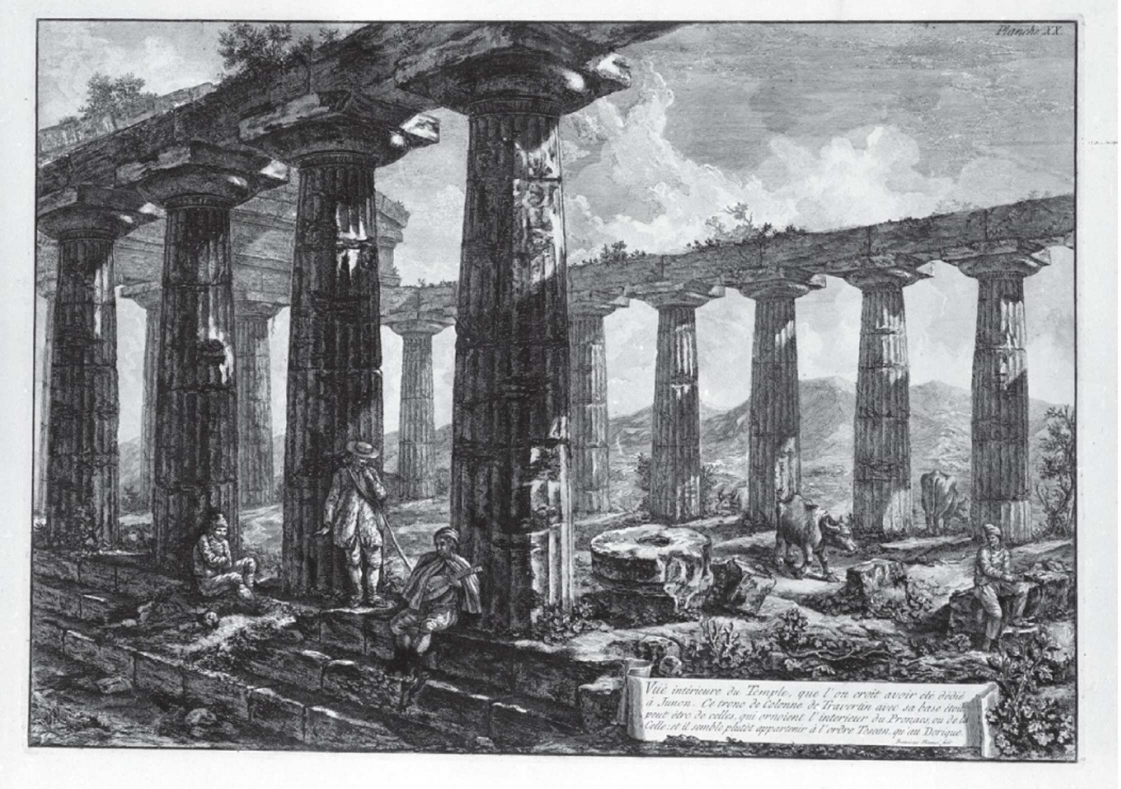


Planche XX.
Vüe intérieure du Temple, que l'on croit avoir été dédié
à Junon. Ce tronc de Colonne de Travertin avec sa base étoit
peut être de celles, qui ornoient l'interieur du Pronaos, ou de la
Celle: et il semble plutôt appartenir à l'ordre Toscan, qu'au Dorique.

Private Collection/Photo © Giancarlo Costa/Bridgeman Images

In 1777 the Italian artist Giovanni Battista Piranesi visited the archaeological site of Paestum, south of Naples, where he completed a series of drawings that later became etchings. Unlike Pompeii and Herculaneum, (Roman cities that had been buried by a volcanic eruption in 79), Paestum never entirely disappeared from view, but its Greek temples drew little attention until European young men began to take their “grand tours” that almost always included the most famous Roman and Greek ruins in Italy. Piranesi captured the haunting quality of such ruins; ruins — buildings that have deliberately been left in their decayed state rather than restored — remind us of the transience of all things but also of the enduring presence of the past. They also encouraged a taste for classicism in the arts and architecture.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. Why would Greek and Roman ruins be a “must see” on a young man’s tour of continental Europe?
2. Look closely at Piranesi’s rendition. What is his message to the viewer?

Life on the Margins

Booming foreign trade fueled a dramatic economic expansion: French colonial trade increased tenfold in the 1700s, and the European slave trade transported more than three times as many Africans in the eighteenth century as in the seventeenth century despite periodic disruptions due to war. The population of France's richest colony, St. Domingue, increased one hundred fold between 1700 and 1787, and by the latter date enslaved people made up 90 percent of the population. The population within Europe grew by nearly 30 percent during the eighteenth century. Although food production increased, shortages and crises still occurred periodically. Prices went up in many countries after the 1730s and continued to rise gradually until the early nineteenth century; wages in many trades rose as well, but less quickly than prices. In Europe, the people at the bottom of the social ladder — day laborers in the cities and peasants with small holdings — lived on the edge of dire poverty, and when they lost their land or work, they either migrated to the cities or wandered the roads in search of food and work. In France alone, 200,000 workers left their homes every year in search of seasonal employment elsewhere. At least 10 percent of Europe's urban population depended on some form of charity.

The growing numbers of poor people overwhelmed local governments. In some countries, beggars and vagabonds had been locked up in workhouses since the mid-1600s. The expenses for running these overcrowded institutions increased by 60 percent in England between 1760 and 1785. After 1740, most German towns created workhouses that were part workshop, part hospital, and part prison. Such institutions also appeared for the first time in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. The French government created "beggar houses" in 1767. The government sent people to these new workhouses to labor in manufacturing, but most were too weak or sick to work, and 20 percent of them died within a few months of incarceration.

Those who were able to work or keep their land fared better: an increase in literacy, especially in the cities, allowed some lower-class people to participate in new tastes and ideas. One French observer insisted, “These days, you see a waiting-maid in her backroom, a lackey in an ante-room reading pamphlets. People can read in almost all classes of society.” In France, only 50 percent of men and 27 percent of women could read and write in the 1780s, but that was twice the rate of a century earlier. Literacy rates were higher in England and the Dutch Republic, and much lower in eastern Europe. Enslaved people were forbidden in some colonies from learning to read and write, but many did learn once they gained their freedom.

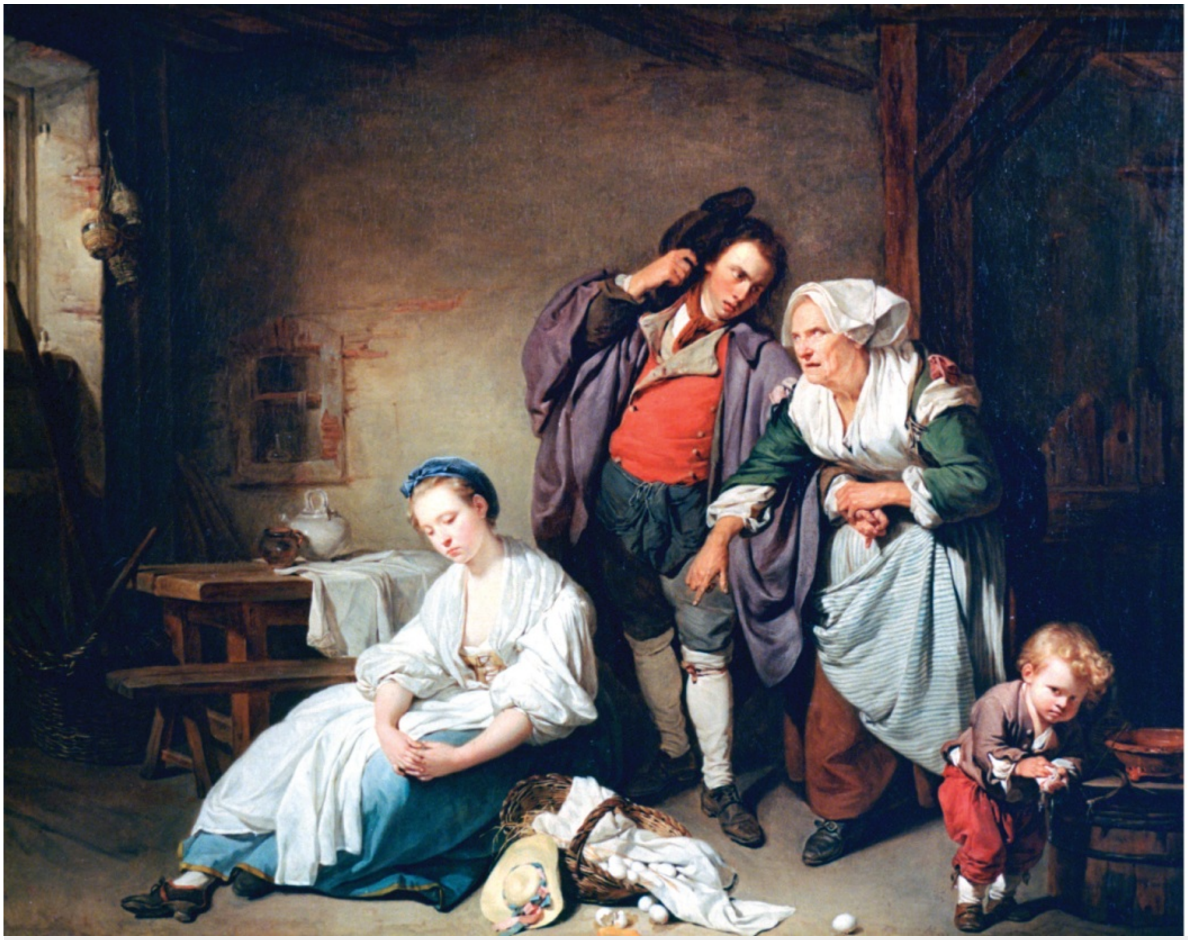
Whereas the new elite might attend salons, concerts, or art exhibitions, peasants enjoyed their traditional forms of popular entertainment, such as fairs and festivals, and the urban lower classes relaxed in cabarets and taverns. Sometimes the recreation of the day was cruel to animals. In Britain, bullbaiting, bearbaiting, dogfighting, and cockfighting were all common forms of entertainment that provided opportunities for organized gambling.

As population increased and villagers began to move to cities to better their prospects, the rates of births out of wedlock soared, from less than 5 percent of all births in the seventeenth century to nearly 20 percent at the end of the eighteenth. Some detect in this change a sign of sexual liberation and the beginnings of a modern sexual revolution: as women moved out of the control of their families, they began to seek their own sexual fulfillment. Others view this change more bleakly, as a story of seduction and betrayal: family and community pressure had once forced a man to marry a woman pregnant with his child, but now a man could abandon a pregnant lover by simply moving away.

Women who came to the city as domestic servants had little recourse against masters or fellow servants who seduced or raped them. The result was a startling rise in abandoned babies. Most European cities established foundling hospitals in the 1700s, but infant and child mortality was 50 percent higher in such institutions than for children brought up at home.

European states had long tried to regulate sexual behavior; every country had laws against prostitution, adultery, fornication, sodomy, and infanticide. Reformers criticized the harshness of laws against infanticide, but they showed no mercy for “sodomites” (as male homosexuals were called), who in some places, in particular the Dutch Republic, were systematically persecuted and imprisoned or even executed. Male homosexuals attracted the attention of authorities because they had begun to develop networks and special meeting places. The stereotype of the effeminate, exclusively homosexual male seems to have appeared for the first time in the eighteenth century, perhaps as part of a growing emphasis on separate roles for men and women.

The Enlightenment’s emphasis on reason, self-control, and childhood innocence made parents increasingly anxious about their children’s sexuality. Moralists and physicians wrote books about the evils of masturbation, “proving” that it led to physical and mental degeneration and even madness. The Enlightenment nevertheless taught the middle and upper classes to value their children and to expect their improvement through education. Writers such as de Genlis and Rousseau drew attention to children, who were no longer viewed only as little sinners in need of harsh discipline. Toys, jigsaw puzzles, and clothing designed for children all appeared for the first time in the 1700s. Children were no longer considered miniature adults.



Print Collector/Getty Images.

Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Broken Eggs* (1756) Greuze made his reputation as a painter of moralistic family scenes. In this one, an old woman (perhaps the mother) confronts the lover of a young girl and points to the eggs that have fallen out of a basket, a symbol of lost virginity. Denis Diderot praised Greuze's work as "morality in paint," but the paintings often had an erotic subtext.

Review Question

What were the major differences in the impact of the Enlightenment on the nobility, the middle classes, and the lower classes?

State Power in an Era of Reform

Rulers turned to Enlightenment-inspired reforms to improve life for their subjects and to gain commercial or military advantage over rival states. Historians label many of the sovereigns of this time **enlightened despots** or enlightened absolutists, for they aimed to promote Enlightenment reforms without giving up their absolutist powers. Catherine the Great's admiring relationship with Voltaire showed how even the most absolutist rulers championed reform when it suited their own goals. Foremost among those goals was the expansion of a ruler's territory.

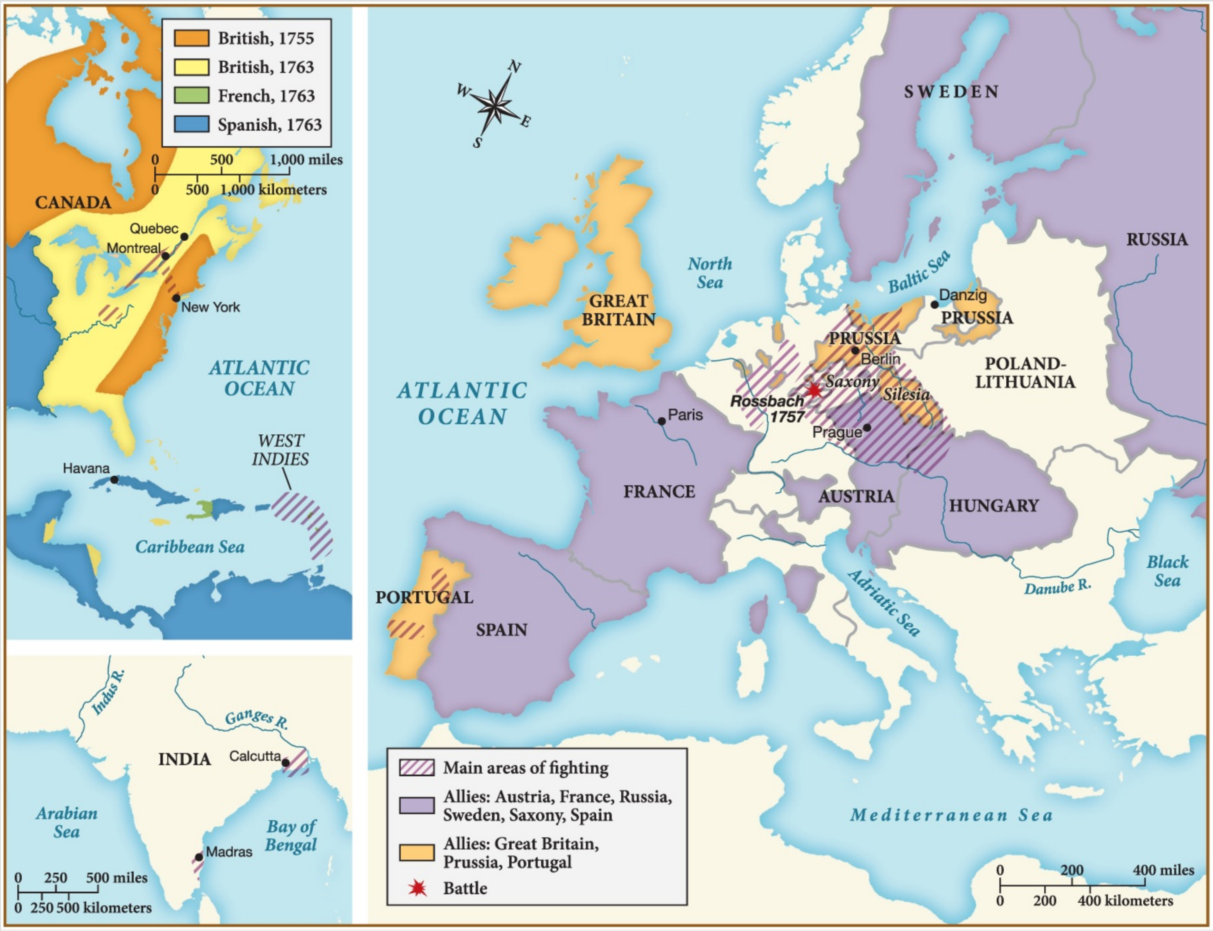
War and Diplomacy

Europeans no longer fought devastating wars over religion that killed hundreds of thousands of civilians; instead, professional armies and navies battled for control of overseas empires and for dominance on the European continent. Rulers continued to expand their armies: the Prussian army, for example, nearly tripled in size between 1740 and 1789. Widespread use of flintlock muskets required deployment in long lines, usually three men deep, with each line in turn loading and firing on command. Military strategy became cautious and calculating, but this did not prevent the outbreak of hostilities.

In 1756, a set of events that historians call the Diplomatic Revolution reshaped relations among the great powers. Prussia and Great Britain signed a defensive alliance, prompting Austria to overlook two centuries of hostility and ally with France. Russia and Sweden soon joined the

Franco-Austrian alliance. When Frederick the Great invaded Austria's ally Saxony with his large, well-disciplined army, the long-simmering hostilities between Great Britain and France over colonial boundaries flared into a general war that became known as the **Seven Years' War** (1756–1763).

Fighting soon raged around the world (Map 18.1). The French and British battled on land and sea in North America (where the conflict was called the French and Indian War), the West Indies, and India. The two coalitions also fought each other in central Europe. At first, in 1757, Frederick the Great surprised Europe with a spectacular victory at Rossbach in Saxony over a much larger Franco-Austrian army. But in time, Russian and Austrian armies encircled his troops. A fluke of history saved him. Empress Elizabeth of Russia (r. 1741–1762) died and was succeeded by the mentally unstable Peter III, a fanatical admirer of Frederick and all things Prussian. Peter withdrew Russia from the war. (This was practically his only accomplishment as tsar. He was soon mysteriously murdered, probably at the instigation of his wife, Catherine the Great.) A separate peace treaty allowed Frederick to keep all his territory, including Silesia, that had been conquered in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748).



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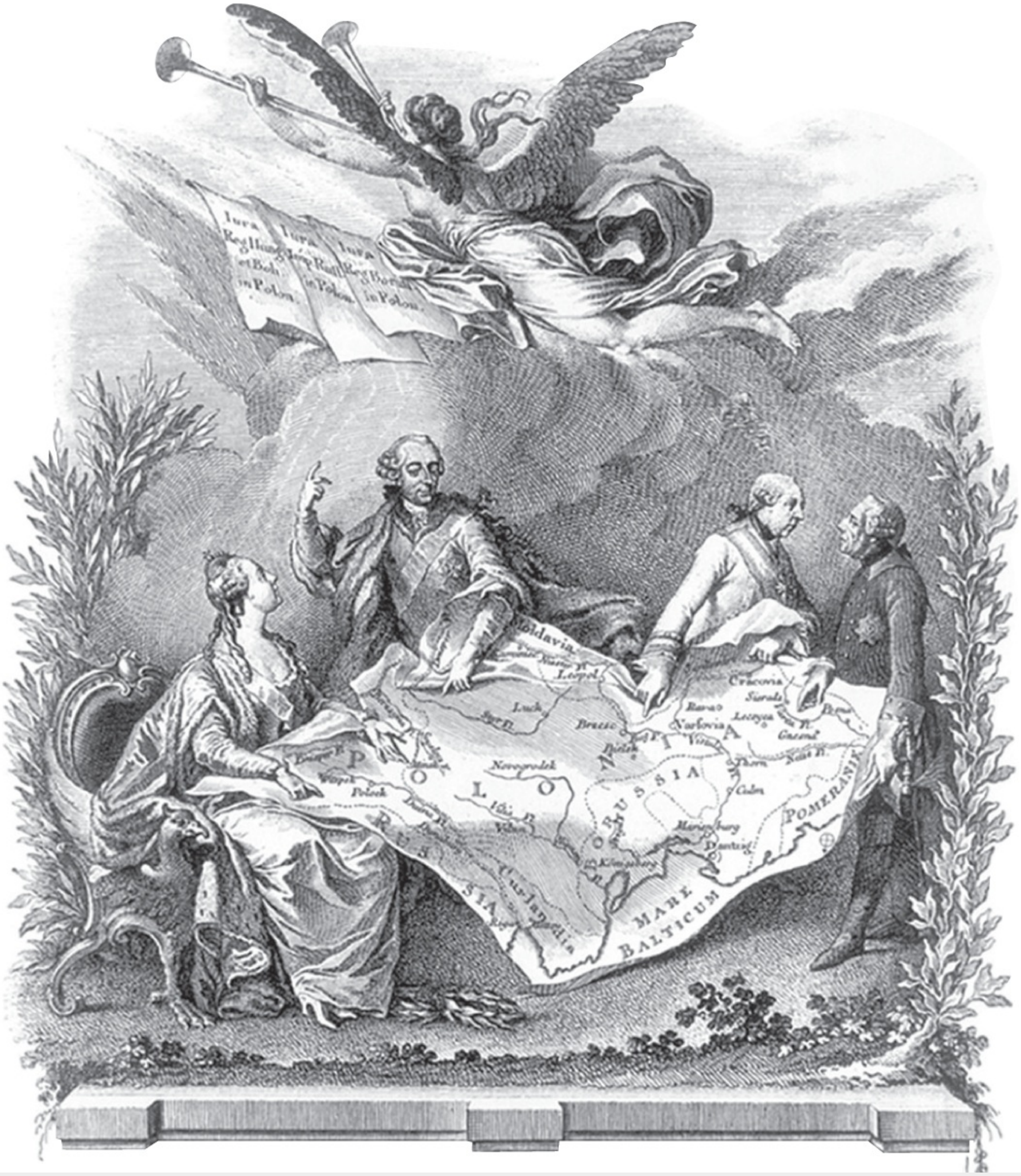
MAP 18.1 The Seven Years' War, 1756–1763

In what might justly be called the first worldwide war, the French and British fought each other in Europe, the West Indies, North America, and India. Skirmishing in North America helped precipitate the war, which became more general when Austria, France, and Russia allied to check Prussian influence in central Europe. The peace treaty between Austria and Prussia simply restored the status quo in Europe, but the changes overseas were much more dramatic. Britain gained control over Canada and India but gave back to France the West Indian islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique. Britain was now the dominant power of the seas.

The Anglo-French overseas conflicts ended more decisively than the continental land wars. British naval superiority, fully achieved only in the 1750s, enabled Great Britain to rout the French in North America, India, and the West Indies. In the Treaty of Paris of 1763, France ceded Canada to Great Britain and agreed to remove its armies from India, in exchange for keeping its rich West Indian islands, including St. Domingue. Eagerness to avenge this defeat would motivate France to support the British North American colonists in their War of Independence just fifteen years later.

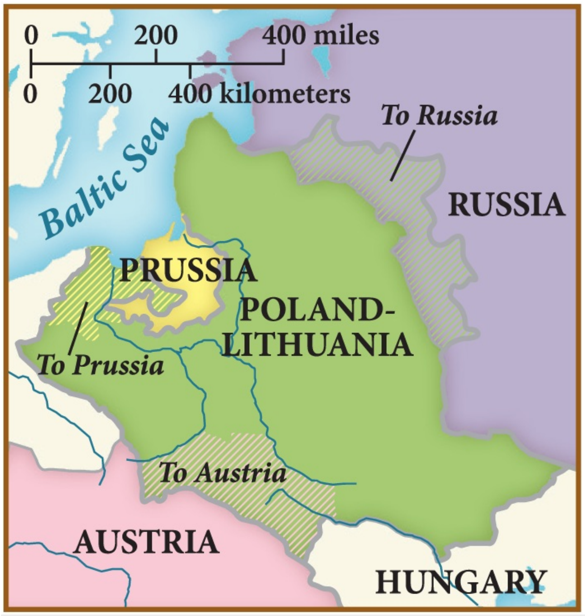
Although Prussia suffered great losses in the Seven Years' War — some 160,000 Prussian soldiers died either in action or of disease — its army helped vault Prussia to the rank of leading powers. By 1740, the Prussians had the third or fourth largest army in Europe even though Prussia was tenth in population and thirteenth in land area. Under Frederick II, Prussia's military expenditures rose to two-thirds of the state's revenue. Virtually every nobleman served in the army, paying for his own support as officer and buying a position as company commander. Once retired, the officers returned to their estates and served as local officials. This militarization of Prussian society had a profoundly conservative effect: it kept the peasants enserfed to their lords and blocked the middle classes from access to estates or high government positions.



Hulton Archive/Getty Images.

Dividing Poland, 1772 In this contemporary depiction, Catherine the Great, Joseph II, and Frederick the Great point on the map to the portion of Poland-Lithuania each plans to take. The artist makes it clear that Poland’s fate rested in the hands of neighboring rulers, not its own people. Can you infer the sentiments of the artist from the content of this engraving?

Prussia’s power grew so dramatically that in 1772 Frederick the Great proposed that large chunks of Poland-Lithuania be divided among Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Although the Austrian empress Maria Theresa protested that the partition would spread "a stain over my whole reign," she agreed to the first **partition of Poland**, splitting one-third of Poland-Lithuania's territory and half of its people among the three powers. Russia took over most of Lithuania, effectively ending the large but weak Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth.



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The First Partition of Poland, 1772

State-Sponsored Reform

In the aftermath of the Seven Years' War, all the belligerents faced pressing needs for more money. To make tax increases more palatable to public opinion, rulers appointed reform-minded ministers and gave them a mandate to modernize government. Such reforms always threatened the interests of traditional groups, however, and the spread of Enlightenment ideas aroused sometimes unpredictable desires for more change.

Monarchs dedicated to reform insisted on greater attention to merit, hard work, and professionalism. In this view, the ruler should be a benevolent, enlightened administrator who worked for the general well-being of his or her people. Frederick the Great, who drove himself as hard as he drove his officials, boasted, “I am the first servant of the state.” A Freemason and supporter of religious toleration, Frederick abolished torture, reorganized taxation, and hosted leading French philosophes at his court. The Prussian king also composed more than a hundred original pieces of music.

Legal reform, both of the judicial system and of the often disorganized and irregular law codes, was central to the work of many reform-minded monarchs. Like Frederick the Great, Joseph II of Austria (r. 1780–1790) ordered the compilation of a unified law code, a project that required many years for completion. Catherine the Great began such an undertaking even more ambitiously. In 1767, she called together a legislative commission of 564 deputies and asked them to consider a long document called the *Instruction,* which represented her hopes for legal reform based on the ideas of Montesquieu and the Italian jurist Cesare Beccaria. Montesquieu had insisted that punishment should fit the crime; he criticized the use of torture and brutal corporal punishment. In his influential book *On Crimes and Punishments* (1764), Beccaria argued that justice should be administered in public, that judicial torture should be abolished as inhumane, and that the accused should be presumed innocent until proven guilty. Despite much discussion and hundreds of petitions and documents about local problems, little came of Catherine's commission.

Rulers everywhere wanted more control over church affairs, and they used Enlightenment criticisms of the organized churches to get their way. In Catholic countries, many government officials resented the influence of the Jesuits, the major Catholic teaching order. Critics mounted campaigns against the Jesuits in many countries, and in 1773, Pope Clement XIV (r. 1769–1774) agreed under pressure to disband the order, an edict that held until a reinvigorated papacy restored the society in 1814. Joseph II of Austria not only applauded the suppression of the Jesuits but also required Austrian bishops to swear fidelity and submission to him. Joseph had become Holy Roman Emperor and co-regent with his mother, Maria Theresa, in 1765.

After his mother's death in 1780, Joseph initiated a wide-ranging program of reform. He abolished contemplative monastic orders and confiscated monastic property to pay for education and poor relief. He granted state subsidies to local schools, which the state would regulate. By 1789, one-quarter of school-age children attended school. In Prussia, the school code of 1763 required all children between the ages of five and thirteen to attend school. Although not enforced uniformly, the Prussian law demonstrated Frederick the Great's belief that modernization depended on education.

No ruler pushed the principle of religious toleration as far as Joseph II of Austria, who in 1781 granted freedom of religious worship to

Protestants, Orthodox Christians, and Jews. For the first time, these groups were allowed to own property, build schools, enter the professions, and hold political and military offices. Louis XVI signed an edict in 1787 restoring French Protestants' civil rights — but still, Protestants could not hold political office. Great Britain continued to deny Catholics freedom of open worship and the right to sit in Parliament. Most European states limited the rights and opportunities available to Jews. Even in Austria, where Joseph encouraged toleration, the laws forced Jews to take German-sounding names. The leading philosophes in theory opposed persecution of the Jews but often in practice treated them with undisguised contempt. Diderot's comment was all too typical: the Jews, he said, bore "all the defects peculiar to an ignorant and superstitious nation."

Limits of Reform

When enlightened absolutist leaders introduced reforms, they often ran into resistance from groups threatened by the proposed changes. Joseph II tried to remove the burdens of serfdom in the Habsburg lands. After 1781, serfs could move freely, enter trades, or marry without their lords' permission. Joseph also abolished the tithe to the church, shifted more of the tax burden to the nobility, and converted peasants' labor services into cash payments.

The Austrian nobility furiously resisted these far-reaching reforms. When Joseph died in 1790, his brother Leopold II (r. 1790–1792) had to revoke most reforms to appease the nobles. Prussia's Frederick the Great, like Joseph, encouraged such agricultural innovations as planting potatoes and turnips (new crops that could help feed a growing population), but Prussia's noble landlords, the Junkers, continued to expand their estates at the expense of poorer peasants and thwarted Frederick's attempts to improve the status of serfs.

In France, a group of economists called the physiocrats urged the government to deregulate the grain trade and make the tax system more equitable to encourage agricultural productivity. In the interest of establishing a free market, they also insisted that urban guilds be abolished because the guilds prevented free entry into the trades. The French government heeded some of this advice and gave up its system of price controls on grain in 1763, but it had to reverse the decision in 1770 when grain shortages caused a famine.

A conflict with the parlements (the thirteen high courts of law) prompted French king Louis XV (r. 1715–1774) to go even further in 1771. He replaced the parlements with courts in which the judges no longer owned their offices and thus could not sell them or pass them on as an inheritance. Justice, he hoped, would then be more impartial. The displaced judges of the parlements succeeded in arousing widespread opposition to what they portrayed as tyrannical royal policy. The furor calmed down only when Louis XV died in 1774 and his successor, Louis XVI (r. 1774–1792), yielded to aristocratic demands and restored the old parlements.

Louis XVI tried to carry out part of the program suggested by the physiocrats, and he chose one of their disciples, Jacques Turgot (1727–1781), as his chief minister. A contributor to the *Encyclopedia*, Turgot pushed through several edicts that again freed the grain trade, suppressed guilds, and converted the peasants' forced labor on roads into a money tax payable by all landowners. He also began making plans to introduce a system of elected local assemblies, which would have increased representation in the government. Faced with broad-based resistance led by the parlements as well as with riots against rising grain prices, Louis XVI dismissed Turgot, and one of the last possibilities to overhaul France's government collapsed.

The failure of reform in France paradoxically reflected the power of Enlightenment thinkers; everyone now endorsed Enlightenment ideas but used them for different ends. The nobles in the parlements blocked the French monarchy's reform efforts using the very same Enlightenment language spoken by the crown's ministers. Where Frederick the Great, Catherine the Great, and even Joseph II used reform to bolster the efficiency of absolutist government, attempts at change in France backfired. French kings found that their ambitious programs for reform succeeded only in arousing unrealistic hopes.

REVIEW QUESTION

What prompted enlightened absolutists to undertake reforms in the second half of the eighteenth century?

Rebellions against State Power

Although traditional forms of popular discontent had not disappeared, Enlightenment ideals and reforms changed the rules of the game in politics. Governments had become accountable for their actions to a much wider range of people than ever before. In Britain and France, ordinary people rioted when they perceived their government as failing to protect them against food shortages. The growth of informed public opinion had its most dramatic consequences in the North American colonies, where a struggle over the British Parliament’s right to tax turned into a full-scale war for independence. The American War of Independence showed that, once put into practice, Enlightenment ideals could have revolutionary implications.

Food Riots and Peasant Uprisings

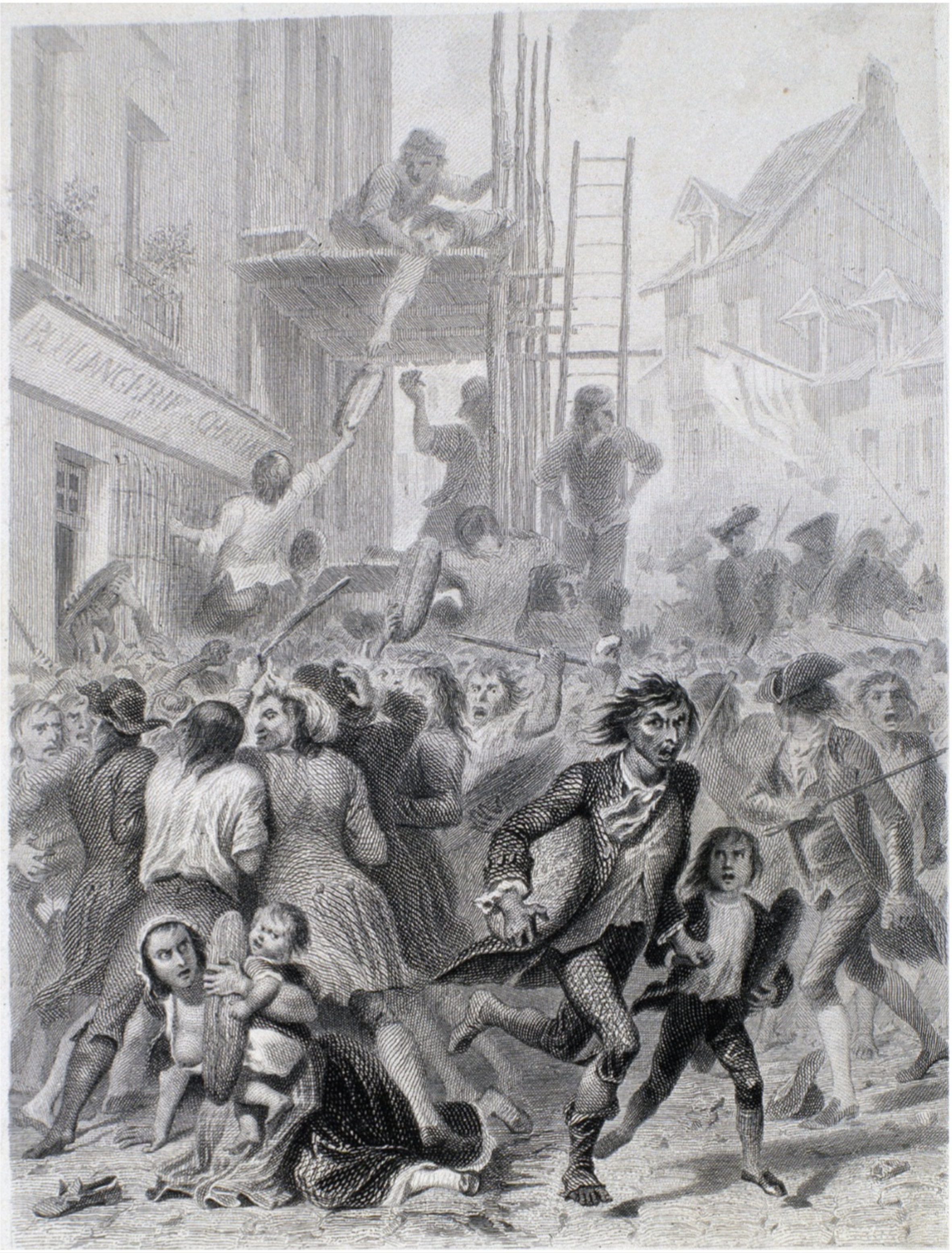


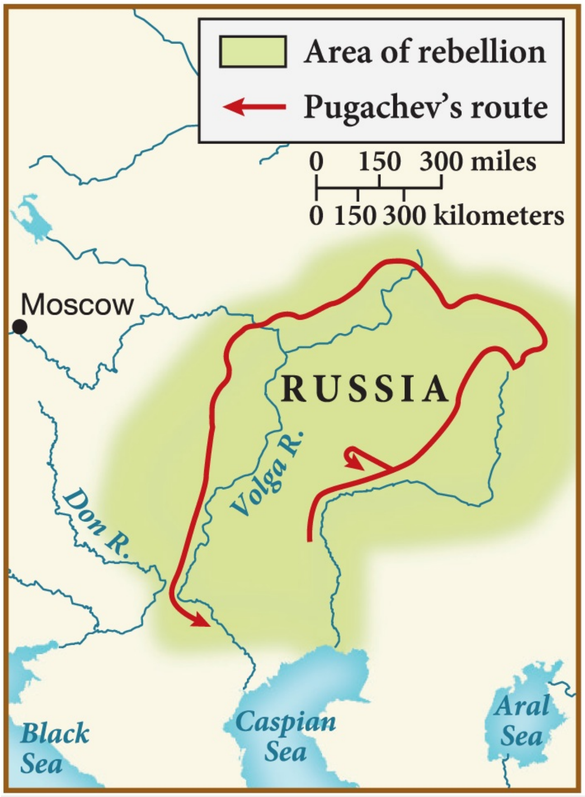
Photo © Leonard de Selva/Bridgeman Images.

A French Food Riot This print of the “Flour War” of 1775 depicts a crowd of women, men, and children rioting over the price of bread. Collective actions over the price of food were very common in the eighteenth century because many people lived on the margin and felt threatened by government efforts to increase supply by eliminating restraints on the trade in grain. In times of shortage, these efforts backfired and crowds attacked bakers or grain convoys.

In the last half of the eighteenth century, the food supply became the focus of political and social conflict. Poor people in Europe's villages and towns believed that it was the government's responsibility to ensure they had enough food, and many governments did stockpile grain to make up for the occasional bad harvest. At the same time, in keeping with Adam Smith's and the French physiocrats' free-market proposals, governments wanted to allow grain prices to rise with market demand because higher profits would motivate producers to increase the overall supply of food. Free trade in grain meant selling to the highest bidder, even if that bidder was a foreign merchant. In the short run, in times of scarcity, big landowners and farmers could make huge profits by selling grain outside their hometowns. This practice enraged poor farmers, agricultural workers, and urban wageworkers, who could not afford the higher prices. Lacking the political means to affect policy, the poor could enforce their desire for old-fashioned price regulation only by rioting. Most did not pillage or steal grain but rather forced the sale of grain or flour at a "just" price and blocked the shipment of grain out of their villages to other markets. Women often led these "popular price fixings," as they were called in France, in desperate attempts to protect the food supply for their children.

Such food riots occurred regularly in Britain and France in the last half of the eighteenth century. One of the most turbulent was the so-called Flour War in France in 1775. Turgot's deregulation of the grain trade in 1774 caused prices to rise in several provincial cities. Rioting spread from there to the Paris region, where villagers attacked grain convoys heading to the capital city. Local officials often ordered merchants and bakers to sell at the price the rioters demanded, only to find themselves arrested by the central government for overriding free trade. The government brought in troops to restore order and introduced the death penalty for rioting.

Frustrations with serfdom and hopes for a miraculous transformation provoked the **Pugachev rebellion** in Russia beginning in 1773. An army deserter from the southeast frontier region, Emelian Pugachev (1742–1775), claimed to be Tsar Peter III, the dead husband of Catherine the Great. Pugachev's appearance seemed to confirm peasant hopes for a "redeemer tsar" who would save the people from oppression. He rallied around him Cossacks like himself who resented the loss of their old tribal independence. Nearly three million people eventually participated, making this the largest single rebellion in the history of tsarist Russia. When Pugachev urged the peasants to attack the nobility and seize their estates, hundreds of noble families perished. Finally, the army captured the rebel leader and brought him in an iron cage to Moscow, where he was tortured and executed. In the aftermath, Catherine tightened the nobles' control over their serfs with the Charter of the Nobility and harshly punished those who dared to criticize serfdom.



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The Pugachev Rebellion, 1773

Enslaved people in the American and Caribbean colonies of European powers had their own options for resistance; they included secret acts of sabotage, plots to poison owners, and running away to form fugitive bands in the hinterland. Freed slaves and mixed-race people could themselves own plantations and even slaves, but their presence served as a reminder to the Europeans that the system could come undone.

Public Opinion and Political Opposition

Riots and uprisings might have briefly shaken a monarchy, but the rise of public opinion as a force independent of court society caused more enduring changes. Across much of Europe and in the North American colonies, demands for broader political participation reflected Enlightenment notions about individual rights. Aristocratic bodies such as the French parlements, which had no legislative role like that of the British Parliament, insisted that the monarch consult them on the nation’s affairs, and the new educated elite wanted more influence too. Newspapers began to cover daily political affairs, and the public learned the basics of political life, despite the strict limits on political participation in most countries.

The Wilkes affair in Great Britain showed that public opinion could be mobilized to challenge a government. In 1763, during the reign of George III (r. 1760–1820), John Wilkes, a member of Parliament, attacked the government in his newspaper, *North Briton,* and sued the crown when he was arrested. He won his release as well as damages. When he was reelected, Parliament denied him his seat, not once but three times.

The Wilkes episode soon escalated into a major campaign against the corruption and social exclusiveness of Parliament, complaints the Levellers had first raised during the English Revolution of the late 1640s. In one incident eleven people died when soldiers broke up a huge gathering of Wilkes’s supporters. The slogan “Wilkes and Liberty” appeared on walls all over London. Middle-class voters formed the Society of Supporters of the Bill of Rights, which circulated petitions for Wilkes; they gained the support of about one-fourth of all the voters. The more determined Wilkesites proposed sweeping reforms of Parliament, including more frequent elections, more representation for the counties, elimination of “rotten boroughs” (election districts so small that they could be controlled by one big patron), and restrictions of pensions used by the crown to gain support. These demands would be at the heart of agitation for parliamentary reform in Britain for decades to come.

Popular demonstrations did not always support reforms. In 1780, the Gordon riots devastated London. They were named after the fanatical anti-Catholic crusader Lord George Gordon, who helped organize huge marches and petition campaigns against a bill the House of Commons passed to grant limited toleration to Catholics. The demonstrations culminated in a seven-day riot that left fifty buildings destroyed and three hundred people dead. Despite the continuing limitation on voting rights in Great Britain, British politicians were learning that they could ignore public opinion only at their peril.

Political opposition also took artistic forms, particularly in countries where governments restricted organized political activity. A striking example of a play with a political message was *The Marriage of Figaro* (1784) by Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais (1732–1799). When finally performed publicly, the play caused a sensation. The chief character, Figaro, is a clever servant who gets the better of his noble employer, a count. When speaking of the count, Figaro cries, “What have you done to deserve so many rewards? You went to the trouble of being born, and nothing more.” Looking back, Napoleon would say that the play was the “revolution in action.”

Revolution in North America

Oppositional forms of public opinion came to a head in Great Britain's North American colonies, where the result was American independence and the establishment of a republican constitution that stood in stark contrast to most European regimes. Many Europeans saw the American War of Independence, or the American Revolution, as a triumph for Enlightenment ideas. As one German writer exclaimed in 1777, American victory would give "greater scope to the Enlightenment, new keenness to the thinking of peoples and new life to the spirit of liberty."

The American revolutionary leaders had participated in the Enlightenment and shared political ideas with the opposition Whigs in Britain. In the 1760s and 1770s, American opposition leaders became convinced that the British government was growing increasingly corrupt and despotic. The colonies had no representatives in Parliament, and colonists claimed that "no taxation without representation" should be allowed. Indeed, they denied that Parliament had any jurisdiction over the colonies, insisting that the king govern them through colonial legislatures and recognize their traditional British liberties. The failure of the "Wilkes and Liberty" campaign to produce concrete results convinced many Americans that Parliament was hopelessly tainted.

Parliament's encroachment on the autonomy of the colonies transformed colonial attitudes. With the British clamoring for lower taxes at the end of the Seven Years' War and the colonists paying only a fraction of the tax rate paid by the Britons at home, Parliament passed new taxes on the colonies, including the Stamp Act in 1765, which required a special tax stamp on all legal documents and publications. After violent rioting in the colonies, the British repealed the tax, but in 1773 the new Tea Act revived colonial resistance, which culminated in the so-called Boston Tea Party of 1773. Colonists dressed as native Americans boarded British ships and dumped the imported tea (by this time an enormously popular beverage) into Boston's harbor.

Peter Newark Pictures/Bridgeman Images.

Resistance to British Rule To demonstrate their resistance to the 1765 Stamp Act, Boston citizens tar and feather a tax collector. The Stamp Act is nailed upside down to a tree.

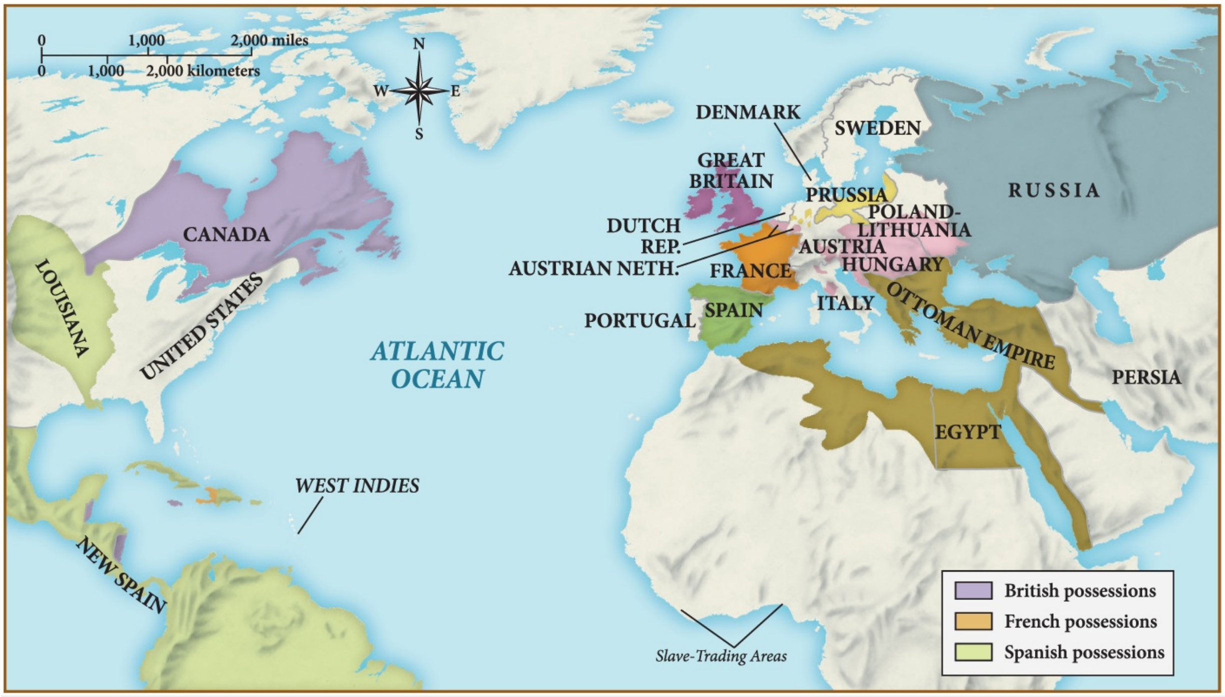
Political opposition in the American colonies turned belligerent when Britain threatened to use force to maintain control. After actual fighting had begun, in 1776, the Second Continental Congress issued the Declaration of Independence. An eloquent statement of the American cause drafted by the Virginia planter, slave-owner, and lawyer Thomas Jefferson, the Declaration of Independence was couched in the language of universal human rights, which enlightened Europeans could be expected to understand. In 1778, France boosted the American cause by entering on the colonists' side. Spain declared war on Britain in 1779; in 1780, Great Britain declared war on the Dutch Republic in retaliation for Dutch support of the rebels. The worldwide conflict that resulted was more than Britain could handle. The American colonies achieved their independence in the peace treaty of 1783.

The newly independent states still faced the challenge of republican self-government. The Articles of Confederation, drawn up in 1777 as a provisional constitution, proved weak because they gave the central government few powers. In 1787, a constitutional convention met in Philadelphia to draft a new constitution, which was ratified the following year. It established a two-house legislature, an indirectly elected president, and an independent judiciary. The U.S. Constitution's preamble insisted explicitly, for the first time in history, that government derived its power solely from the people and did not depend on divine right or on the tradition of royalty or aristocracy. The new educated elite of the eighteenth century had now created government based on a "social contract" among male, property-owning, white citizens. It was by no means a complete democracy (women and enslaved people were excluded from political participation), but the new government represented a radical departure from European models. Appended to the Constitution in 1791, the Bill of Rights outlined the essential rights (such as freedom of speech) that the government could never overturn. Although slavery continued in the American republic, the new emphasis on rights helped fuel the movement for its abolition in both Britain and the United States.

Interest in the new republic was greatest in France. The U.S. Constitution and various state constitutions were published in French with commentary by leading thinkers. Even more important in the long run were the effects of the American war. Dutch losses to Great Britain aroused a widespread movement for political reform in the Dutch Republic, and debts incurred by France in supporting the American colonies would soon force the French monarchy to the edge of bankruptcy and then to revolution. Ultimately, the entire European system of royal rule would be challenged.

Review Question

Why did public opinion become a new factor in politics in the second half of the eighteenth century?



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MAPPING THE WEST

Europe and the World, c. 1780

Although Great Britain lost control over part of its North American colonies, which became the new United States, European influence on the rest of the world grew dramatically in the eighteenth century. The slave trade linked European ports to African slave-trading outposts and to plantations in the Caribbean, South America, and North America. The European countries on the Atlantic Ocean benefited most from this trade. Yet almost all of Africa, China, Japan, and large parts of India still resisted European incursion, and the Ottoman Empire, with its massive territories, still presented Europe with a formidable military challenge.

Analyzing the Map: Why was slave trading by European nations concentrated on the West African coast?

Making Connections: Why did wars between European nations involve colonies in the New World?

ⓘ

Conclusion

What began as a cosmopolitan movement of a few intellectuals in the first half of the eighteenth century had reached a relatively wide audience among the educated elite of men and women by the 1770s and 1780s. The spirit of Enlightenment swept from the salons, coffeehouses, and Masonic lodges into the halls of government from Philadelphia to Vienna. Scientific inquiry into the causes of social misery and laws defending individual rights and freedoms gained adherents even among the rulers and ministers responsible for censoring Enlightenment works.

For most Europeans, however, the promise of the Enlightenment did not become a reality. Rulers such as Catherine the Great had every intention of retaining their full, often unchecked powers even as they corresponded with leading philosophes and entertained them at their courts. Yet even the failure of reform contributed to the ferment in Europe after 1770. Peasant rebellions in eastern Europe, the “Wilkes and Liberty” campaign in Great Britain, the struggle over reform in France, and the revolution in America all occurred around the same time, and their conjunction convinced many Europeans that change was brewing. Just how much could change, and whether change made life better or worse, would come into question in the next ten years.

Chapter 18 Review

Key Terms and People

Be sure that you can identify the term or person and explain its historical significance.

philosophes
deists
abolitionists
laissez-faire
Jean-Jacques Rousseau
romanticism
Methodism
Freemasons
enlightened despots
Seven Years' War
partition of Poland
Pugachev rebellion

Review Questions

1. What were the major differences between the Enlightenment in France, Great Britain, and the German states?
2. What were the major differences in the impact of the

Enlightenment on the nobility, the middle classes, and the lower classes?

3. What prompted enlightened absolutists to undertake reforms in the second half of the eighteenth century?
4. Why did public opinion become a new factor in politics in the second half of the eighteenth century?

Making Connections

1. Why might rulers have felt ambivalent about the Enlightenment, supporting reform on the one hand while clamping down on political dissidents on the other hand?
2. Which major developments in this period ran counter to the influence of the Enlightenment?
3. In what ways had politics changed, and in what ways did they remain the same during the Enlightenment?
4. Explain how Catherine the Great of Russia could be taken as a symbol of both the promises and the limits of the Enlightenment.

Important Events

1751–1772	*Encyclopedia* is published in France
1756–1763	Seven Years' War is fought in Europe, India, and the American colonies
1762	Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*
1763	Wilkes affair begins in Great Britain
1764	Voltaire, *Philosophical Dictionary*
1771	Louis XV of France fails to break power of French law courts
1772	First partition of Poland
1773	Pugachev rebellion of Russian peasants
1775	Flour War in France
1776	American Declaration of Independence from Great Britain; Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*
1780	Joseph II of Austria undertakes a wide-reaching reform program
1781	Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Pure Reason*
1784	Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais, *The Marriage of Figaro*
1785	Catherine the Great's Charter of the Nobility grants nobles exclusive control over their serfs in exchange for subservience to the state
1787	Delegates from the states draft the U.S. Constitution

Consider three events

Encyclopedia published in France (1751–1772), Wilkes affair begins in Great Britain (1763), and American Declaration of Independence from Great Britain (1776). In what ways did the same Enlightenment ideals inform these events?

Suggested References

The Enlightenment is the subject of lively research about individual thinkers and the movement as a whole, and the Seven Years' War, the objectives of individual rulers, and especially the American Revolution have been extensively debated.

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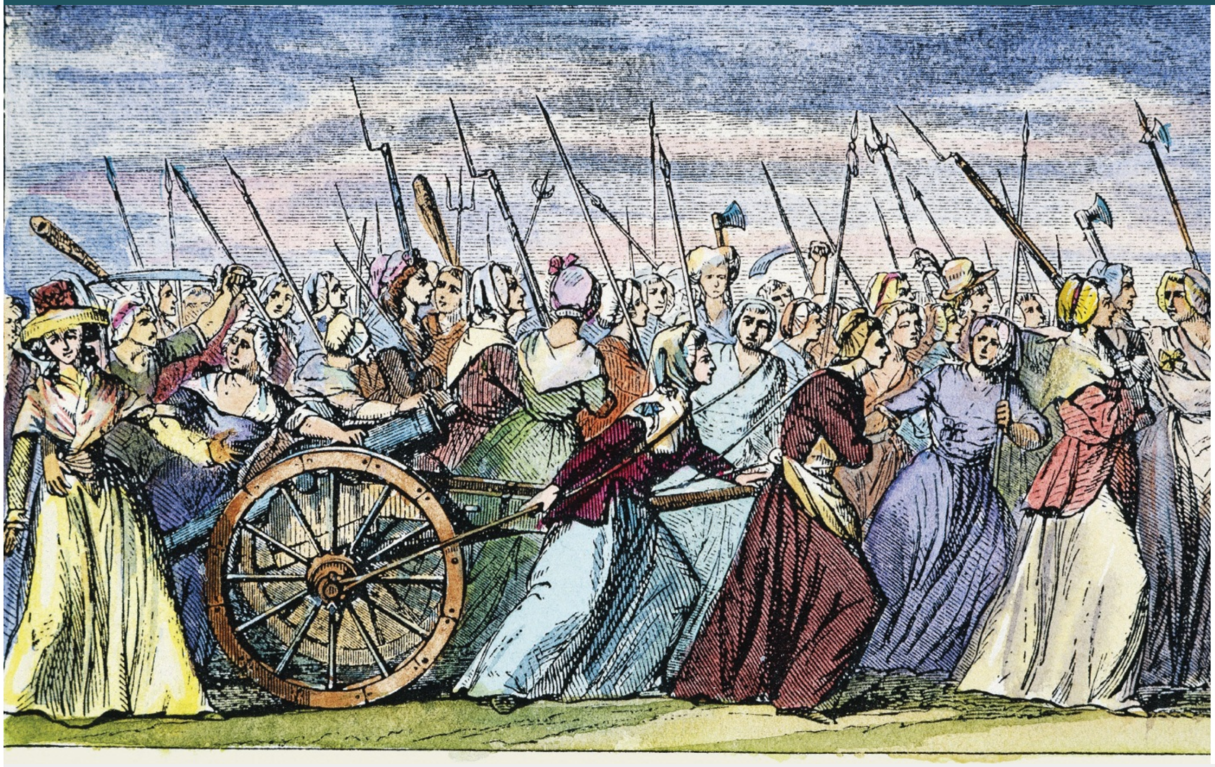
CHAPTER 19

The Cataclysm of Revolution

1789–1799



Sarin Images/Granger.

Women's March to Versailles Thousands of prints broadcast the events of the French Revolution to the public in France and elsewhere. This colored engraving shows a crowd of armed women marching to Versailles on October 5, 1789, to confront the king. The sight of armed women frightened many observers and demonstrated that the Revolution was not only a men's affair. Note the middle-class woman on the left being forced to join with the others.

Chapter Preview

The Revolutionary Wave, 1787–1789

How did the beginning of the French Revolution resemble the other revolutions of 1787–1789?

From Monarchy to Republic, 1789–1793

Why did the French Revolution turn in an increasingly radical direction after 1789?

Terror and Resistance

What factors can explain the Terror? To what extent was it simply a response to a national emergency or a reflection of deeper problems within the French Revolution?

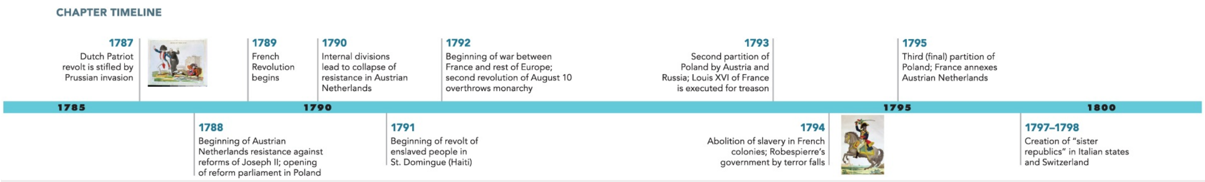
Revolution on the March

Why did some groups outside of France embrace the French Revolution while others resisted it?

On October 5, 1789, a crowd of several thousand women marched in a drenching rain from the center of Paris to Versailles, a distance of twelve miles. They demanded the king's help in securing more grain for the hungry and his reassurance that he did not intend to resist the emerging revolutionary movement. Joined the next morning by thousands of men who came from Paris to reinforce them, they broke into the royal family's private apartments, killing two of the royal bodyguards. To prevent further bloodshed, the king agreed to move his family and his government to Paris. A dramatic procession of the royal family guarded by throngs of ordinary men and women made its slow way back to the capital. The people’s proud display of cannons and pikes underlined the fundamental transformation that was occurring. Ordinary people had forced the king of France to respond to their grievances. The French monarchy was in danger, and if such a powerful and long-lasting institution could come under fire, could any monarch of Europe rest easy?

The French Revolution first grabbed the attention of the entire world because it seemed to promise human rights and broad-based political participation. Its most famous slogan pledged “Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity” for all. Even as the Revolution promised democracy, however, it also inaugurated a cycle of violence and intimidation, seen already in October 1789. When the revolutionaries encountered resistance to their programs, they tried to compel obedience. Some historians therefore see in the French Revolution the origins of modern totalitarianism — that is, a government that tries to control every aspect of life, including daily activities, while limiting all forms of political dissent. As events unfolded after 1789, the French Revolution became the model of modern revolution. Republicanism, democracy, terrorism, nationalism, and military dictatorship all took their modern forms during the French Revolution.

The Revolution might have remained a strictly French affair if war had not involved the rest of Europe. After 1792, huge French republican armies, fueled by patriotic nationalism, marched across Europe, promising liberation from traditional monarchies but often delivering old-fashioned conquest and annexation. French victories spread revolutionary ideas far and wide, from Poland to the colonies in the Caribbean, where the first successful revolt of enslaved people established the republic of Haiti. They also created deep resentments that would bubble to the surface in years to come.



CHAPTER TIMELINE

1787 Dutch Patriot revolt is stifled by Prussian invasion

1788 Beginning of Austrian Netherlands resistance against reforms of Joseph II; opening of reform parliament in Poland

1789 French Revolution begins

1790 Internal divisions lead to collapse of resistance in Austrian Netherlands

1791 Beginning of revolt of enslaved people in St. Domingue (Haiti)

1792 Beginning of war between France and rest of Europe; second revolution of August 10 overthrows monarchy

1793 Second partition of Poland by Austria and Russia; Louis XVI of France is executed for treason

1794 Abolition of slavery in French colonies; Robespierre's government by terror falls

1795 Third (final) partition of Poland; France annexes Austrian Netherlands

1797–1798 Creation of "sister republics" in Italian states and Switzerland

Bridgeman Images; Archives Charmet/Bibliotheque Nationale/Bridgeman Images

CHAPTER FOCUS

What was so revolutionary about the French Revolution?

The Revolutionary Wave, 1787–1789

Between 1787 and 1789, revolts in the name of liberty broke out in the Dutch Republic, the Austrian Netherlands (present-day Belgium and Luxembourg), and Poland, as well as in France. At the same time, the newly independent United States of America was preparing a new federal constitution. Historians have sometimes referred to these revolts as the Atlantic revolutions because so many protest movements arose in countries on both shores of the North Atlantic. The French Revolution nonetheless differed greatly from the others. Not only was France the richest, most powerful, and most populous state in Europe, but its Revolution was also more violent, more long-lasting, and ultimately more influential.

Protesters in the Low Countries and Poland

Political protests in the Dutch Republic attracted attention because Dutch banks still controlled a hefty portion of the world’s capital at the end of the eighteenth century. Government-sponsored Dutch banks owned 40 percent of the British national debt, and by 1796 they held the entire foreign debt of the United States. Relations with the British deteriorated during the American War of Independence, however, and by the middle of the 1780s, agitation in favor of the Americans had boiled over into an attack on the stadholder who favored close ties with Great Britain.

Building on support among middle-class bankers and merchants, the Dutch Patriots, as they called themselves, soon gained a more popular audience by demanding political reforms and organizing armed citizen militias of men, called Free Corps. Before long, the Free Corps took on the troops of the prince of Orange and got the upper hand. In response, Frederick William II of Prussia, whose sister had married the stadholder, intervened in 1787 with tacit British support. Thousands of Prussian troops soon occupied Utrecht and Amsterdam, and the house of Orange regained its former position. The Orangists took revenge: lower-class mobs pillaged the houses of prosperous Dutch Patriot leaders, forcing many to flee to the United States, France, or the Austrian Netherlands. Those Patriots who remained nursed their grievances until the French republican armies invaded in 1795.

If Austrian emperor Joseph II had not tried to introduce Enlightenment-inspired reforms, the Belgians of the ten provinces of the Austrian Netherlands might have remained tranquil. Just as he had done previously in his own crown lands (see page 663), Joseph abolished torture, decreed toleration for Jews and Protestants (in this resolutely Catholic area), and suppressed monasteries. His reorganization of the administrative and judicial systems eliminated many offices that belonged to nobles and lawyers, sparking resistance among the upper classes in 1788.

Upper-class protesters intended only to defend historic local liberties against an overbearing government. Nonetheless, their resistance galvanized democrats, who wanted a more representative government and organized clubs to give voice to their demands. At the end of 1788, a secret society formed armed companies to prepare an uprising. By late 1789, each province had separately declared its independence, and the Austrian administration had collapsed. Delegates from the various provinces declared themselves the United States of Belgium, a clear reference to the American precedent.

Once again, however, social divisions doomed the rebels. When the democrats began to challenge noble authority, aristocratic leaders drew to their side the Catholic clergy and peasants, who had little sympathy for the democrats of the cities. Every Sunday in May and June 1790, thousands of peasant men and women, led by their priests, streamed into Brussels carrying crucifixes, nooses, and pitchforks to intimidate the democrats and defend the church. Faced with the choice between the Austrian emperor and “our current tyrants,” the democrats chose to support the return of the Austrians under Emperor Leopold II (r. 1790–1792), who had succeeded his brother.

A reform party calling itself the Patriots also emerged in Poland, which had been shocked by the loss of a third of its territory in the first partition of 1772. The Patriots sought to overhaul the weak commonwealth along modern western European lines and looked to King Stanislaw August Poniatowski (r. 1764–1795) to lead them.

In 1788, the Patriots got their golden chance. Bogged down in war with the Ottoman Turks, Catherine the Great of Russia could not block the summoning of a reform-minded parliament, which eventually enacted the constitution of May 3, 1791. It ended the veto power that each aristocrat had over legislation, granted townspeople limited political rights, and vaguely promised future Jewish emancipation. Abolishing serfdom was hardly mentioned. Within a year, however, Catherine had turned her attention to Poland and engineered the downfall of the Patriots.

Origins of the French Revolution, 1787–1789

Many French enthusiastically greeted the American experiment in republican government and supported the Dutch, Belgian, and Polish Patriots. After suffering humiliation at the hands of the British in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), the French had regained international prestige by supporting the victorious Americans. Yet by the late 1780s, the French monarchy was facing a serious fiscal crisis caused by a mounting deficit. The fiscal crisis soon provoked a constitutional crisis of epic proportions.

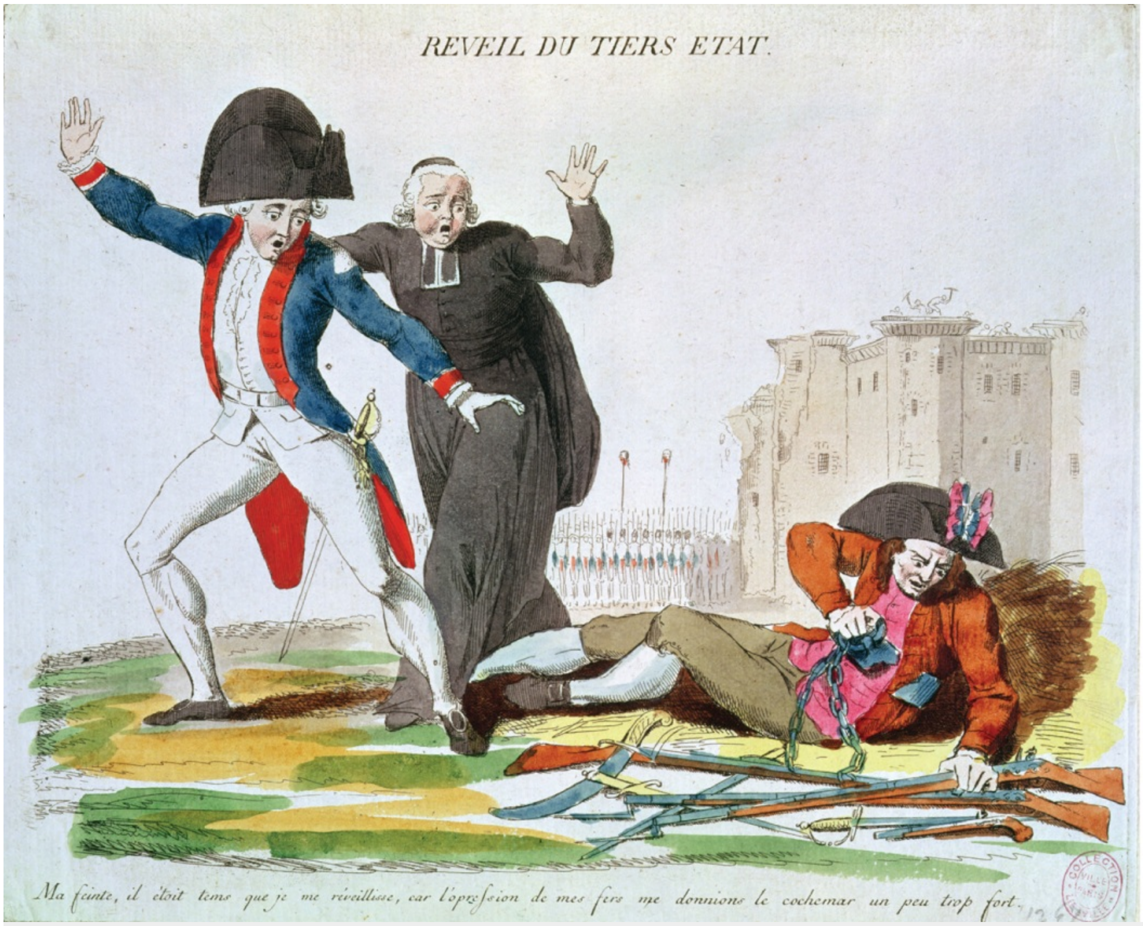
About half of the French national budget went to paying interest on the debt that had ballooned because of the American war. In contrast to the British government, which had a national bank to help raise loans, the French government lived off relatively short-term, high-interest loans from private sources, including Swiss banks, government annuities, and advances from tax collectors.

For years the French government had been trying unsuccessfully to modernize the tax system to make it more equitable. The peasants bore the greatest tax burden, whereas the nobles and clergy were largely exempt. Tax collection was also far from systematic: private contractors collected many taxes and pocketed a large share of the proceeds. With the growing support of public opinion, the bond and annuity holders from the middle and upper classes now demanded a clearer system of fiscal accountability.

In a monarchy, the ruler's character is always crucial. Many complained that **Louis XVI** (r. 1774–1792) showed more interest in hunting and in his hobby of making locks than in the problems of government. His wife, **Marie-Antoinette**, was blonde, beautiful, and much criticized for her extravagant taste in clothes, elaborate hairdos, and supposed indifference to popular misery. It was reported that, when told the poor had no bread, the queen gave a reply that has come to epitomize oblivious cold-heartedness: "Let them eat cake." The queen, whom underground writers called the "Austrian bitch," had been the target of an increasingly nasty pamphlet campaign in the 1780s. By 1789, Marie-Antoinette had become an object of popular hatred. The king's ineffectiveness and the queen's growing unpopularity helped undermine the monarchy as an institution.

Faced with a mounting deficit, in 1787 Louis submitted a package of reforms first to the Assembly of Notables and then to his old rival, the parlement of Paris. Both refused to consider the reforms. Louis finally gave in to demands that he call a meeting of the Estates General, which had last met 175 years before.

The calling of the Estates General electrified public opinion. The **Estates General** was a body of deputies from the three estates, or orders, of France. The deputies in the First Estate represented some 170,000 priests, monks, and nuns of the Catholic church, which owned about 10 percent of the land in France and collected a 10 percent tax (the tithe) on peasants. The deputies of the Second Estate represented the nobility, about 140,000 men and women who owned about one-third of the land, enjoyed many tax exemptions, and collected seigneurial dues and rents from their peasant tenants. The deputies of the Third Estate represented everyone else, at least 95 percent of the nation. Included in the Third Estate were the vast mass of peasants, some 75 percent of the population, and the *sans-culottes* ("without breeches") and middle classes of the cities. The sans-culottes were those who worked with their hands and wore long trousers rather than the knee breeches of the upper classes.


REVEIL DU TIERS ETAT.
Ma feinte, il étoit tems que je me réveillisse, car l'opreſsion de mes fers me donnions le cochemar un peu trop fort.

Bridgeman Images.

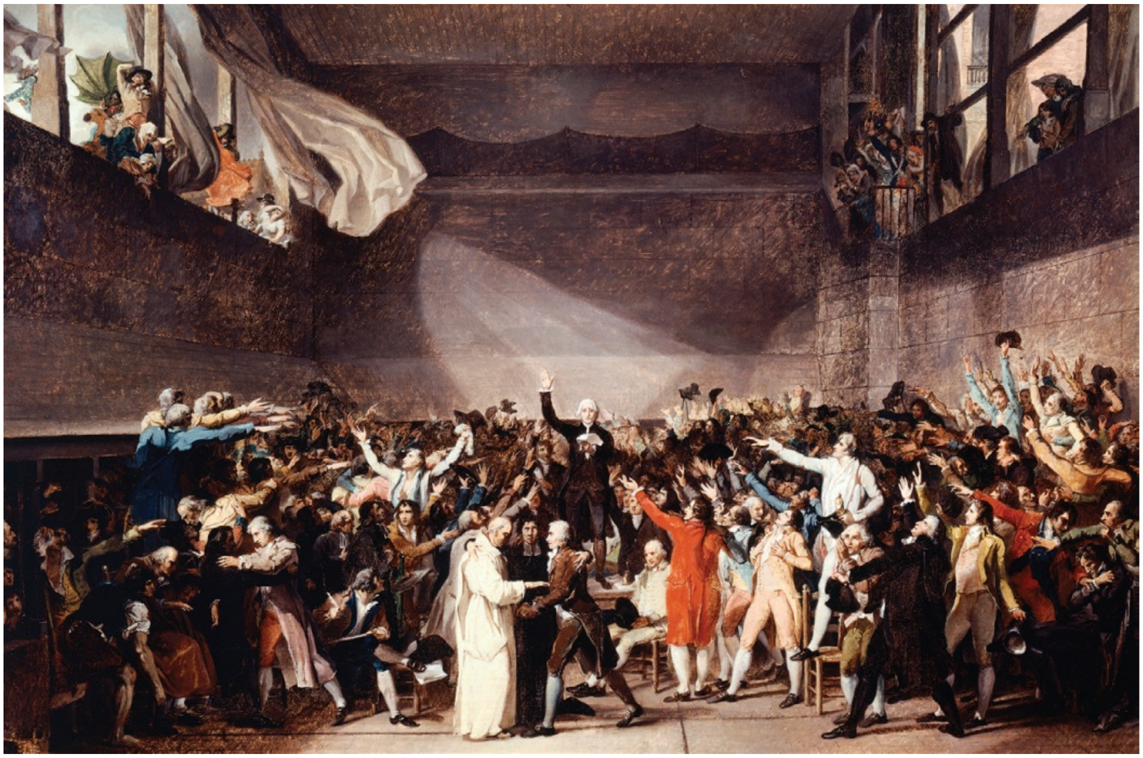
The Third Estate Awakens This colored etching, produced after the fall of the Bastille (note the heads on pikes outside the prison), shows a clergyman (First Estate) and a noble (Second Estate) alarmed by the awakening of the commoners (Third Estate). The Third Estate breaks the chains of oppression and arms itself. In what ways does this print draw attention to the social conflicts that lay behind the political struggles in the Estates General?

Before the elections to the Estates General in 1789, the king agreed to double the number of deputies from the Third Estate (making those deputies equal in number to the other two orders combined), but he refused to mandate voting by individual head rather than by order. Voting by order, allowing each order to have one vote, would conserve the traditional powers of the clergy and nobility; voting by head, allowing each deputy one vote, would give the Third Estate an advantage since many clergymen and even some nobles sympathized with the Third Estate.

As the state’s censorship apparatus broke down, pamphleteers by the hundreds denounced the traditional privileges of the nobility and clergy and called for voting by head rather than by order. In the most vitriolic of all the pamphlets, *What Is the Third Estate?*, the middle-class abbé (“abbot”) Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès charged that the nobility contributed nothing at all to the nation’s well-being; they were, he said, “a malignant disease which preys upon and tortures the body of a sick man.” In the winter and spring of 1789, villagers and townspeople alike held meetings to elect deputies and write down their grievances. The effect was immediate. Although lawyers dominated the meetings at the regional level, the humblest peasants voted in their villages and burst forth with complaints, especially about taxes. One village meeting summed up the frustration: “Misery is so great in the country that we cannot make enough complaints.” The long series of meetings raised expectations that the Estates General would help the king solve all the nation’s ills.

These new hopes soared just at the moment France experienced a food shortage, an increasingly rare but always dangerous situation. Bad weather had damaged the harvest of 1788, causing bread prices to rise dramatically in many places in the spring and summer of 1789 and threatening starvation for the poorest people. In addition, a serious slump in textile production had been causing massive unemployment since 1786. Hundreds of thousands of textile workers were out of work and hungry, adding another volatile element to an already tense situation.

When some twelve hundred deputies journeyed to the king’s palace of Versailles for the opening of the Estates General in May 1789, many readers avidly followed the developments in newspapers that sprouted overnight. Although most nobles insisted on voting by order, the deputies of the Third Estate refused to proceed on that basis. After six weeks of stalemate, the deputies of the Third Estate took unilateral action on June 17 and declared themselves and whoever would join them the National Assembly, in which each deputy would vote as an individual. Deputies from the clergy began to join them. Suddenly denied access to their meeting hall on June 20, the deputies met on a nearby tennis court and swore an oath not to disband until they had given France a constitution that reflected their newly declared authority. This “tennis court oath” expressed the determination of the Third Estate to carry through a constitutional revolution.



DEA/G. NIMATALLAH/Getty Images.

The Tennis Court Oath Jacques-Louis David painted this rendition of the oath taken by the deputies on June 20, 1789, to show the enthusiasm for establishing a constitutional monarchy. David went on to become the leading painter and propagandist in revolutionary France, though he never finished this painting because events moved too quickly.

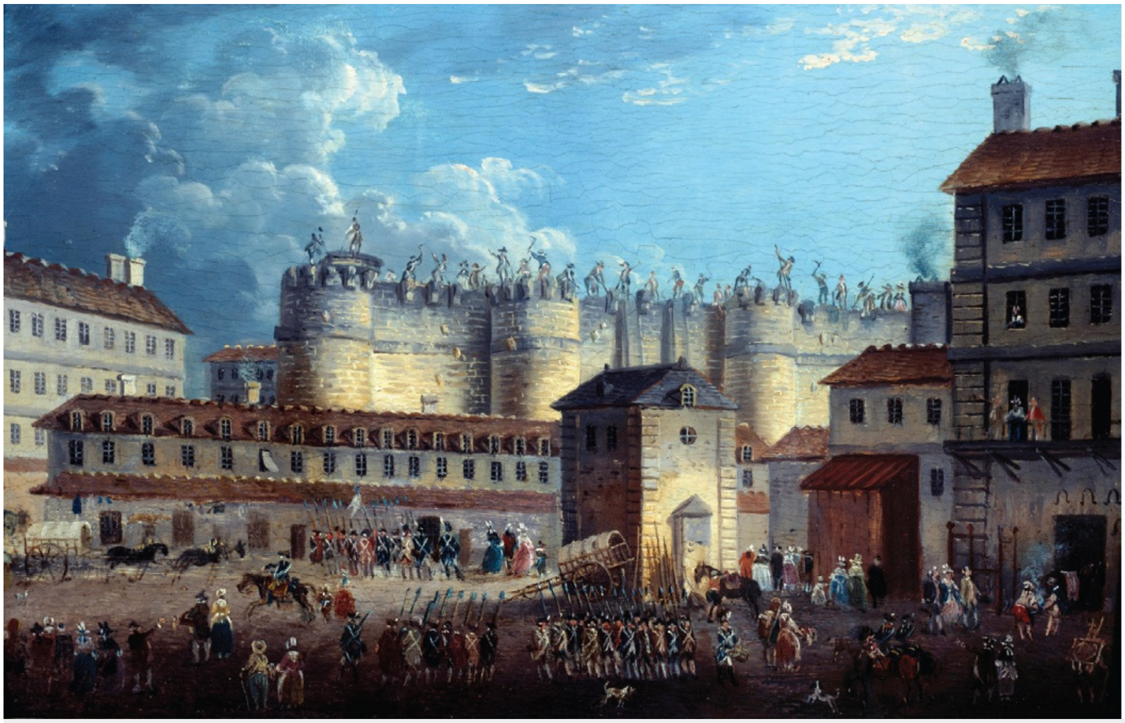
At first, Louis XVI appeared to agree to the new National Assembly, but he also ordered thousands of soldiers to march to Paris. The deputies who supported the Assembly feared a plot to arrest them and disperse the Assembly. Their fears were confirmed when, on July 11, the king fired Jacques Necker, the Swiss Protestant finance minister and the one high official regarded as sympathetic to the deputies' cause.

The popular reaction in Paris changed the course of the French Revolution. When the news spread, the sans-culottes in Paris began to arm themselves and attack places where either grain or arms were thought to be stored. A deputy in Versailles reported home: "Today all of the evils overwhelm France, and we are between despotism, carnage, and famine." On July 14, an armed crowd marched on the Bastille, a huge fortified prison that symbolized royal authority (even though only a few prisoners were actually incarcerated there). After a chaotic battle in which a hundred armed citizens died, the prison officials surrendered.

The fall of the Bastille (an event now commemorated each July 14 as the French national holiday; see Environment Matters) set an important precedent. The common people showed themselves willing to intervene violently at a crucial political moment. All over France, local governments were forced out of power and replaced by committees of “patriots.” To restore order, the patriots relied on newly formed National Guard units composed of civilians. In Paris, the Marquis de Lafayette, a hero of the American War of Independence and a noble deputy in the National Assembly, became commander of the new National Guard. One of Louis XVI’s brothers and many other leading aristocrats fled into exile. The Revolution thus had its first heroes, its first victims, and its first enemies.

ENVIRONMENT MATTERS

The Destruction of a Symbol of Oppression



Josse/Leemage/Getty Images

The painting by Pierre-Antoine Demachy, *The Demolition of the Bastille, July 17, 1789*, shows the dismantling of the Bastille prison that began right after it fell to insurgents on July 14. People used their own implements to tear down the late medieval fortress whose 78-feet-high and ten-feet-thick walls loomed over the poorest neighborhoods of the city. The stones were then sold by an entrepreneur as the first souvenirs of the French Revolution. The destruction of monuments from the monarchical regime would prompt a wide-ranging discussion of “vandalism” (a new term) in 1794.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. Why would Parisians immediately dismantle the Bastille prison?
2. Consider the stones sold as souvenirs. Were the buyers commemorating the prison or the uprising that led to its eventual destruction?

REVIEW QUESTION

How did the beginning of the French Revolution resemble the other revolutions of 1787–1789?

From Monarchy to Republic, 1789–1793

Until July 1789, the French Revolution had followed a course much like that of the protest movements in the Low Countries. After that point, however, events in France escalated at a pace never before seen in history, leaving witnesses breathless with anticipation, anxiety, even shock. The French revolutionaries first tried to establish a constitutional monarchy based on the Enlightenment principles of human rights and rational government. This effort failed when the king attempted to flee and raise a counterrevolutionary army. When war broke out in 1792 and foreign soldiers invaded, a popular uprising on August 10 led to the arrest of the king and, for the first time in French history, the establishment of a republic.

The Revolution of Rights and Reason

Before drafting a constitution in 1789, the deputies of the National Assembly had to confront growing violence in the countryside. As food shortages spread, peasants feared that the beggars and vagrants crowding the roads might be part of an aristocratic plot to starve the French people by burning crops or barns. In many places, the **Great Fear** (the term used by historians to describe this rural panic) turned into peasant attacks on aristocrats or on the records of peasants' seigneurial dues kept in lords' castles.

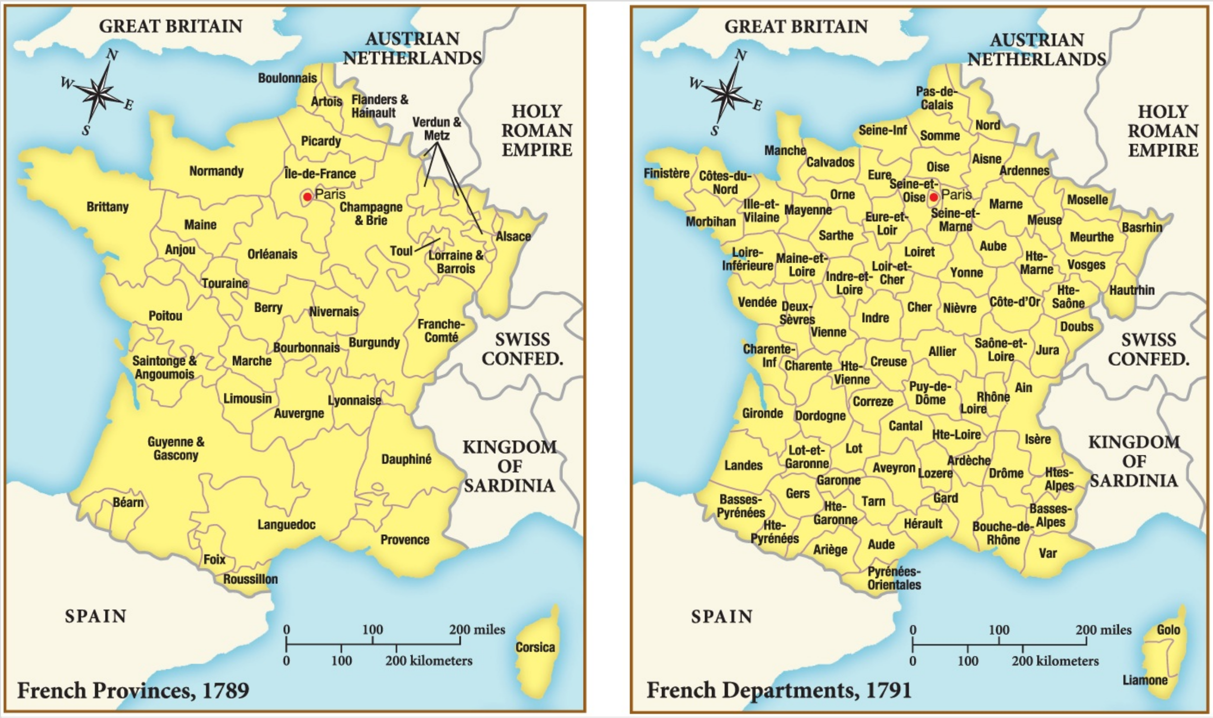
Alarmed by peasant unrest, the National Assembly decided to make sweeping changes. On the night of August 4, 1789, noble deputies announced their willingness to give up their tax exemptions and seigneurial dues. The National Assembly decreed the abolition of what it called the feudal regime — that is, it freed the few remaining serfs and eliminated all special privileges in matters of taxation, including all seigneurial dues on land. (A few days later, the deputies insisted on financial compensation for some of these dues, but most peasants refused to pay.) The Assembly also mandated equality of opportunity in access to government positions. Talent, rather than birth, was to be the key to success. Enlightenment principles were beginning to become law.

Three weeks later, the deputies drew up the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen** as the preamble to a new constitution. In words reminiscent of the American Declaration of Independence, whose author, Thomas Jefferson, was in Paris at the time, it proclaimed, “Men are born and remain free and equal in rights.” The Declaration granted freedom of religion, freedom of the press, equality of taxation, and equality before the law. It established the principle of national sovereignty: the king derived his authority henceforth from the nation rather than from tradition or divine right.

By pronouncing all *men* free and equal, the Declaration immediately created new dilemmas (see Primary Source Analysis on page 684). Did women have equal rights with men? What about free people of color in the colonies? How could slavery be justified if all men were born free? Did religious toleration of Protestants and Jews include equal political rights? Women never received the right to vote during the French Revolution, though Protestant and Jewish men did.

Some women did not accept their exclusion. In addition to joining demonstrations, such as the march to Versailles in October 1789 (see chapter opener on page 674), women wrote petitions, published tracts, and organized political clubs to demand more participation. In her Declaration of the Rights of Woman of 1791, writer and political activist Olympe de Gouges (1748–1793) played on the language of the official Declaration to make the point that women should also be included: “Woman is born free and lives equal to man in her rights.” De Gouges linked her complaints to a program of social reform in which women would have equal rights to property and public office and equal responsibilities in taxes and criminal punishment.

Unresponsive to calls for women’s equality, the National Assembly turned to preparing France’s first written constitution. The deputies gave voting rights only to white men who passed a test of wealth. Despite these limitations, France became a constitutional monarchy in which the king served as the leading state functionary. A one-house legislature was responsible for making laws. The king could postpone enactment of laws but not veto them. The deputies abolished all the old administrative divisions of the provinces and replaced them with a national system of eighty-three departments with identical administrative and legal structures (Map 19.1). All officials were elected; no offices could be bought or sold. The deputies also abolished the old taxes and replaced them with new ones that were supposed to be uniformly levied. The National Assembly had difficulty collecting taxes, however, because many people had expected a substantial cut in the tax rate. The new administrative system survived nonetheless, and the departments are still the basic units of the French state today.



French Provinces, 1789

French Departments, 1791

Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 19.1 Redrawing the Map of France, 1789–1791

Before 1789, France had been divided into provinces named after the territories owned by dukes and counts in the Middle Ages. Many provinces had their own law codes and separate systems of taxation. As it began its deliberations, the new National Assembly determined to install uniform administrations and laws for the entire country. Discussion of the administrative reforms began in October 1789 and became law on February 15, 1790, when the Assembly voted to divide the provinces into eighty-three departments, with names based on their geographical characteristics: Basses-Pyrénées, Haute-Pyrénées, and Pyrénées-Orientales for regions containing the Pyrénees Mountains; Marne and Haute-Marne for areas containing the Marne River; and so on. How did this redrawing of the administrative map reflect the deputies' emphasis on reason over history?

When the deputies to the National Assembly turned to reforming the Catholic church, however, they created enduring conflicts. Convinced that monastic life encouraged idleness and a decline in the nation's population, the deputies outlawed any future monastic vows and encouraged monks and nuns to return to private life by offering state pensions. Motivated partly by the ongoing financial crisis, the National Assembly confiscated all the church's property and promised to pay clerical salaries in return. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy, passed in July 1790, provided that the voters elect their own parish priests and bishops just as they elected other officials. The impounded property served as a guarantee for the new paper money, called assignats, issued by the government. The assignats soon became subject to inflation because the government printed more and more money even as it sold the church lands to the highest bidders in state auctions.

Faced with resistance to these changes, the National Assembly in November 1790 required all clergy to swear an oath of loyalty to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Pope Pius VI in Rome condemned the constitution, and half of the French clergy refused to take the oath. The oath of allegiance permanently divided the Catholic population. The revolutionary government lost many supporters by passing laws against the clergy who refused the oath and by sending them into exile, deporting them forcibly, or executing them as traitors.

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

The Rights of Minorities (1789)

When the National Assembly passed the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen on August 26, 1789, it opened the way to discussion of the rights of various groups, from actors (considered ineligible for voting under the monarchy because they impersonated other people as part of their profession) to women, free people of color, and enslaved people. Count Stanislas de Clermont-Tonnerre, a nobleman and freemason, gave a speech on December 23, 1789, in which he advocated ending exclusions based on profession or religion, though not on gender or race. He was killed in the uprising of August 10, 1792, because he supported the monarchy.

Sirs, in the declaration that you believed you should put at the head of the French constitution you have established, consecrated, the rights of man and citizen. In the constitutional work that you have decreed relative to the organization of the municipalities, a work accepted by the King, you have fixed the conditions of eligibility that can be required of citizens. It would seem, Sirs, that there is nothing else left to do and that prejudices should be silent in the face of the language of the law; but an honorable member has explained to us that the *non-Catholics* of some provinces still experience harassment based on former laws, and seeing them excluded from the elections and public posts, another honorable member has protested against the effect of prejudice that persecutes some professions. This prejudice, these laws, force you to make your position clear. I have the honor to present you with the draft of a decree, and it is this draft that I defend here. I establish in it the principle that professions and religious creed can never become reasons for ineligibility.…

Every creed has only one test to pass in regard to the social body: it has only one examination to which it must submit, that of its morals. It is here that the adversaries of the Jewish people attack me. This people, they say, is not sociable. They are commanded to loan at usurious rates; they cannot be joined with us either in marriage or by the bonds of social interchange; our food is forbidden to them; our tables prohibited; our armies will never have Jews serving in the defense of the fatherland. The worst of these reproaches is unjust; the others are only specious. Usury is not commanded by their laws; loans at interest are forbidden between them and permitted with foreigners.…

But, they say to me, the Jews have their own judges and laws. I respond that is your fault and you should not allow it. We must refuse everything to the Jews as a nation and accord everything to Jews as individuals. We must withdraw recognition from their judges; they should only have our judges. We must refuse legal protection to the maintenance of the so-called laws of their Judaic organization; they should not be allowed to form in the state either a political body or an order. They must be citizens individually. But, some will say to me, they do not want to be citizens. Well then! If they do not want to be citizens, they should say so, and then, we should banish them. It is repugnant to have in the state an association of non-citizens, and a nation within the nation.… In short, Sirs, the presumed status of every man resident in a country is to be a citizen.

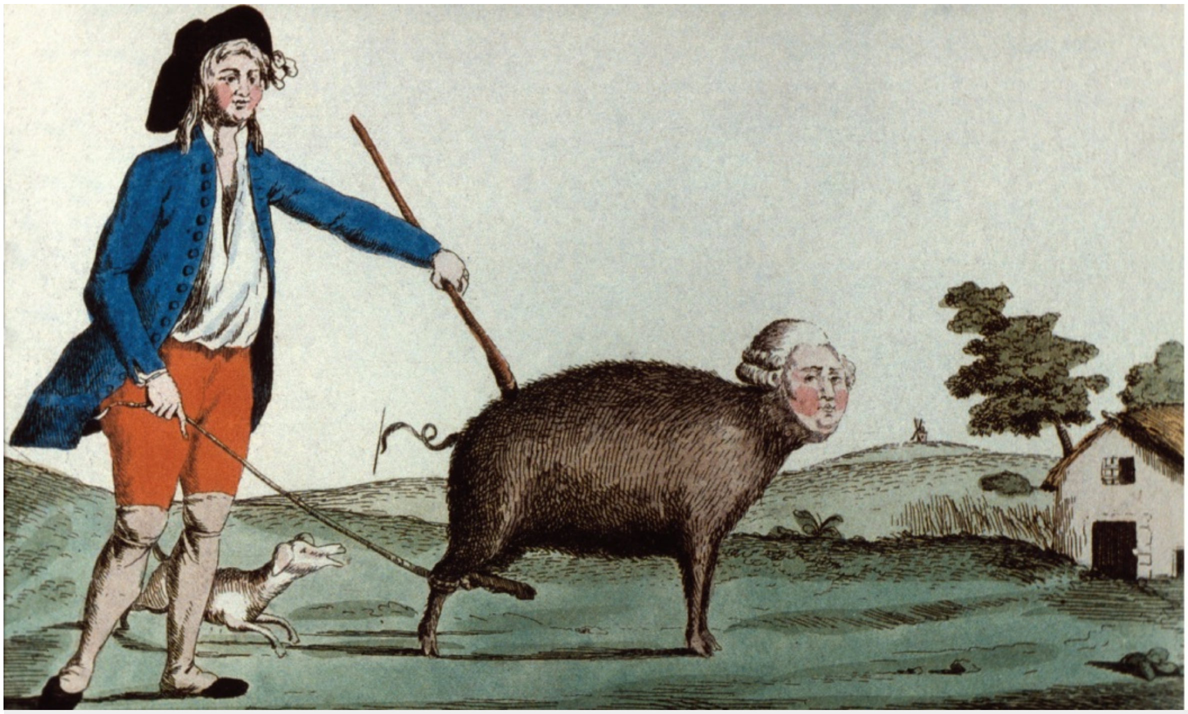
Source: *Archives parlementaires* 10 (Paris, 1878): 754–57. Translation by Lynn Hunt.

Questions to Consider

1. To what extent is this speech in defense of minority rights a reflection of the revolutionary spirit?
2. Why does Clermont-Tonnerre say that Jews must be citizens “individually”?

The End of Monarchy

The reorganization of the Catholic church offended Louis XVI and gave added weight to those pushing him to organize resistance. On June 20, 1791, the royal family escaped in disguise from Paris and fled toward the eastern border of France, where they hoped to gather support from Austrian emperor Leopold II, the brother of Marie-Antoinette. The plans went awry when a postmaster recognized the king, and the royal family was arrested at Varennes, forty miles from the Austrian Netherlands border. The “flight to Varennes” touched off demonstrations in Paris against the royal family. Cartoons circulated depicting the royal family as animals being returned “to the stable.”



Granger.

The King as a Farmyard Animal This simple print makes a powerful point: King Louis XVI has lost not only his authority but also the respect of his subjects. Engravings and etchings like this one appeared in reaction to the attempted flight of the king and queen in June 1791.

The constitution, finally completed in 1791, provided for the immediate election of a new legislature. The status of the king might have remained uncertain if war had not intervened, but by early 1792, war with Austria seemed inevitable. Louis and Marie-Antoinette hoped that such a war would lead to the defeat of the Revolution (see Terms of History on page 688), whereas the deputies who favored a republic believed that war would lead to the king's downfall. On April 21, 1792, Louis declared war on Austria. Prussia immediately entered on the Austrian side. Thousands of French aristocrats, including both of the king's brothers and two-thirds of the army officer corps, had already emigrated and were gathering along France's eastern border in expectation of joining a counterrevolutionary army.

When the fighting broke out, all the powers expected a short, relatively contained war. Instead, hostilities would continue despite brief interruptions for the next twenty-three years. War had an immediate radicalizing effect on French politics. When the French armies proved woefully unprepared for battle, the authority of the new legislature came under fire. In June 1792, an angry crowd invaded the hall of the legislature in Paris and threatened the royal family. The Prussian commander, the duke of Brunswick, issued a manifesto announcing that Paris would be totally destroyed if the royal family suffered any violence.

The sans-culottes of Paris did not passively await their fate. Faced with the threat of military retaliation and frustrated with the inaction of the deputies, on August 10, the sans-culottes organized an insurrection and attacked the Tuileries palace, the residence of the king. The king and his family had to seek refuge in the meeting room of the legislature, where the frightened deputies ordered elections for a constitutional convention. By abolishing the property qualifications for voting, the deputies instituted universal male suffrage for the first time.

Violence soon exploded again when early in September 1792 the Prussians approached Paris. Hastily gathered mobs stormed the overflowing prisons to seek out traitors, and eleven hundred inmates were killed, including many completely innocent people. The princess of Lamballe, one of the queen's favorites, was hacked to pieces and her mutilated body displayed beneath the windows where the royal family was kept under guard. These "September massacres" showed the dark side of popular revolution, in which the common people demanded retribution against supposed enemies and conspirators.

When it met, the National Convention abolished the monarchy and on September 22 established the first republic in French history. The republic would answer only to the people, not to any royal authority. Many of the deputies in the Convention belonged to the devotedly republican **Jacobin Club**, named after the former monastery in Paris where the club had first met in 1789. The Jacobin Club in Paris headed a national political network of clubs that linked all the major towns and cities. Lafayette and other liberal aristocrats who had supported the constitutional monarchy fled into exile.

The National Convention faced a dire situation. It needed to write a new constitution for the republic while fighting a war with external enemies and confronting increasing resistance at home. The French people had never known any government other than monarchy. Only half the population could read and write at even a basic level. In this situation, symbolic actions became very important. Revolutionaries soon pulled down statues of kings and burned reminders of the former regime.

The fate of Louis XVI and the direction of the republic divided the deputies elected to the National Convention. Most of the deputies were middle-class lawyers and professionals who had developed their ardent republican beliefs in the network of Jacobin Clubs. After the fall of the monarchy in August 1792, however, the Jacobins had divided into two factions. The Girondins (named after a department in southwestern France, the Gironde, which provided some of its leading orators) met regularly at the salon of Jeanne Roland, the wife of a minister. They resented the growing power of Parisian militants and tried to appeal to the departments outside of Paris. The Mountain (so called because its deputies sat in the highest seats of the National Convention), in contrast, was closely allied with the Paris militants.

The first showdown between the Girondins and the Mountain was the trial of the king in December 1792. Although the Girondins agreed that the king was guilty of treason, many of them argued for clemency, exile, or a popular referendum on his fate. After a long and difficult debate, the National Convention supported the Mountain and voted by a very narrow majority to execute the king. Louis XVI went to the guillotine on January 21, 1793, sharing the fate of Charles I of England in 1649.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

If you were a deputy to the National Convention, would you vote for the death of King Louis XVI? Assume that like most of the deputies you thought he was guilty of betraying the revolution. What punishment would he deserve? Which reasons would you give for your choice?

TERMS OF HISTORY

Revolution

Revolution had previously meant cyclical change that brought life back to a starting point, as a planet makes a revolution around the sun. Revolutions could come and go, by this definition, and change nothing fundamental in the structure of society. After 1789, *revolution* came to mean a self-conscious attempt to leap into the future by reshaping society and politics and even the human personality. A revolutionary official analyzed the meaning of the word in 1793: “A revolution is never made by halves; it must either be total or it will abort.… *Revolutionary* means outside of all forms and all rules.” In short, *revolution* soon had an all-or-nothing meaning; you were either for the revolution or against it. There could be no in-between.

Revolution still has the same meaning given it by the French revolutionaries, but it is now an even more contested term because of its association with communist theory. In the nineteenth century, Karl Marx incorporated the French Revolution into his new doctrine of communism. In his view, the middle-class French revolutionaries had overthrown the monarchy and the “feudal” aristocracy to pave the way for capitalist development. In the future, the proletariat (industrial workers) would overthrow the capitalist middle class to install a communist government that would abolish private property.

Since Marxists claimed the French Revolution as the forerunner of the communist revolution in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it was perhaps inevitable that those who opposed communism would also criticize the French Revolution. Some scholars even maintain that the French Revolution can be seen as the origin of modern-day totalitarianism because revolutionaries suppressed dissent and executed those they denounced as counterrevolutionaries. *Revolution* as a term remains as contested as the events that gave rise to it.

REVIEW QUESTION

Why did the French Revolution turn in an increasingly radical direction after 1789?

Terror and Resistance

The execution of the king did not solve the new regime's problems. The continuing war required even more men and money, and the introduction of a national draft provoked massive resistance. In response to growing pressures, the National Convention named a Committee of Public Safety to supervise food distribution, direct the war effort, and root out counterrevolutionaries. The leader of the committee, **Maximilien Robespierre** (1758–1794), wanted to go beyond these stopgap measures and create a "republic of virtue," in which the government would teach, or force, citizens to become virtuous republicans through a massive program of political reeducation. Thus began what came to be called the **Terror**, in which the guillotine became the most terrifying instrument of a government that suppressed almost every form of dissent.

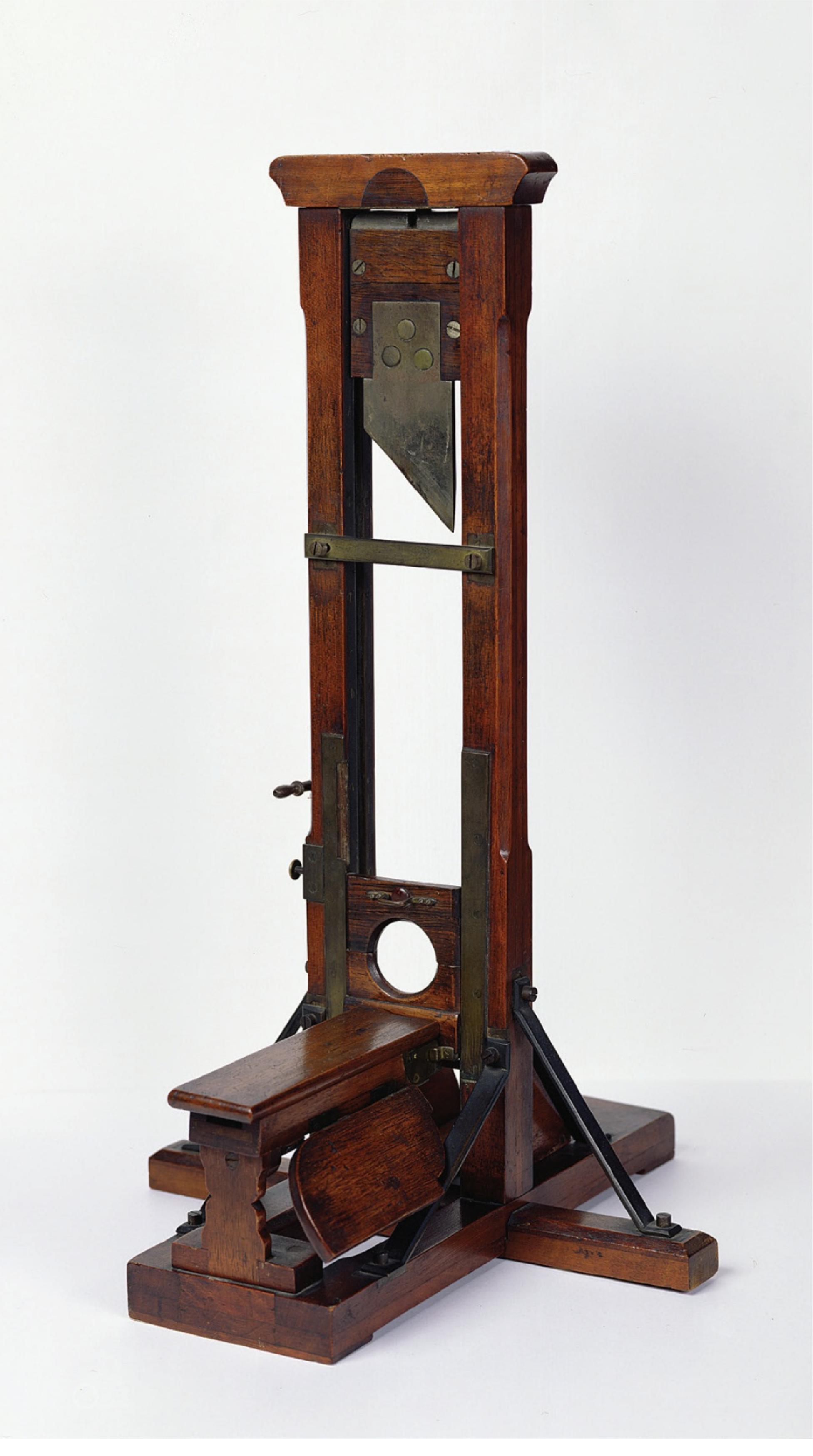
Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety

The conflict between the more moderate Girondins and the more radical Mountain came to a head in spring 1793. Militants in Paris agitated for the removal of the deputies who had proposed a referendum on the king, and in retaliation the Girondins engineered the arrest of Jean-Paul Marat, a deputy allied with the Mountain who in his newspaper had been calling for more and more executions. Marat was acquitted, and Parisian militants marched into the National Convention on June 2, forcing the deputies to decree the arrest of their twenty-nine Girondin colleagues. The Convention consented to the establishment of paramilitary bands called revolutionary armies to hunt down political suspects and hoarders of grain. The deputies also agreed to speed up the operation of special revolutionary courts.

Setting the course for government and the war increasingly fell to the twelve-member Committee of Public Safety. When Robespierre was elected to the committee in July 1793, he became the chief spokesman. A lawyer from northern France known as “the incorruptible” for his stern honesty and fierce dedication to democratic ideals, Robespierre remains one of the most controversial figures in world history. Although he originally opposed both the death penalty and the war, he was convinced that the emergency situation of 1793 required severe measures, including death for those, such as the Girondins, who opposed the committee’s policies.

Robespierre defended the people’s right to democratic government, while in practice he supported many emergency measures that restricted their liberties. He personally favored a free-market economy, as did almost all middle-class deputies, but in this time of crisis he was willing to enact price controls and requisitioning. In an effort to stabilize prices, the National Convention established the General Maximum on September 29, 1793, which set limits on the prices of essential commodities and on wages. In a speech to the Convention, Robespierre explained the necessity of government by terror: “The first maxim of your policies must be to lead the people by reason and the people’s enemies by terror.… Without virtue, terror is deadly; without terror, virtue is impotent.” *Terror* was not an idle term; it seemed to imply that the goal of democracy justified what we now call totalitarian means, that is, the suppression of all dissent.

To enforce its will, the Committee of Public Safety sent deputies out “on mission” to purge unreliable officials and organize the war effort. Revolutionary tribunals tried political suspects. In October 1793, the Revolutionary Tribunal in Paris convicted Marie-Antoinette of treason and sent her to the guillotine. The Girondin leaders and Jeanne Roland were also guillotined, as was Olympe de Gouges.



Bridgeman Art Library/Image Partner/Hulton Fine Art Collection/Getty Images.

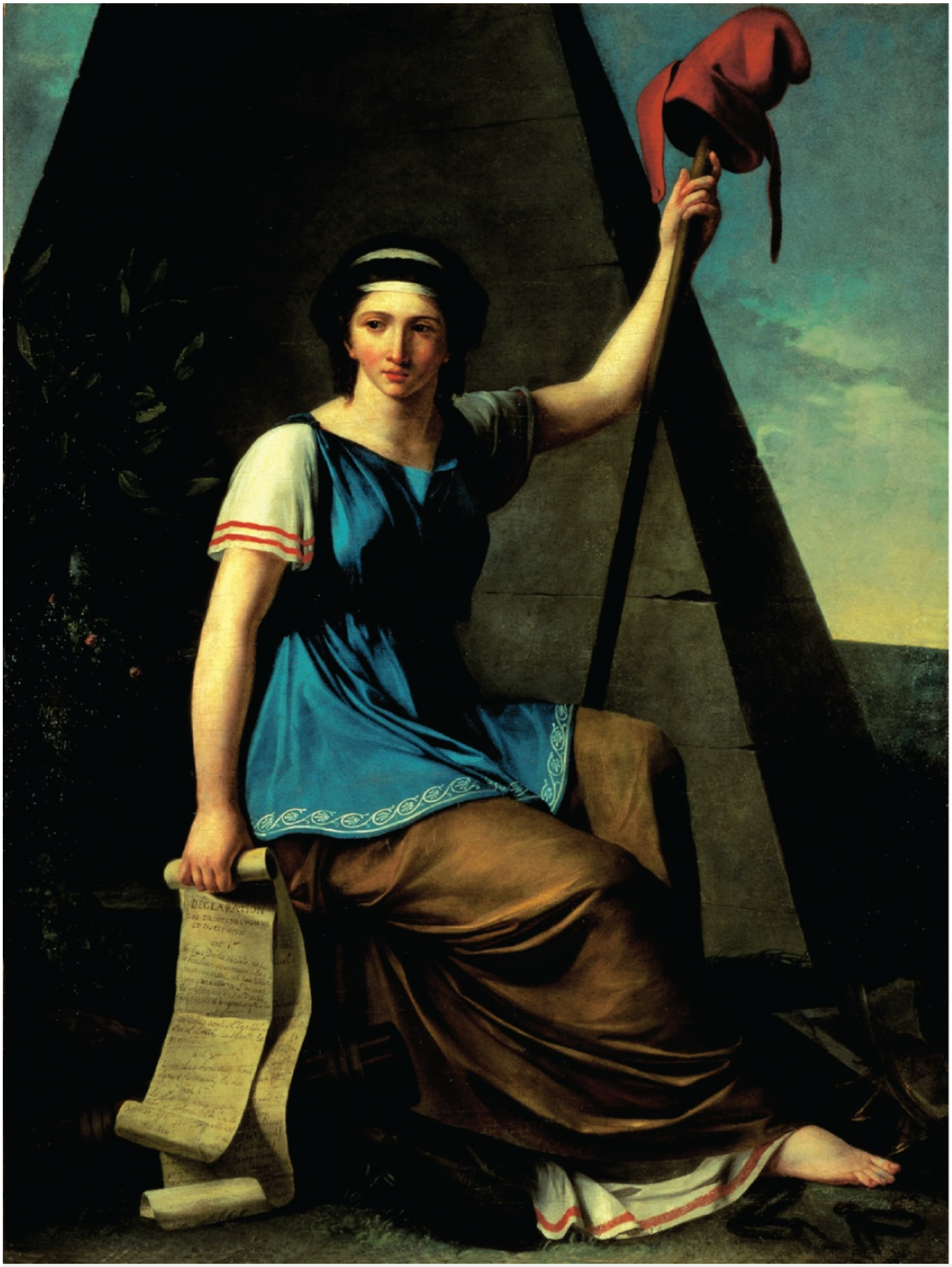
The Guillotine Before 1789, only nobles were decapitated if condemned to death; commoners were usually hanged. Equalization of the death penalty was first proposed by J. I. Guillotin, a professor of anatomy and a deputy in the National Assembly. He also suggested that a mechanical device be constructed for decapitation, leading to the instrument's association with his name. The Assembly decreed decapitation as the death penalty in June 1791, and another physician, A. Louis, actually invented the guillotine. The executioner pulled up the blade by a cord and then released it. Use of the guillotine began in April 1792 and did not end until 1981, when the French government abolished the death penalty. The guillotine fascinated as much as it repelled. Reproduced in miniature, painted onto snuffboxes and china, worn as jewelry, and even serving as a toy, the guillotine became a part of popular culture. How could the guillotine be simultaneously celebrated as the people's avenger by supporters of the Revolution and vilified as the preeminent symbol of the Terror by opponents?

The new republic won its greatest success on the battlefield. As of April 1793, France faced war with Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, Spain, Sardinia, and the Dutch Republic — all fearful of the impact of revolutionary ideals on their own populations. The execution of Louis XVI, in particular, galvanized European governments; according to William Pitt, the British prime minister, it was "the foulest and most atrocious act the world has ever seen." To face this daunting coalition of forces, the French republic ordered the first universal draft of men in history. Every unmarried man and childless widower between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five was declared eligible for conscription. The government also tapped a new and potent source of power — nationalist pride.

Forges were set up in the parks and gardens of Paris to produce thousands of guns, and citizens everywhere helped collect saltpeter to make gunpowder. By the end of 1793, the French nation in arms had stopped the advance of the allied powers, and in the summer of 1794 it invaded the Austrian Netherlands and crossed the Rhine River. The army was ready to carry the gospel of revolution and republicanism to the rest of Europe.

The Republic of Virtue, 1793–1794

At home, the revolutionary government initiated programs to “republicanize everything” — in other words, to effect a cultural revolution. Songs — especially the new national anthem, “La Marseillaise” — and placards, posters, pamphlets, books, engravings, paintings, sculpture, even everyday crockery, chamber pots, and playing cards conveyed revolutionary slogans and symbols. Foremost among the symbols was the figure of Liberty, which appeared on coins and bills, on letterheads and seals, and as statues in festivals. (The figure inspired the Statue of Liberty, given by France to the United States in 1886.) Hundreds of new plays were produced and old classics revised. To encourage the production of patriotic and republican works, the government sponsored state competitions for artists.



DEA Picture Library/Getty Images.

Representing Liberty Liberty was represented by a female figure because in French the noun is feminine (*la liberté*). This painting from 1793–1794, by Jeanne-Louise Vallain, captures the usual attributes of Liberty: she is soberly seated, wearing a Roman-style toga and holding a pike with a Roman liberty cap on top. Her Roman appearance signals that she represents an abstract quality. The fact that she holds an instrument of battle suggests that women might be active participants. The Statue of Liberty in New York harbor, given by the French to the United States, is a late-nineteenth-century version of the same figure, but without any suggestion of battle.

At the center of this elaborate cultural campaign were the revolutionary festivals modeled on Rousseau's plans for a civic religion. The Festival of Federation on July 14, 1790, marked the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. Under the National Convention, the well-known painter Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825), who was a deputy and an associate of Robespierre, took over festival planning. David aimed to destroy the mystique of monarchy and to make the republic sacred. His Festival of Unity on August 10, 1793, for example, celebrated the first anniversary of the overthrow of the monarchy. In front of the statue of Liberty built for the occasion, a bonfire consumed crowns and scepters symbolizing royalty while a cloud of three thousand white doves rose into the sky. This was all part of preaching the "moral order of the Republic … that will make us a people of brothers, a people of philosophers."

Some revolutionaries hoped the festival system would replace the Catholic church altogether. They initiated a campaign of **de-Christianization** that included closing churches (Protestant as well as Catholic), selling many church buildings to the highest bidder, and trying to force even those clergy who had taken the oath of loyalty to abandon their clerical vocations and marry. Great churches became storehouses for arms or grain, or their stones were sold off to contractors. The medieval statues of kings on the facade of Notre Dame cathedral were beheaded. Church bells were dismantled and church treasures melted down for government use.

In the ultimate step in de-Christianization, extremists tried to establish what they called the Cult of Reason to supplant Christianity. In Paris in the fall of 1793, a goddess of Liberty, played by an actress, presided over the Festival of Reason in Notre Dame cathedral. Robespierre objected to the de-Christianization campaign's atheism; he favored a Rousseau-inspired deistic religion without the supposedly superstitious trappings of Catholicism. The Committee of Public Safety halted the de-Christianization campaign, and Robespierre, with David's help, tried to institute an alternative, the Cult of the Supreme Being, in June 1794. Neither the Cult of Reason nor the Cult of the Supreme Being attracted many followers, but both show the depth of the commitment to overturning the old order and all its traditional institutions.

In principle, the best way to ensure the future of the republic was through the education of the young. The deputy Georges-Jacques Danton (1759–1794), Robespierre's main competitor, maintained that "after bread, the first need of the people is education." The National Convention voted to make primary schooling free and compulsory for both boys and girls. It took control of education away from the Catholic church and tried to set up a system of state schools at both the primary and secondary levels, but it lacked trained teachers to replace those the Catholic religious orders had provided. As a result, opportunities for learning how to read and write may have diminished. In 1799, only one-fifth as many children were enrolled in the state secondary schools as had studied in church schools ten years earlier.

Although many of the ambitious republican programs failed, colors, clothing, and daily speech were all politicized. The tricolor — the combination of red, white, and blue that was to become the flag of France — was devised in July 1789, and by 1793, everyone had to wear a tricolor cockade (a badge made of ribbons). Using the formal forms of speech — *vous* for “you” or the title *monsieur* or *madame* — might identify someone as an aristocrat; true patriots used the informal *tu* and *citoyen* or *citoyenne* (“citizen”) instead. Some people changed their names or gave their children new kinds of names. Biblical and saints’ names such as John, Peter, Joseph, and Mary gave way to names recalling heroes of the ancient Roman republic (Brutus, Gracchus, Cornelia), revolutionary heroes, or flowers and plants. Such changes symbolized adherence to the republic and to Enlightenment ideals rather than to Catholicism.

Even the measures of time and space were revolutionized. In October 1793, the National Convention introduced a new calendar to replace the Christian one. Its bases were reason and republican principles. Year I of this new calendar dated from the beginning of the republic on September 22, 1792. Twelve months of exactly thirty days each received new names derived from nature — for example, *Pluviôse* (roughly equivalent to February) recalled the rain (*la pluie*) of late winter. Instead of seven-day weeks, ten-day *décades* provided only one day of rest every ten days and pointedly eliminated the Sunday of the Christian calendar. The calendar remained in force for twelve years despite continuing resistance to it. More enduring was the new metric system based on units of ten that was invented to replace the hundreds of local variations in weights and measures. Other countries in Europe and throughout the world eventually adopted the metric system.

Revolutionary laws also changed the rules of family life. The state took responsibility for all family matters away from the Catholic church: people now registered births, deaths, and marriages at city hall, not the parish church. Marriage became a civil contract and as such could be broken and thereby nullified. The new divorce law of September 1792 was the most far-reaching in Europe: a couple could divorce by mutual consent or for reasons such as insanity, abandonment, battering, or criminal conviction. Thousands of men and women took advantage of the law to dissolve unhappy marriages, even though the pope had condemned the measure. (In 1816, the government revoked the right to divorce, and not until the 1970s did French divorce laws return to the principles of the 1792 legislation.) In one of its most influential actions, the National Convention passed a series of laws that created equal inheritance among all children in the family, including girls. The father's right to favor one child, especially the oldest male, was considered aristocratic and hence antirepublican.

Resisting the Revolution

By intruding into religion, culture, and daily life, the republic inevitably provoked resistance. Shouting curses against the republic, uprooting liberty trees, carrying statues of the Virgin Mary in procession, hiding a priest who would not take the oath, singing a royalist song — all these expressed dissent with the new symbols, rituals, and policies. Long breadlines in the cities exhausted the patience of women, and their exasperation occasionally turned into spontaneous demonstrations or riots over high prices or food shortages.

Other forms of resistance were more individual. One young woman, Charlotte Corday, assassinated the outspoken deputy Jean-Paul Marat in July 1793. Corday fervently supported the Girondins, and she considered it her patriotic duty to kill the deputy who, in the columns of his paper, had constantly demanded more heads and more blood. Marat was immediately eulogized as a great martyr, and Corday went to the guillotine vilified as a monster but confident that she had "avenged many innocent victims."

Organized resistance against the republic broke out in many parts of France. The arrest of the Girondin deputies in June 1793 sparked insurrections in several departments. After the government retook the city of Lyon, one of the centers of the revolt, the deputy on mission ordered sixteen hundred houses demolished and the name of the city changed to Liberated City. Special courts sentenced almost two thousand people to death.

In the Vendée region of western France, resistance turned into a bloody and prolonged civil war. Between March and December 1793, peasants, artisans, and weavers joined under noble leadership to form a "Catholic and Royal Army." One rebel group explained its motives: "They [the republicans] have killed our king, chased away our priests, sold the goods of our church, eaten everything we have and now they want to take our bodies [in the draft]." The rebels stormed the largest towns in the region. Both sides committed horrible atrocities. At the small town of Machecoul, for example, the rebels massacred five hundred republicans, including administrators and National Guard members; many were tied together, shoved into freshly dug graves, and shot. By the fall, however, republican soldiers had turned back the rebels. Military courts ordered thousands executed, and republican soldiers massacred thousands of others. In one especially gruesome incident, the deputy Jean-Baptiste Carrier supervised the drowning of some two thousand Vendée rebels, including a number of priests. Barges loaded with prisoners were floated into the Loire River near Nantes and then sunk. About 200,000 rebels died, and many thousands of republican soldiers and civilians also lost their lives in fighting that continued on and off for years.

The Fall of Robespierre and the End of the Terror

In the atmosphere of fear of conspiracy that the outbreaks of rebellion fueled, Robespierre tried simultaneously to exert the National Convention’s control over popular political activities and to weed out opposition among the deputies. As a result, political repression intensified until July 1794, when a group of deputies joined within the Convention to order the arrest and execution of Robespierre and his followers. The Convention then ordered elections and drew up a new republican constitution that gave executive power to five directors. This “Directory government” maintained power during four years of seesaw battles between royalists and former Jacobins.

In the fall of 1793, the National Convention cracked down on popular clubs and societies. First to be suppressed were women's political clubs. Founded in early 1793, the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women urged harsher measures against the republic's enemies and insisted that women have a voice in politics even if they did not have the vote. Women had set up their own clubs in many provincial towns and also attended the meetings of local men's organizations. Using traditional arguments about women's inherent unsuitability for politics, the deputies abolished women's political clubs. The closing of women's clubs marked an important turning point in the Revolution. From then on, the sans-culottes and their political organizations came increasingly under the thumb of the Jacobin deputies in the National Convention.

In the spring of 1794, the Committee of Public Safety moved against its critics among leaders in Paris and deputies in the National Convention itself. First, a handful of "ultrarevolutionaries" — local Parisian politicians who supported de-Christianization — were arrested and executed. Next came the other side, the "indulgents," so called because they favored a moderation of the Terror. Included among them was the deputy Danton, himself once a member of the Committee of Public Safety and a friend of Robespierre. Danton was the Revolution's most flamboyant orator and, unlike Robespierre, a high-living, high-spending politician. At every critical turning point in national politics, his booming voice had swayed opinion. Now, under pressure from the Committee of Public Safety, the Revolutionary Tribunal convicted him and his friends of treason and sentenced them to death.

"The Revolution," as one of the Girondin victims of 1793 had remarked, "was devouring its own children." A law passed in June 1794 denied the accused the right of legal counsel, reduced the number of jurors necessary for conviction, and allowed only two judgments: acquittal or death. The category of political crimes expanded to include “slandering patriotism” and “seeking to inspire discouragement.” Ordinary people risked the guillotine if they expressed any discontent. The rate of executions in Paris rose from five a day in the spring of 1794 to twenty-six a day in the summer. The political atmosphere darkened even though the military situation improved. At the end of June, the French armies decisively defeated the main Austrian army and advanced through the Austrian Netherlands to Brussels and Antwerp. The emergency measures for fighting the war were working, yet Robespierre and his inner circle had made so many enemies that they could not afford to loosen their grip.

Repression hardly touched many parts of France, but overall the experience was undeniably traumatic. As many as 300,000 French people — one out of every fifty — went to prison as suspects between March 1793 and August 1794. The toll for the aristocracy and the clergy was especially high. Many leading nobles perished under the guillotine, and thousands emigrated. Thirty thousand to forty thousand clergy who refused the oath left the country, at least two thousand (including many nuns) were executed, and thousands were imprisoned. The clergy were singled out in particular in the civil war zones: 135 priests were massacred at Lyon in November 1793, and eighty-three were shot in one day during the Vendée revolt. Yet many victims of government repression were peasants or sans-culottes.

The final crisis came as conflicts within the Committee of Public Safety and the National Convention left Robespierre isolated. On July 27, 1794 (the ninth of Thermidor, Year II, according to the revolutionary calendar), Robespierre appeared before the Convention with yet another list of deputies to be arrested. Many feared they would be named, and they shouted him down and ordered him arrested along with the president of the Revolutionary Tribunal in Paris and the commander of the Parisian National Guard. An armed uprising led by the Paris city government failed to save Robespierre when most of the National Guard took the side of the Convention. Robespierre tried to kill himself with a pistol but only broke his jaw. The next day he and scores of followers went to the guillotine.

Major Events of the French Revolution

May 5, 1789	The Estates General opens at Versailles
June 17, 1789	Third Estate decides to call itself the National Assembly
June 20, 1789	Tennis court oath demonstrates resolve of deputies to carry out constitutional revolution
July 14, 1789	Fall of the Bastille
August 4, 1789	National Assembly abolishes feudalism
August 26, 1789	National Assembly passes Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen
October 5–6, 1789	Women march to Versailles, joined by men in bringing royal family back to Paris
July 12, 1790	Civil Constitution of the Clergy
June 20, 1791	Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette attempt to flee in disguise but are captured at Varennes
August 1791	Beginning of revolt of enslaved people of St. Domingue

April 20, 1792	Declaration of war on Austria
August 10, 1792	Insurrection in Paris and attack on Tuileries palace leads to removal of king’s authority
September 2–6, 1792	Prisoners murdered in September massacres in Paris
September 22, 1792	Establishment of republic
January 21, 1793	Execution of Louis XVI
March 11, 1793	Beginning of uprising in Vendée
May 31–June 2, 1793	Insurrection leading to arrest of Girondins
July 27, 1793	Robespierre named to Committee of Public Safety
September 29, 1793	Convention establishes General Maximum on prices and wages
October 16, 1793	Execution of Marie-Antoinette
February 4, 1794	Slavery abolished in French colonies
March 13–24, 1794	Arrest, trial, and executions of so-called ultrarevolutionaries
March 30–April 5, 1794	Arrest, trial, and executions of Danton and his followers
July 27, 1794	Arrest of Robespierre and his supporters (executed July 28–29); beginning of end of the Terror
October 26, 1795	Directory government takes office
April 1796–October 1797	Succession of Italian victories by Bonaparte

The men who led the July 27 attack on Robespierre did not intend to reverse all his policies, but that happened nonetheless because of a violent backlash known as the Thermidorian Reaction. The new government released hundreds of suspects and arranged a temporary truce in the Vendée. It purged Jacobins from local bodies and replaced them with their opponents. It arrested some of the most notorious “terrorists” in the National Convention, such as Carrier, and put them to death. Within the year, the new leaders abolished the Revolutionary Tribunal and closed the Jacobin Club in Paris. Popular demonstrations met severe repression. In southeastern France, in particular, the “White Terror” replaced the Jacobins’ “Red Terror.” Former officials and local Jacobin leaders were harassed, beaten, and often murdered by paramilitary bands that had tacit support from the new authorities. Those who remained in the National Convention prepared yet another constitution in 1795, setting up a two-house legislature and an executive body — the Directory, headed by five directors.

The Directory regime tenuously held on to power for four years, all the while trying to fend off challenges from the remaining Jacobins and the resurgent royalists. The puritanical atmosphere of the Terror gave way to the pursuit of pleasure — low-cut dresses of transparent materials, the reappearance of prostitutes in the streets, and “victims’ balls” where guests wore red ribbons around their necks as reminders of the guillotine. Bands of young men dressed in knee breeches and rich fabrics picked fights with known Jacobins and disrupted theater performances with loud antirevolutionary songs. All over France, people petitioned to reopen churches, and if necessary, they broke into a church to hold services with a priest who had been in hiding or a lay schoolteacher who was willing to say Mass.

Although the Terror had ended, the Revolution had not (see Contrasting Views). Both the most democratic and the most repressive phases of the Revolution had ended at once in July 1794. Between 1795 and 1799, the republic endured in France, but it directed a war effort abroad that would ultimately bring to power the man who would dismantle the republic itself.

CONTRASTING VIEWS

Perspectives on the French Revolution

Contemporaries instantly grasped the cataclysmic significance of the French Revolution and began to argue about its lessons for their own countries. A member of the British Parliament, Edmund Burke ignited a firestorm of controversy with his Reflections on the Revolution in France *(Excerpt 1). He condemned the French revolutionaries for attempting to build a government on abstract reasoning rather than taking historical traditions and customs into account; his book provided a foundation for the doctrine known as conservatism, which argued for "conserving" the traditional foundations of society and avoiding the pitfalls of radical or revolutionary change. Burke's views provoked a strong response from the English political agitator Thomas Paine. Paine's pamphlet* Common Sense *(1776) had helped inspire the British North American colonies to demand independence from Great Britain. In* The Rights of Man *(Excerpt 2), written fifteen years later, Paine attacked the traditional order as fundamentally unjust and defended the idea of a revolution to uphold rights. Joseph de Maistre, an aristocratic opponent of both the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, put the conservative attack on the French Revolution into a deeply religious and absolutist framework (Excerpt 3). In contrast, Anne-Louise-Germaine de Staël, an opponent of Napoleon and one of the most influential intellectuals of the early nineteenth century, took the view that the violence of the Revolution had been the product of generations of superstition and arbitrary rule, that is, rule by an absolutist Catholic church and monarchical government (Excerpt 4).*

1. Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790)

An Irish-born supporter of the American colonists in their opposition to the British Parliament, Edmund Burke (1729–1797) opposed the French Revolution. He argued the case for tradition, *continuity, and gradual reform based on practical experience—what he called “a sure principle of conservation.”*

Can I now congratulate the same nation [France] upon its freedom? Is it because liberty in the abstract may be classed amongst the blessings of mankind, that I am seriously to felicitate a madman, who has escaped from the protecting restraint and wholesome darkness of his cell, on his restoration to the enjoyment of light and liberty? Am I to congratulate an highwayman and murderer, who has broke prison, upon the recovery of his natural rights? …

Government is not made in virtue of natural rights, which may and do exist in total independence of it; and exist in much greater clearness, and in a much greater degree of abstract perfection: but their abstract perfection is their practical defect. By having a right to every thing they want every thing.… The science of constructing a commonwealth, or renovating it, or reforming it, is, like every other experimental science, not to be taught *a priori* [based on theory rather than on experience]. Nor is it a short experience that can instruct us in that practical science; because the real effects of moral causes are not always immediate; but that which in the first instance is prejudicial may be excellent in its remoter operation; and its excellence may arise even from the ill effects it produces in the beginning.…

In the groves of *their* academy, at the end of every visto [vista], you see nothing but the gallows. Nothing is left which engages the affections on the part of the commonwealth.… To make us love our country, our country ought to be lovely.

Source: Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France: And on the Proceedings in Certain Societies in London Relative to That Event*, 2nd. ed. (London: J. Dodsley, 1790), 8, 88, 90, 115–16.

2. Thomas Paine, *The Rights of Man* (1791)

In his reply to Burke, The Rights of Man, *which sold 200,000 copies in two years, Thomas Paine (1737–1809) defended the idea of reform based on reason, advocated a concept of universal human rights, and attacked the excesses of privilege and tradition in Great Britain. Elected as a deputy to the French National Convention in 1793 in recognition of his writings in favor of the French Revolution, Paine narrowly escaped condemnation as an associate of the Girondins.*

Before anything can be reasoned upon to a conclusion, certain facts, principles, or data, to reason from, must be established, admitted, or denied. Mr. Burke, with his usual outrage, abuses the *Declaration of the Rights of Man*, published by the National Assembly of France, as the basis on which the Constitution of France is built. This he calls “paltry and blurred sheets of paper about the rights of man.”

Does Mr. Burke mean to deny that *man* has any rights? If he does, then he must mean that there are no such things as rights any where, and that he has none himself; for who is there in the world but man? …

Hitherto we have spoken only (and that but in part) of the natural rights of man. We have now to consider the civil rights of man, and to show how the one originates from the other. Man did not enter into society to become *worse* than he was before, nor to have fewer rights than he had before, but to have those rights better secured. His natural rights are the foundation of all his civil rights.…

A constitution is not a thing in name only, but in fact. It has not an ideal, but a real existence; and wherever it cannot be produced in a visible form, there is none. A constitution is a thing *antecedent* to a government, and a government is only the creature of a constitution. The constitution of a country is not the act of its government, but of the people constituting a government.…

Can then Mr. Burke produce the English Constitution? If he cannot, we may fairly conclude, that though it has been so much talked about, no such thing as a constitution exists, or ever did exist, and consequently that the people have yet a constitution to form.

Source: Thomas Paine. *The Political Writings of Thomas Paine: To Which Is Prefixed a Brief Sketch of the Author's Life*, 2 vols. (New York: G. H. Evans, 1835), II: 69–70, 72, 76.

3. Joseph de Maistre, *Considerations on France* (1797)

An aristocrat born in Savoy, Joseph de Maistre (1753–1821) believed in reform but he passionately opposed both the Enlightenment and the French Revolution as destructive to good order. He believed that Protestants, Jews, lawyers, journalists, and scientists all threatened the social order because they questioned the need for absolute obedience to authority in matters both religious and political. De Maistre set the foundations for reactionary conservatism, a conservatism that defended throne and altar.

This consideration especially makes me think that the French Revolution is a great epoch and that its consequences, in all kinds of ways, will be felt far beyond the time of its explosion and the limits of its birthplace.…

There is a satanic quality to the French Revolution that distinguishes it from everything we have ever seen or anything we are ever likely to see in the future. Recall the great assemblies, Robespierre's speech against the priesthood, the solemn apostasy [renunciation of vows] of the clergy, the desecration of objects of worship, the installation of the goddess of reason, and that multitude of extraordinary actions by which the provinces sought to outdo Paris. All this goes beyond the ordinary circle of crime and seems to belong to another world.

Source: Joseph de Maistre, *Considerations on France*, trans. Richard A. Lebrun (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 21, 41.

4. Anne-Louise-Germaine de Staël, *Considerations on the Main Events of the French Revolution* (1818)

De Staël published her views long after the Revolution was over, but she had lived through the events herself. She was the daughter of Jacques Necker, Louis XVI's Swiss Protestant finance minister. Necker's dismissal in July 1789 had sparked the attack on the Bastille. De Staël published novels, literary tracts, and memoirs and became one of the best-known writers of the nineteenth century. In her writings she defended the Enlightenment; though she opposed the violence unleashed by the Revolution, she traced it back to the excesses of monarchical government. (See her portrait on page 717.)

Once the people were freed from their harness there is no doubt that they were in a position to commit any kind of crime. But how can we explain their depravity? The government we are now supposed to miss so sorely [the former monarchy] had had plenty of time to form this guilty nation. The priests whose teaching, example, and wealth were supposed to be so good for us had supervised the childhood of the generation that broke out against them. The class that revolted in 1789 must have been accustomed to the privileges of feudal nobility which, as we are also assured, are so peculiarly agreeable to those on whom they weigh [the peasants]. How does it happen, then, that the seed of so many vices was sown under the ancient institutions? … What can we conclude from this, then? — That no people had been as unhappy for the preceding century as the French. If the Negroes of Saint-Domingue have committed even greater atrocities, it is because they had been even more greatly oppressed.

Source: Vivian Folkenflik, ed., *An Extraordinary Woman: Selected Writings of Germaine de Staël* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 365–66.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. Which aspect of the French Revolution most disturbed these commentators?
2. How would you align each of these writers on a spectrum running from extreme right to extreme left in politics?
3. How would each of these writers judge the Enlightenment that preceded the French Revolution?

REVIEW QUESTION

What factors can explain the Terror? To what extent was it simply a response to a national emergency or a reflection of deeper problems within the French Revolution?

Revolution on the March

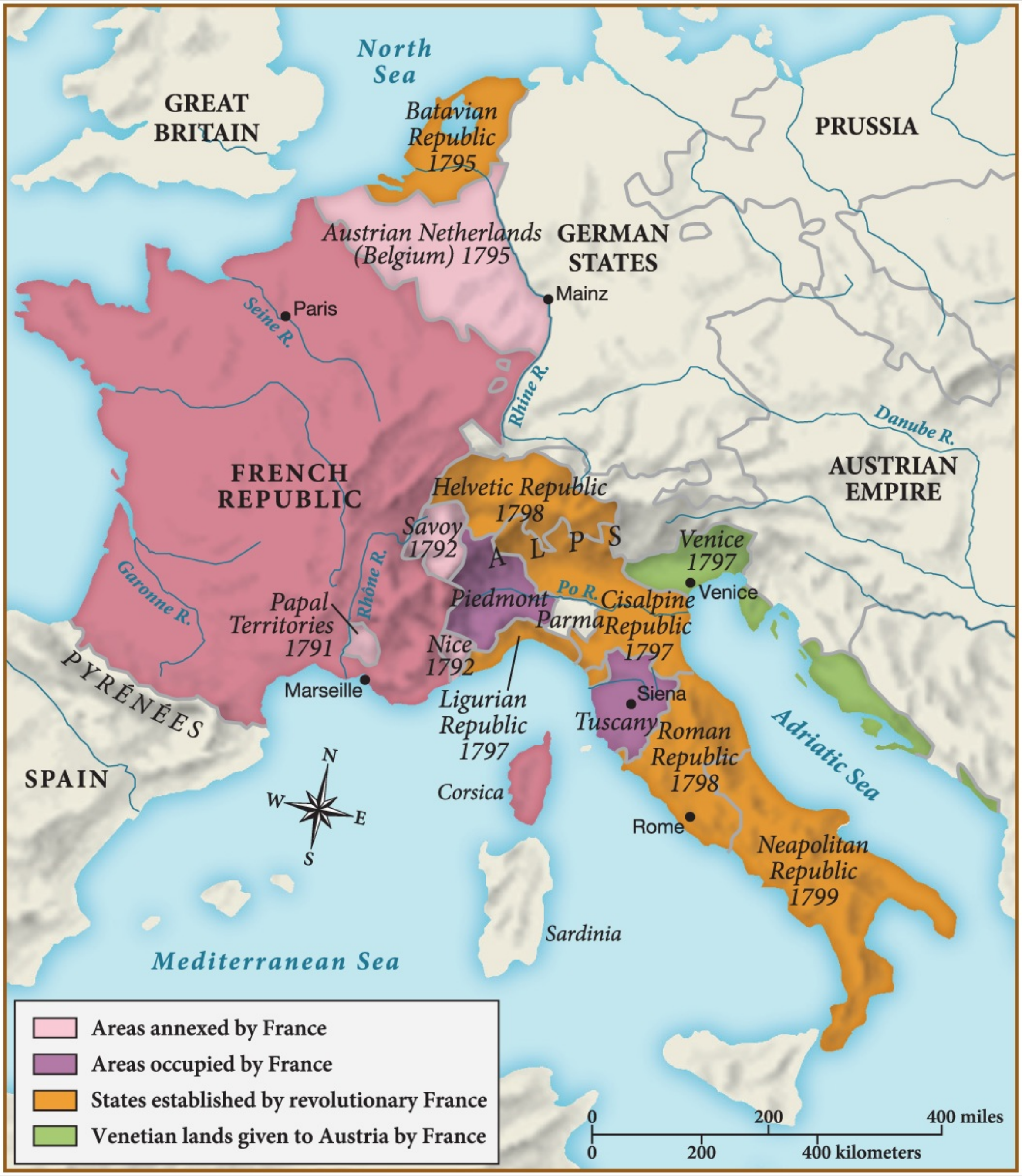
War raged almost constantly from 1792 to 1815. At one time or another, and sometimes all at once, France faced every principal power in Europe. The French republic — and later the French Empire under its supreme commander, Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte — proved an even more formidable opponent than the France of Louis XIV. New means of mobilizing and organizing soldiers enabled the French to dominate Europe for a generation. The influence of the French Revolution as a political model and the threat of French military conquest combined to challenge the traditional order in Europe and offer new prospects to the rest of the world as well.

Arms and Conquests

The powers allied against France squandered their best chance to triumph in early 1793, when the French armies verged on chaos because of the emigration of noble army officers and the problems of integrating new volunteers. By the end of 1793, thanks to conscription, the French had a huge and powerful fighting force of 700,000 men. But the army still faced many problems in the field. As many as a third of the recent draftees deserted before or during battle. Generals might pay with their lives if they lost a key battle and their loyalty to the Revolution came under suspicion. Although France had built up a relatively large navy, the dominance of Great Britain on the seas meant that France had to seek victory on the land.

France nevertheless had one overwhelming advantage: those soldiers who agreed to serve fought for a revolution that they and their brothers and sisters had helped make. The republic was their government, and the army was in large measure theirs too; many officers had risen through the ranks by skill and talent rather than by inheriting or purchasing their positions. One young peasant boy wrote to his parents: "Either you will see me return bathed in glory, or you will have a son who is a worthy citizen of France who knows how to die for the defense of his country."

When the French armies invaded the Austrian Netherlands and crossed the Rhine in the summer of 1794, they proclaimed a war of liberation (Map 19.2). In the Austrian Netherlands, Mainz, Savoy, and Nice, French officers organized Jacobin Clubs that attracted locals. The clubs petitioned for annexation to France, and French legislation was then introduced, including the abolition of seigneurial dues and religious toleration. As the French annexed more and more territory, however, "liberated" people in many places began to view them as an army of occupation. Despite resistance, especially in the Austrian Netherlands, these areas remained part of France until 1815, and the legal changes were permanent.



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MAP 19.2 French Expansion, 1791–1799

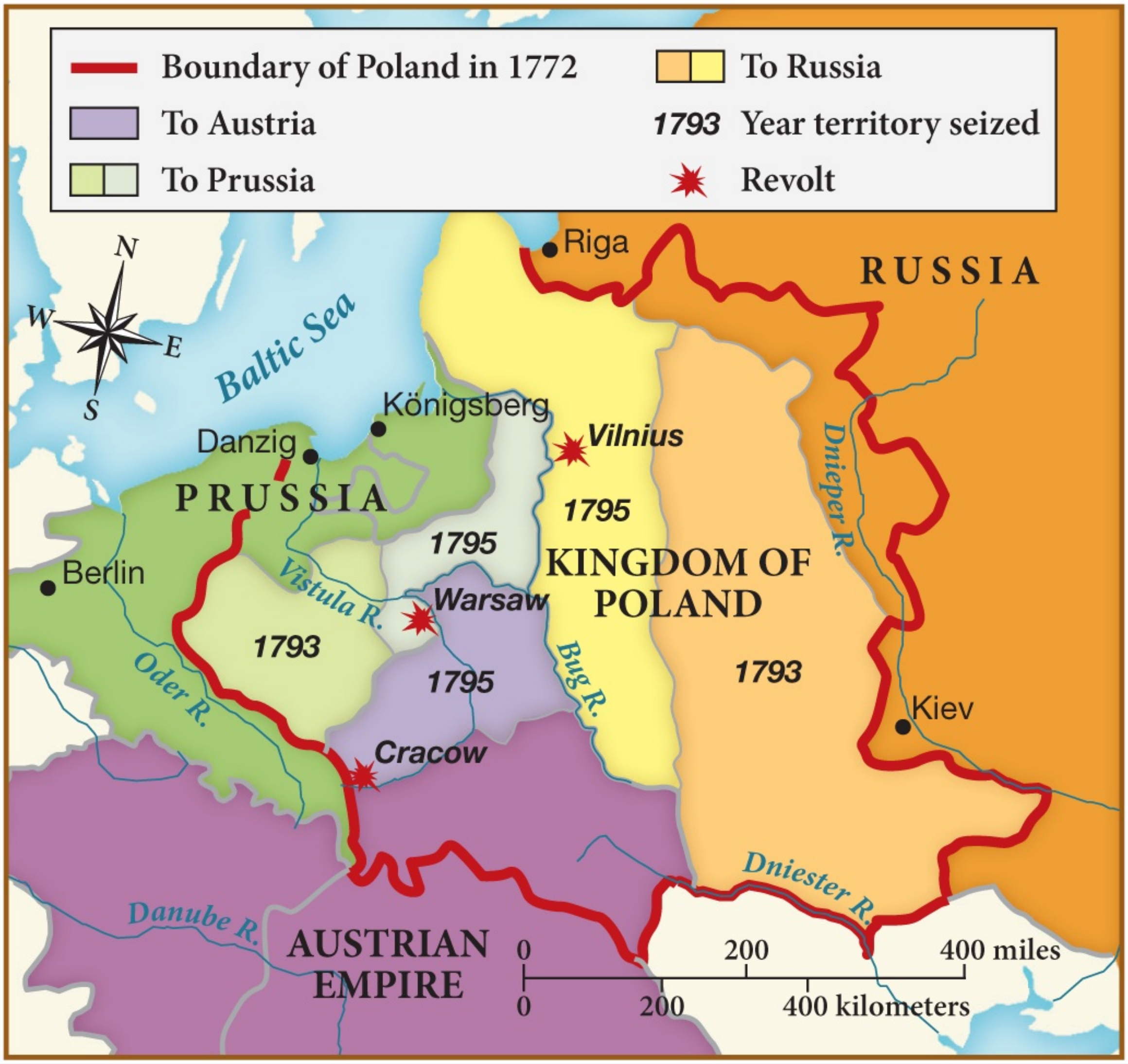
The influence of the French Revolution on neighboring territories is dramatically evident in this map. The French directly annexed the papal territories in southern France in 1791, Nice and Savoy in 1792, and the Austrian Netherlands in 1795. They set up a series of sister republics in the former Dutch Republic and in various Italian states. Local people did not always welcome these changes. For example, the French made the Dutch pay a huge war indemnity, support a French occupying army of 25,000 soldiers, and give up some southern territories. The sister republics faced a future of subordination to French national interests.

The Directory government that came to power in 1795 launched an even more aggressive policy of creating semi-independent “sister republics” wherever the armies succeeded. When Prussia declared neutrality in 1795, the French armies swarmed into the Dutch republic, abolished the stadholderate, and — with the revolutionary penchant for renaming — created the new Batavian republic, a satellite of France. The brilliant young general Napoleon Bonaparte gained a reputation by defeating the Austrian armies in northern Italy in 1797 and then created the Cisalpine republic. Next he overwhelmed Venice and then handed it over to the Austrians in exchange for a peace agreement that lasted less than two years. After the French attacked the Swiss cantons in 1798, they set up the Helvetic Republic and curtailed many of the Catholic church’s privileges. They conquered the Papal States in 1798 and installed a Roman republic, forcing the pope to flee to Siena.

The revolutionary wars had an immediate impact on European life at all levels of society. Thousands of men died in every country involved, with perhaps as many as 200,000 casualties in the French armies alone in 1794 and 1795. More soldiers died in hospitals as a result of their wounds than on the battlefields. Constant warfare hampered world commerce and especially disrupted French overseas shipping. Times were now hard almost everywhere, because the dislocations of internal and external commerce provoked constant shortages.

Poland Extinguished, 1793–1795

France had survived in 1793 in part because its enemies were busy elsewhere. Fearing French influence, Prussia joined Russia in dividing up generous new slices of territory in the second partition of Poland (Map 19.3). As might be expected, Poland's reform movement became even more pro-French. Some leaders fled abroad, including Tadeusz Kościuszko (1746–1817), an officer who had been a foreign volunteer in the War of American Independence and who now escaped to Paris. In the spring of 1794, Kościuszko returned from France to lead a nationalist revolt.



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MAP 19.3 The Second and Third Partitions of Poland, 1793 and 1795

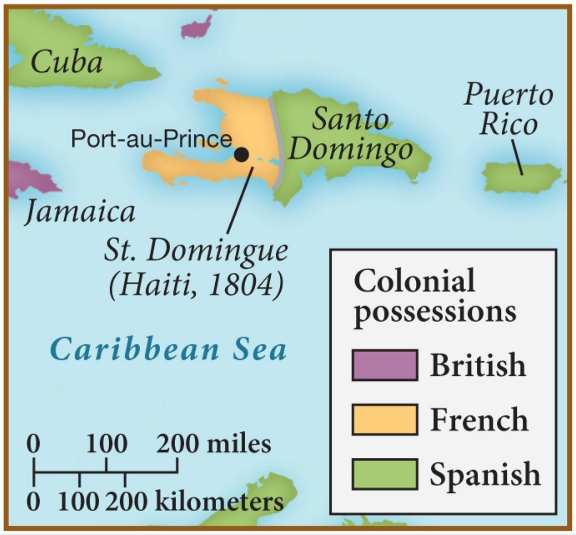
In 1793, Prussia took over territory that included 1.1 million Poles while Russia gained 3 million new inhabitants. Austria gave up any claims to Poland in exchange for help from Russia and Prussia in acquiring Bavaria. In the final division of 1795, Prussia absorbed an additional 900,000 Polish subjects, including those in Warsaw; Austria incorporated one million Poles and the city of Cracow; Russia gained another two million Poles. The three powers determined never to use the term *Kingdom of Poland* again. How had Poland become such a prey to the other powers?

The uprising failed. Kościuszko won a few victories, but when the

Russian empress Catherine the Great’s forces regrouped, they routed the Poles and Lithuanians. Kościuszko and other Polish Patriot leaders languished for years in Russian and Austrian prisons. Taking no further chances, Russia, Prussia, and Austria wiped Poland completely from the map in the third partition (1795). “The Polish question” would plague international relations for more than a century as Polish rebels flocked to any international upheaval that might undo the partitions. Beyond all this maneuvering lay the unsolved problem of Polish serfdom, which isolated the nation’s gentry and townspeople from the rural masses.

Revolution in the Colonies

The revolution that produced so much upheaval in continental Europe transformed life in France’s Caribbean colonies too. These colonies were crucial to the French economy. Twice the size in land area of the neighboring British colonies, they also produced nearly twice as much revenue in exports. The population of enslaved people had doubled in the French colonies in the twenty years before 1789. St. Domingue (present-day Haiti) was the most important French colony. Occupying the western half of the island of Hispaniola, it was inhabited not only by 465,000 enslaved people and thirty thousand whites but also by twenty-eight thousand free people of color, whose primary job was to apprehend runaway slaves and ensure plantation security.



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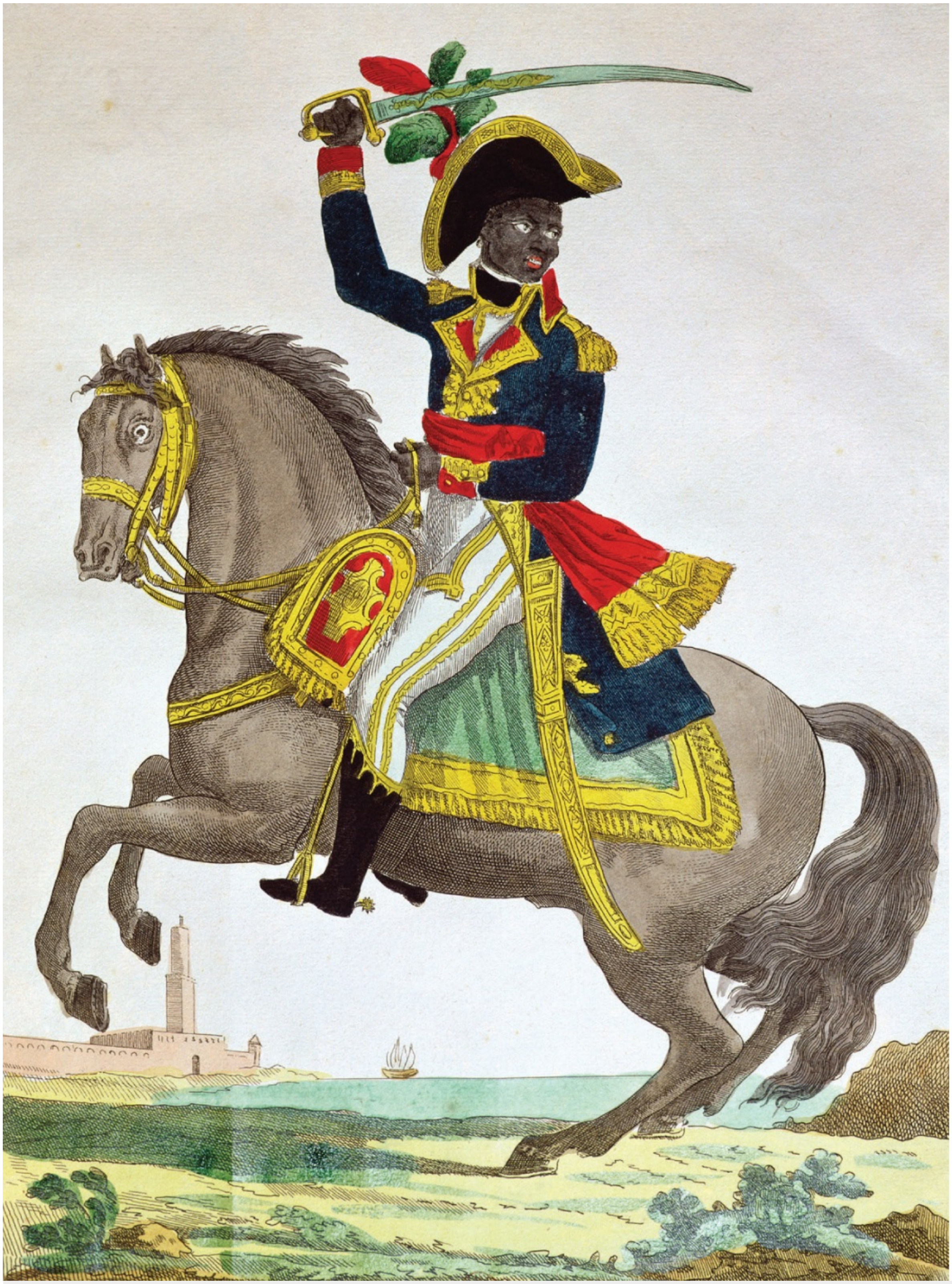
St. Domingue on the Eve of the Revolt, 1791

Despite the efforts of a Paris club called the Friends of Blacks, most French revolutionaries did not consider slavery a pressing problem. In August 1791, however, the enslaved people in northern St. Domingue organized a large-scale revolt. To restore authority over them, the deputies in Paris granted civil and political rights to the free men of color. This action infuriated white planters and merchants, who in 1793 signed an agreement with Great Britain, now France's enemy in war, declaring British sovereignty over St. Domingue. To complicate matters further, Spain, which controlled the rest of the island and had entered on Great Britain's side in the war with France, offered freedom to individual slave rebels who joined the Spanish armies as long as they agreed to maintain the slave regime for the other Blacks.

The few thousand French republican troops on St. Domingue were outnumbered, and to prevent complete military disaster, the French commissioner freed all the enslaved people in his jurisdiction in August

1793 without permission from the government in Paris. In February 1794, the National Convention formally abolished slavery and granted full rights to all men in the colonies. These actions had the desired effect. One of the ablest Black generals allied with the Spanish, the ex-slave François Dominique **Toussaint L'Ouverture** (1743–1803), changed sides and committed his troops to the French. Toussaint remained in charge until 1802, when Napoleon sent French armies to regain control of the island. They arrested Toussaint and transported him to France, where he died in prison. Toussaint became a hero to abolitionists everywhere, a potent symbol of Black struggles to win freedom. Napoleon attempted to restore slavery, as he had in the other French Caribbean colonies of Guadeloupe and Martinique, but the remaining Black generals defeated his armies and in 1804 proclaimed the republic of Haiti.



Archives Charmet/Bibliotheque Nationale/Bridgeman Images.

Toussaint L'Ouverture The leader of the St. Domingue uprising of enslaved people appears on horseback, in his general's uniform, sword in hand. His depiction in this colored print from the early nineteenth century makes him seem much like other military heroes from the time, including Napoleon Bonaparte.

Worldwide Reactions to Revolutionary Change

As the example of the colonies shows, the French Revolution inflamed politics and social relations far beyond Europe. It soon became one of the most divisive political issues in the United States. Thomas Jefferson wrote in January 1793 that “the liberty of the whole earth” depended on the Revolution’s success; John Adams, in contrast, believed that the French Revolution had set back human progress hundreds of years. In India, the ruler of the southern kingdom of Mysore, Tipu Sultan, planted a liberty tree and wrote to the French asking for their help against the British.

Many had greeted the events of 1789 with unabashed enthusiasm. The English Unitarian minister Richard Price had exulted, “Behold, the light … after setting AMERICA free, reflected to FRANCE, and there kindled into a blaze that lays despotism in ashes, and warms and illuminates EUROPE.” Democrats and reformers from many countries flooded to Paris to witness events firsthand. Supporters of the French Revolution in Great Britain joined constitutional and reform societies that sprang up in many cities. Pro-French feeling ran even stronger in Ireland. Catholics and Presbyterians, both excluded from the vote, came together in 1791 in the Society of United Irishmen, which eventually pressed for secession from England.

European elites became alarmed when the French abolished monarchy and nobility and encouraged popular participation in politics. The

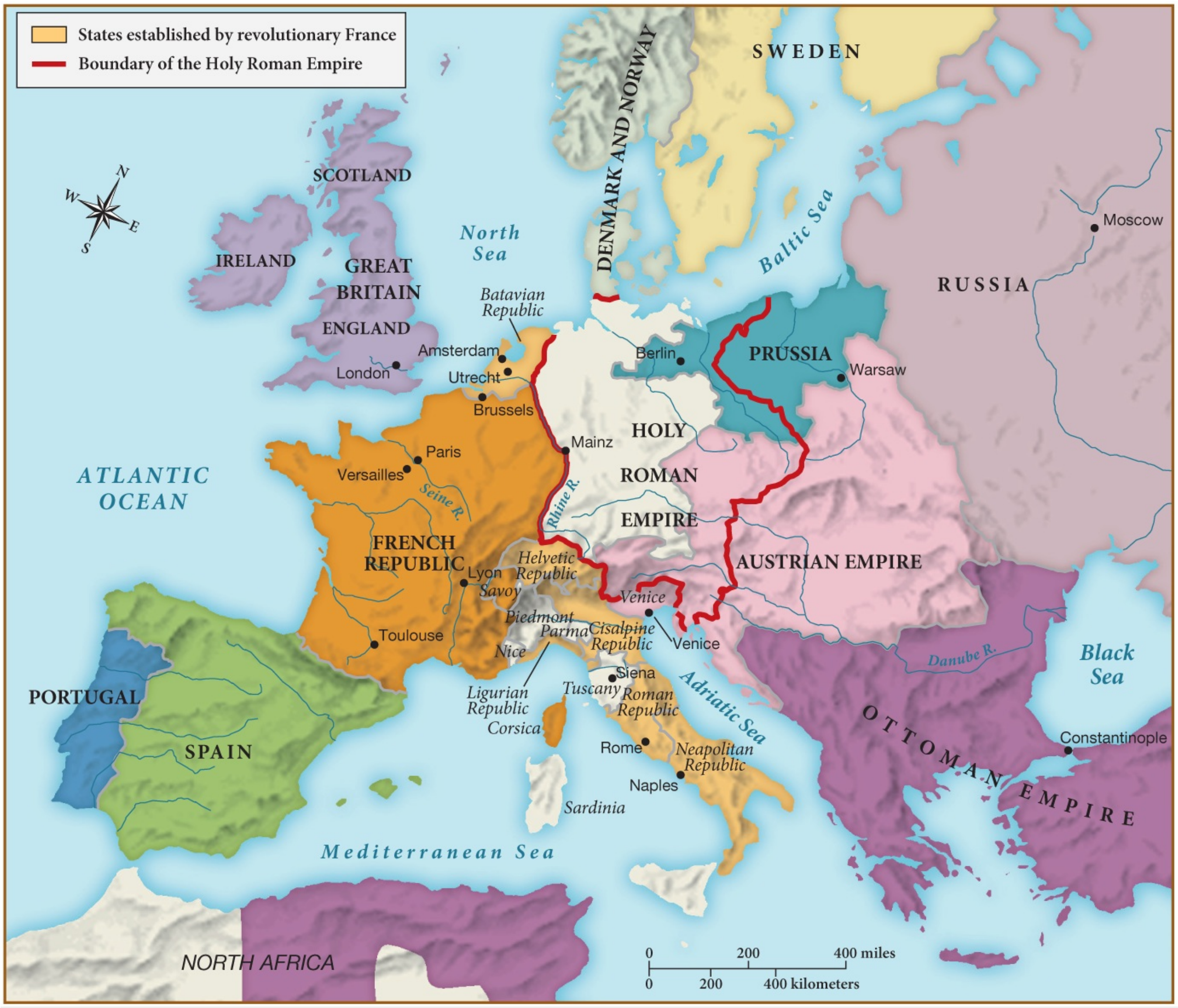
British government, for example, quickly suppressed the corresponding societies, charging that their contacts with the French were seditious. When the Society of United Irishmen timed a rebellion to coincide with an attempted French invasion in 1798, the British mercilessly repressed them, killing thirty thousand rebels.

Many leading intellectuals in the German states, including the philosopher Immanuel Kant, initially supported the revolutionary cause, but after 1793, most of them turned against the popular violence and military aggressiveness of the Revolution. The German states, still run by many separate rulers, experienced a profound artistic and intellectual revival, which eventually stimulated anti-French nationalism. This renaissance included a resurgence of intellectual life in the universities, a thriving press (1,225 journals were launched in the 1780s alone), and the multiplication of Masonic lodges and literary clubs.

Despite the turn in opinion, European rulers still dreaded the mere mention of revolution. Spain's royal government simply suppressed all news from France, fearing that it might ignite the spirit of revolt. Despite similar government controls on news in Russia, 278 outbreaks of peasant unrest occurred there between 1796 and 1798. When Naples revolted under French influence in 1799, one hundred republicans, including leading intellectuals, were executed when the royalists returned to power.

REVIEW QUESTION

Why did some groups outside of France embrace the French Revolution while others resisted it?



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MAPPING THE WEST

Europe in 1799

France's expansion during the revolutionary wars threatened to upset the balance of power in Europe. A century earlier, the English and Dutch had allied and formed a Europe-wide coalition to check the territorial ambitions of Louis XIV. Thwarting French ambitions after 1799 would prove to be even more of a challenge to the other European powers. The Dutch had been reduced to satellite status, as had most of the Italian states. Even Austria and Prussia would suffer devastating losses to the French on the battlefield. Only a new coalition of European powers could stop France in the future.

Analyzing the Map: Which neighbors of France would be most threatened by the French effort to create satellite states (states that lost their autonomy to the French)?

Making Connections: Why had the French armies been so successful after their shaky start in 1792–1793?

Conclusion

Growing out of aspirations for freedom that also inspired the Dutch, Belgians, Poles, and enslaved people in the Caribbean, the Revolution that shook France permanently altered the political landscape of the Western world. Between 1789 and 1799, monarchy as a form of government gave way in France to a republic whose leaders were elected. Aristocracy based on rank and birth was undermined in favor of civil equality and the promotion of merit. Thousands of men held elective office for the first time. A republican government tried to teach new values with a refashioned calendar, state festivals, and a civic religion. Its example inspired would-be revolutionaries everywhere.

But the French Revolution also had its darker side. The divisions created by the Revolution within France endured in many cases until after World War II. Even now, when asked by public-opinion surveys if it was right to execute the king in 1793, most French respondents say they believe that Louis XVI was guilty of treason but should not have been executed. The revolutionaries proclaimed human rights and democratic government as universal goals, but they also explicitly excluded women, even though they admitted Protestant, Jewish, and eventually Black men. They used the new spirit of national pride to inspire armies and then used those armies to conquer other peoples. Their ideals of universal education, religious toleration, and democratic participation could not prevent the institution of new forms of government terror to persecute, imprison, and kill dissidents. These paradoxes created an opening for Napoleon Bonaparte, who rushed in with his remarkable military and political skills to push France — and with it all of Europe —

in new directions.

Chapter 19 Review

Key Terms and People

Be sure that you can identify the term or person and explain its historical significance.

Louis XVI
Marie-Antoinette
Estates General
Great Fear
Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen
Jacobin Club
Maximilien Robespierre
Terror
de-Christianization
Toussaint L'Ouverture

Review Questions

1. How did the beginning of the French Revolution resemble the other revolutions of 1787–1789?
2. Why did the French Revolution turn in an increasingly radical direction after 1789?

3. What factors can explain the use of terror against the republic’s enemies? To what extent was it simply a response to a national emergency or a reflection of deeper problems within the French Revolution?
4. Why did some groups outside of France embrace the French Revolution while others resisted it?

Making Connections

1. Should the French Revolution be viewed as the origin of democracy or the origin of totalitarianism (a government in which no dissent is allowed)? Explain.
2. Why did other European rulers find the French Revolution so threatening?
3. What made the French revolutionary armies so powerful in this period?
4. How was the French Revolution related to the Enlightenment that preceded it?

Important Events

1787	Dutch Patriot revolt is stifled by Prussian invasion

1788	Beginning of Austrian Netherlands resistance against reforms of Joseph II; opening of reform parliament in Poland
1789	French Revolution begins
1790	Internal divisions lead to collapse of resistance in Austrian Netherlands
1791	Beginning of revolt of enslaved people in St. Domingue (Haiti)
1792	Beginning of war between France and rest of Europe; second revolution of August 10 overthrows monarchy
1793	Second partition of Poland by Austria and Russia; Louis XVI of France is executed for treason
1794	Abolition of slavery in French colonies; Robespierre’s government by terror falls
1795	Third (final) partition of Poland; France annexes Austrian Netherlands
1797–1798	Creation of “sister republics” in Italian states and Switzerland

Consider three events

Dutch patriot revolt is stifled by Prussian invasion (1787), French Revolution begins (1789), and beginning of uprising in St. Domingue (Haiti) (1791). How would you explain the relationships among these three uprisings? How were they similar and different in their inspirations, ideologies, tactics, and results?

Suggested References

The most influential book on the meaning of the French Revolution is still the classic study by Tocqueville, who insisted that the Revolution continued the process of state centralization undertaken by the monarchy. The revolutions in the colonies are now the subject of many new and important studies.

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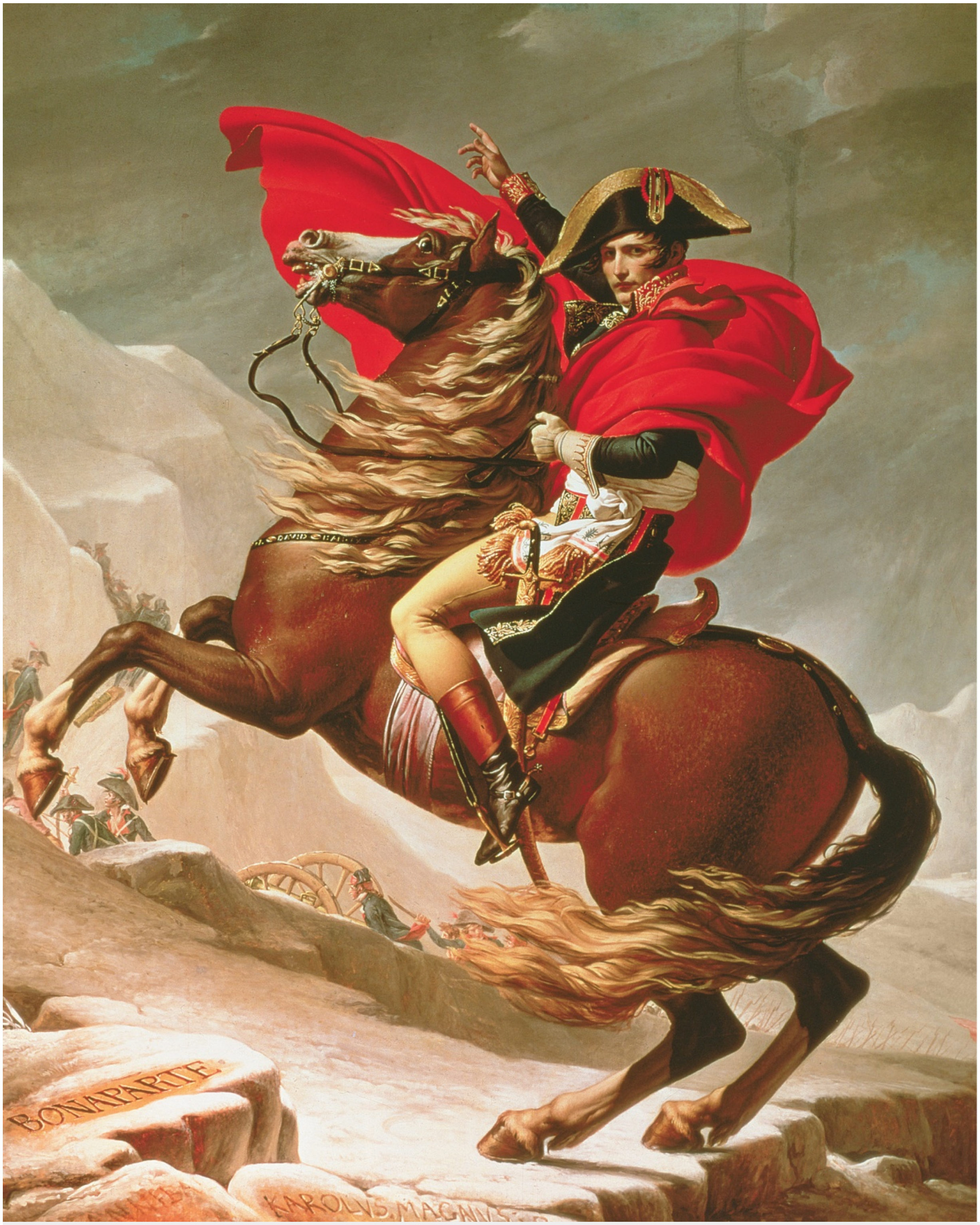
[i] Primary source.

CHAPTER 20

Napoleon and the Revolutionary Legacy

1800–1830



Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin, Germany/Bridgeman Images.

Napoleon as Military Hero In this painting from 1800–1801, *Napoleon Crossing the Alps at St. Bernard*, Jacques-Louis David reminds the French of Napoleon's heroic military exploits. Napoleon is a picture of calm and composure while his horse shows the fright and energy of the moment. David painted this propagandistic image shortly after one of his former students went to the guillotine on a trumped-up charge of plotting to assassinate the new French leader. The former organizer of republican festivals during the Terror had become a kind of court painter for the new regime.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

The Rise of Napoleon Bonaparte

In what ways did Napoleon continue the French Revolution, and in what ways did he break with it?

“Europe Was at My Feet”: Napoleon’s Conquests

Why was Napoleon able to gain control over so much of Europe’s territory?

The “Restoration” of Europe

To what extent did the Congress of Vienna restore the old order?

Challenges to the Conservative Order

Why were independence movements thwarted in Italy and Poland in this era, but not in Greece, Belgium, and Latin America?

In her novel *Frankenstein* (1818), the prototype for modern thrillers, Mary Shelley tells the story of a Swiss inventor, Dr. Frankenstein, who creates a humanlike monster. The monster terrifies all who encounter him and, in the end, destroys Frankenstein’s own loved ones. Despite desperate chases across deserts and frozen landscapes, Frankenstein never manages to trap the monster, who is last seen hunched over his creator’s deathbed.

Those who witnessed Napoleon Bonaparte’s stunning rise to European dominance might have cast him as either Dr. Frankenstein or his monster. Like the scientist Frankenstein, Bonaparte created something dramatically new: the French Empire with himself as emperor. Like the former kings of France, he ruled under his first name. This Corsican artillery officer who spoke French with an accent ended the French Revolution even while maintaining some of its most important innovations.

Bonaparte continued the revolutionary policy of conquest and annexation until it reached grotesque dimensions. His foreign policies made many see him as a monster hungry for dominion; he turned the sister republics of the revolutionary era into kingdoms personally ruled by his relatives, and he exacted tribute wherever he triumphed. Eventually, resistance to the French armies and the ever-mounting costs of military glory toppled Napoleon. The powers allied against him met and agreed to restore the monarchical governments that had been overthrown by the French, shrink France back to its prerevolutionary boundaries, and maintain this settlement against future demands for change.

Although the people of Europe longed for peace and stability in the aftermath of the Napoleonic whirlwind, they lived in a deeply unsettled world. Profoundly affected by French military occupation, many groups of people organized to demand ethnic and cultural autonomy, first from Napoleon and then from the restored governments after 1815. In 1830, a new round of revolutions broke out in France, Belgium, Poland, and some of the Italian states. The revolutionary legacy was far from exhausted.

CHAPTER TIMELINE

1799 1800 1810 1815 1825 1835

1799
Coup against Directory government in France; Napoleon Bonaparte is named First Consul

1801
Napoleon signs concordat with the pope

1804
Napoleon is crowned emperor of France, issues new Civil Code

1805
British naval forces defeat French at the battle of Trafalgar; Napoleon wins his greatest victory at the battle of Austerlitz

1807–1814
French invade and occupy Spain and Portugal

1812
Napoleon invades Russia

1814–1815
Congress of Vienna

1815
Napoleon is defeated at Waterloo and exiled to island of St. Helena, where he dies in 1821

1818
Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein*

1820
Revolt of liberal army officers against Spanish crown

1824
Ludwig van Beethoven, Ninth Symphony

1825
Russian army officers demand constitutional reform in Decembrist Revolt

1830
Greece gains its independence from Ottoman Turks; rebels overthrow Charles X of France and install Louis-Philippe; rebellion in Poland against Russia fails

1832
English Parliament passes Reform Bill

Musée du Louvre, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images; Heritage Images/Hulton Archive/Getty Images

CHAPTER FOCUS

How did Napoleon Bonaparte's actions force other European rulers to change their policies?

The Rise of Napoleon Bonaparte

In 1799, a charismatic young general took over the French republic and set France on a new course. Within a year, Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) had effectively ended the French Revolution and steered France toward an authoritarian state. As emperor after 1804, Bonaparte dreamed of European integration in the tradition of Augustus and Charlemagne. To achieve his goals, he compromised with the Catholic church and with exiled aristocrats willing to return to France. His most enduring accomplishment, the new Civil Code, tempered the principles of the Enlightenment and the Revolution with an insistence on the powers of fathers over children, husbands over wives, and employers over workers. His influence spread into many spheres as he personally patronized scientific inquiry and encouraged artistic styles in line with his vision of imperial greatness.

A General Takes Over

It would have seemed astonishing in 1795 that the twenty-six-year-old son of a noble family from the island of Corsica off the Italian coast would within four years become the supreme ruler of France and one of the greatest military leaders in world history. That year, Bonaparte was a penniless artillery officer, only recently released from prison as a presumed Robespierrist (see Chapter 19). Thanks to some early military successes and links to Parisian politicians, however, he was named commander of the French army in Italy in 1796.

Bonaparte's astounding success in the Italian campaigns of 1796–1797 launched his meteoric career. With an army of fewer than fifty thousand men, he defeated the Piedmontese and the Austrians. In quick order, he established client republics dependent on his own authority, negotiated with the Austrians himself, and molded the army into his personal force by paying the soldiers in cash taken as tribute from the newly conquered territories. He pleased the Directory government by sending home wagonloads of Italian masterpieces of art, which were added to Parisian museum collections (many are still there) after being paraded in victory festivals.

In 1798, the Directory set aside its plans to invade England, gave Bonaparte command of the army raised for that purpose, and sent him across the Mediterranean Sea to Egypt. The Directory government hoped that French occupation of Egypt would strike a blow at British trade by cutting the route to India. Although the French defeated a much larger Egyptian army, the British admiral Lord Horatio Nelson destroyed the French fleet while it was anchored in Aboukir Bay, cutting the French off from home. Bonaparte insisted that he aimed to liberate the Egyptians from the Ottoman Turks, but though he proclaimed his respect for Islam, he also forced through Enlightenment-inspired legal reforms, such as equality before the law and religious toleration. In the face of determined resistance and an outbreak of the bubonic plague, the French armies retreated from a further expedition in Syria.

Even the failures of the Egyptian campaign did not dull Bonaparte's luster. Bonaparte had taken France's leading scientists with him on the expedition, and his soldiers had discovered a slab of black basalt dating from 196 B.C.E. written in both hieroglyphic and Greek. Called the Rosetta stone after a nearby town, it enabled scholars to finally decipher the hieroglyphs used by the ancient Egyptians.

With his army pinned down by Nelson's victory at sea, Bonaparte slipped out of Egypt and made his way secretly to southern France in October 1799. He arrived home at just the right moment: the war in Europe was going badly. The territories of the former Austrian Netherlands had revolted against French conscription laws, and deserters swelled the ranks of rebels in western France. Disillusioned members of the government saw in Bonaparte's return an occasion to overturn the constitution of 1795. They got their wish on November 9, 1799, when troops guarding the legislature ejected those who opposed Bonaparte and left the remaining ones to vote to abolish the Directory and establish a new three-man executive called the consulate.

Bonaparte became **First Consul**, a title revived from the ancient Roman republic. A new constitution — with no declaration of rights — was submitted to the voters. Millions abstained from voting, and the government falsified the results to give an appearance of even greater support to the new regime.

From Republic to Empire

When the constitution of 1799 made Napoleon the First Consul (of three), it gave him the right to pick the Council of State, which drew up all laws. The French government was no longer representative in any real sense: the new constitution eliminated direct elections for deputies and granted no independent powers to the three houses of the legislature. Napoleon and his advisers chose the legislature's members out of a small pool of "notables." Almost all men over twenty-one could vote in the plebiscite (referendum) to approve the constitution, but their only option was to choose *yes* or *no*.

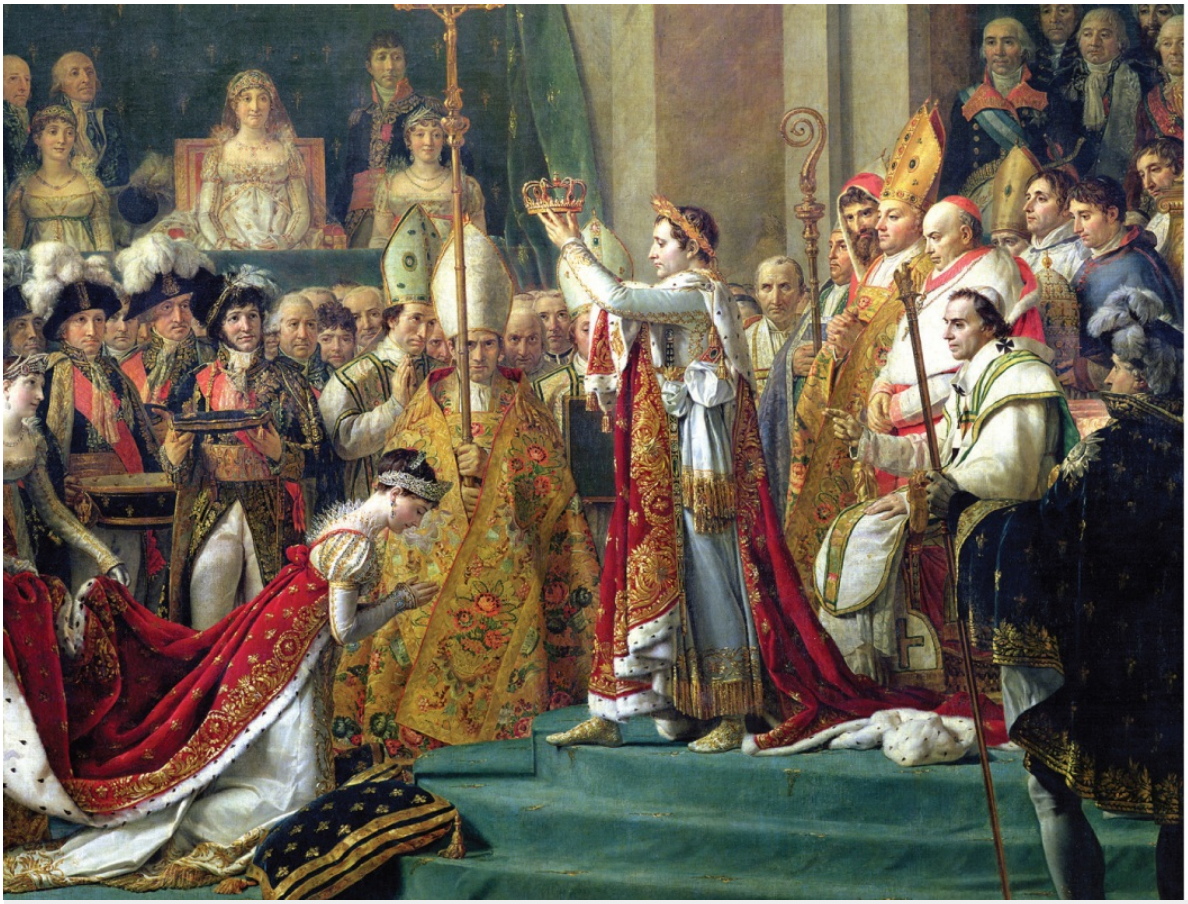
Napoleon's most urgent task was to reconcile to his regime Catholics who had been alienated by revolutionary policies. Although nominally Catholic, Napoleon held no deep religious convictions. "How can there be order in the state without religion?" he asked cynically. "When a man is dying of hunger beside another who is stuffing himself, he cannot accept this difference if there is not an authority who tells him: 'God wishes it so.'" In 1801, a concordat with Pope Pius VII (r. 1800–1823) ended a decade of church-state conflict in France. The pope validated all sales of church lands, and the government agreed to pay the salaries of bishops and priests who would swear loyalty to the state. Catholicism was officially recognized as the religion of "the great majority of French citizens." (The state also paid Protestant pastors' salaries.)

Napoleon continued the centralization of state power that had begun under the absolutist monarchy of Louis XIV. As First Consul, he appointed prefects who directly supervised local affairs in every department in the country. He created the Bank of France to facilitate government borrowing and relied on gold and silver coinage rather than paper money. He improved tax collection but balanced the budget only by exacting tribute from the territories he conquered.

Napoleon never relied on mass executions to maintain control, but he refused to allow those who opposed him to meet in clubs, influence elections, or publish newspapers. A decree reduced the number of newspapers in Paris from seventy-three to thirteen, and then finally to four. Government censors scrutinized operas and plays, and they banned “offensive” artistic works even more frequently than their royal predecessors had. The minister of police, Joseph Fouché, once a leading figure in the Terror of 1793–1794, imposed house arrest, arbitrary imprisonment, and surveillance of political dissidents. Political contest and debate shriveled to almost nothing. When a bomb attack on Napoleon’s carriage failed in 1800, Fouché suppressed the evidence of a royalist plot and instead arrested hundreds of former Jacobins.

When it suited him, Napoleon also struck against royalist conspirators. In 1804, he ordered his police to kidnap the duke d’Enghien from his residence in Germany. Napoleon had intelligence, which proved to be false, that d’Enghien had joined a plot in Paris against him. Even when he learned the truth, he insisted that a military tribunal try d’Enghien, a close relative of the dead king Louis XVI. After a summary trial, d’Enghien was shot on the spot.

By then, Napoleon’s political intentions had become clear. He had named himself First Consul for life in 1802, and in 1804, with the pope’s blessing, he crowned himself emperor. Once again, plebiscites approved his decisions but only yes/no alternatives were offered.



Musée du Louvre, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images.

Napoleon's Coronation as Emperor In this detail from *The Coronation of Napoleon and Josephine* (1805–1807), Jacques-Louis David shows Napoleon crowning his wife at the ceremony of 1804. Napoleon orchestrated the entire event and took the only active role in it: Pope Pius VII gave his blessing to the ceremony (he can be seen seated behind Napoleon), but Napoleon crowned himself. What is the significance of Napoleon crowning himself?

Napoleon's face and name soon adorned coins, engravings, histories, paintings, and public monuments. His favorite painters embellished his legend by depicting him as a warrior-hero of mythic proportions even though he was short and physically unimpressive in person. He embarked on ostentatious building projects, including the Arc de Triomphe and the Stock Exchange.

Napoleon worked hard at establishing his reputation as an efficient administrator with broad intellectual interests. When not on military campaigns, he worked on state affairs, usually until 10:00 p.m., taking only a few minutes for each meal. To establish his authority, Napoleon relied on men who had served with him in the army. His bureaucracy was based on a patron-client relationship, with Napoleon as the ultimate patron.

Combining aristocratic and revolutionary values in a new social hierarchy that rewarded merit and talent, Napoleon personally chose as senators the nation's most illustrious men, among them former nobles. Intending to replace both the old nobility of birth and the republic's strict emphasis on equality, in 1802 he took the first step toward creating a new nobility by founding the Legion of Honor. (Members of the legion received lifetime pensions along with their titles.) In 1808, Napoleon introduced a complete hierarchy of noble titles, ranging from princes down to barons and chevaliers. To go along with their new titles, Napoleon gave his favorite generals huge fortunes, often in the form of estates in the conquered territories.

What Would You Do?

If you had supported the French Revolution of 1789, what would you do when Napoleon had himself declared emperor of the French in 1804? Would you consider this a repudiation of the French Revolution or the only way to retain its most important achievements? Which elements would you cite to defend your choice? What would Napoleon's reaction have been to your decision?

Napoleon's own family reaped the greatest benefits. He made his older brother, Joseph, ruler of the newly established kingdom of Naples in

1806, the same year he installed his younger brother Louis as king of Holland. He proclaimed his twenty-three-year-old stepson, Eugène de Beauharnais, viceroy of Italy in 1805 and established his sister Caroline and brother-in-law General Joachim Murat as king and queen of Naples in 1808 when he moved Joseph to the throne of Spain. Napoleon wanted to establish an imperial succession, but he lacked an heir. In thirteen years of marriage, his wife, Josephine, had borne no children, so in 1809, he divorced her, and in 1810, married the eighteen-year-old princess Marie-Louise of Austria. The next year, Marie-Louise gave birth to a son, to whom Napoleon immediately gave the title king of Rome.

The New Paternalism: The Civil Code

As part of his restoration of order, Napoleon brought a paternalistic model of power to his state. He successfully established a new **Civil Code**, completed in 1804. Called the Napoleonic Code as a way of further exalting the emperor's image, it reasserted the Old Regime's patriarchal system of male domination over women and insisted on a father's control over his children, which revolutionary legislation had limited. For example, a child under age sixteen who refused to follow his or her father's commands could be sent to prison for up to a month with no hearing of any sort. Still, the Civil Code protected many of the gains of the French Revolution by defining and ensuring property rights, guaranteeing religious liberty, and establishing a uniform system of law that provided equal treatment for all adult males and affirmed the right of men to choose their professions.

Although the code maintained the equal division of family property between all children, both male and female, it sharply curtailed women's rights in other respects. Napoleon wanted to restrict women to the private sphere of the home. The law obligated a husband to support his wife, but the husband alone controlled any property held in common; a wife could not sue in court, sell or mortgage her own property, or contract a debt without her husband's consent. Divorce was severely restricted. A wife could petition for divorce only if her husband brought his mistress to live in the family home. In contrast, a wife convicted of adultery could be imprisoned for up to two years. The code's framers saw these discrepancies as a way to reinforce the family and make women responsible for private virtue, while leaving public decisions to men. Not until 1965 did French wives gain legal status equal to that of their husbands.

Napoleon took little interest in girls' education, believing that girls should spend most of their time at home learning religion, manners, and such "female occupations" as sewing and music. For boys, by contrast, the government set up a new system of lycées, state-run secondary schools in which students wore military uniforms and drumrolls signaled the beginning and end of classes. The lycées offered wider access to education and thus helped achieve Napoleon's goal of opening careers to those with talent, regardless of their social origins. (The lycées have dropped the military trappings and are now coeducational, but they are still the heart of the French educational system.)

The new paternalism extended to relations between employers and employees. The state required all workers to carry a work card attesting to their good conduct, and it prohibited all workers' organizations. After 1806, arbitration boards settled labor disputes, but they took employers at their word while treating workers as minors, demanding that foremen and shop superintendents represent them. The limitations on workers' rights won Napoleon the support of French business.

Patronage of Science and Intellectual Life

An impressive outpouring of new theoretical and practical scientific work rewarded Napoleon's efforts to promote science. Experiments with balloons led to the discovery of laws about the expansion of gases, and research on fossil shells prepared the way for new theories of evolutionary change later in the nineteenth century. The surgeon Dominique-Jean Larrey developed new techniques of battlefield amputation and medical care during Napoleon's wars, winning an appointment as an officer in the Legion of Honor and becoming a baron with a pension.

Napoleon aimed to modernize French society through science, but he could not tolerate criticism. Napoleon considered most writers useless or dangerous. Among those forced into exile was Anne-Louise-Germaine de Staël (1766–1817), the daughter of Louis XVI's finance minister, Jacques Necker. When explaining his desire to banish her, Napoleon exclaimed, "She is a machine in motion who stirs up the salons." While exiled from Paris, de Staël wrote *Corinne* (1807), a novel whose heroine is a brilliant woman thwarted by a patriarchal system, and *On Germany*

(1810), an account of the important new literary currents east of the Rhine. Her books were banned in France.

Muséed’Art et d’Histoire, Geneva, Switzerland/Bridgeman Images.

Germaine de Staël One of the most fascinating intellectuals of her time, Anne-Louise-Germaine de Staël seemed to irritate Napoleon more than any other person did. Daughter of Louis XVI’s Swiss Protestant finance minister, Jacques Necker, and wife of a Swedish diplomat, Madame de Staël frequently criticized Napoleon’s policies. She published best-selling novels and influential literary criticism, and whenever allowed to reside in Paris she encouraged the intellectual and political dissidents from Napoleon's regime. In this painting from 1809, Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun depicts her as Corinne, the heroine of one of her novels.

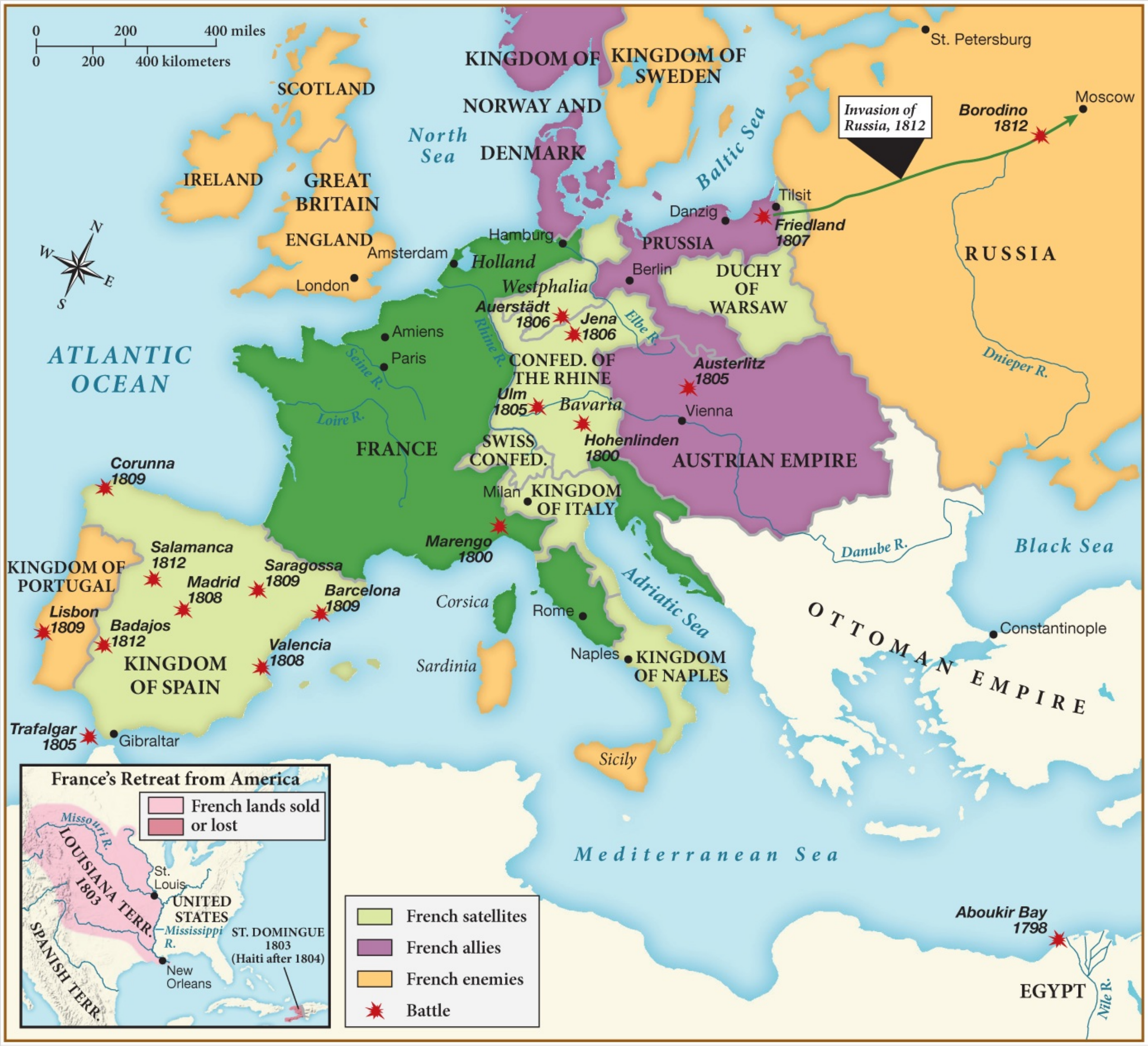
Although Napoleon restored the strong authority of state and religion in France, many royalists and Catholics still criticized him as an impious usurper. François-René de Chateaubriand (1768–1848) admired Napoleon as "the strong man who has saved us from the abyss," but he preferred a restored Bourbon monarchy. In his view, Napoleon had not properly understood the need to defend Christian values against the Enlightenment's excessive reliance on reason. Chateaubriand wrote his *Genius of Christianity* (1802) to draw attention to the power and mystery of faith. His book appeared during a rare lull in wars that soon engulfed much of Europe.

REVIEW QUESTION

In what ways did Napoleon continue the French Revolution, and in what ways did he break with it?

“Europe Was at My Feet”: Napoleon’s Conquests

Napoleon revolutionized the art of war with tactics and strategies based on a highly mobile army. By 1812, he was ruling a European empire more extensive than any since ancient Rome (Map 20.1). Yet that empire had already begun to crumble, and with it went Napoleon’s power at home. Napoleon’s empire failed because it was based on a contradiction: Napoleon tried to reduce virtually all nations of Europe to the status of colonial dependents when Europe had long consisted of independent states. The result, inevitably, was a great upsurge in nationalist feeling that has dominated world politics to the present.



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 20.1 Napoleon's Empire at Its Height, 1812

In 1812, Napoleon had at least nominal control of almost all of western Europe. Even before he made his fatal mistake of invading Russia, his authority had been undermined in Spain and seriously weakened in the Italian and German states. Still earlier, he had given up his dreams of a worldwide empire. French armies withdrew from Egypt in 1801 and from St. Domingue (Haiti) in 1802. In 1803, Napoleon sold the Louisiana Territory to the United States.

The Grand Army and Its Victories, 1800–

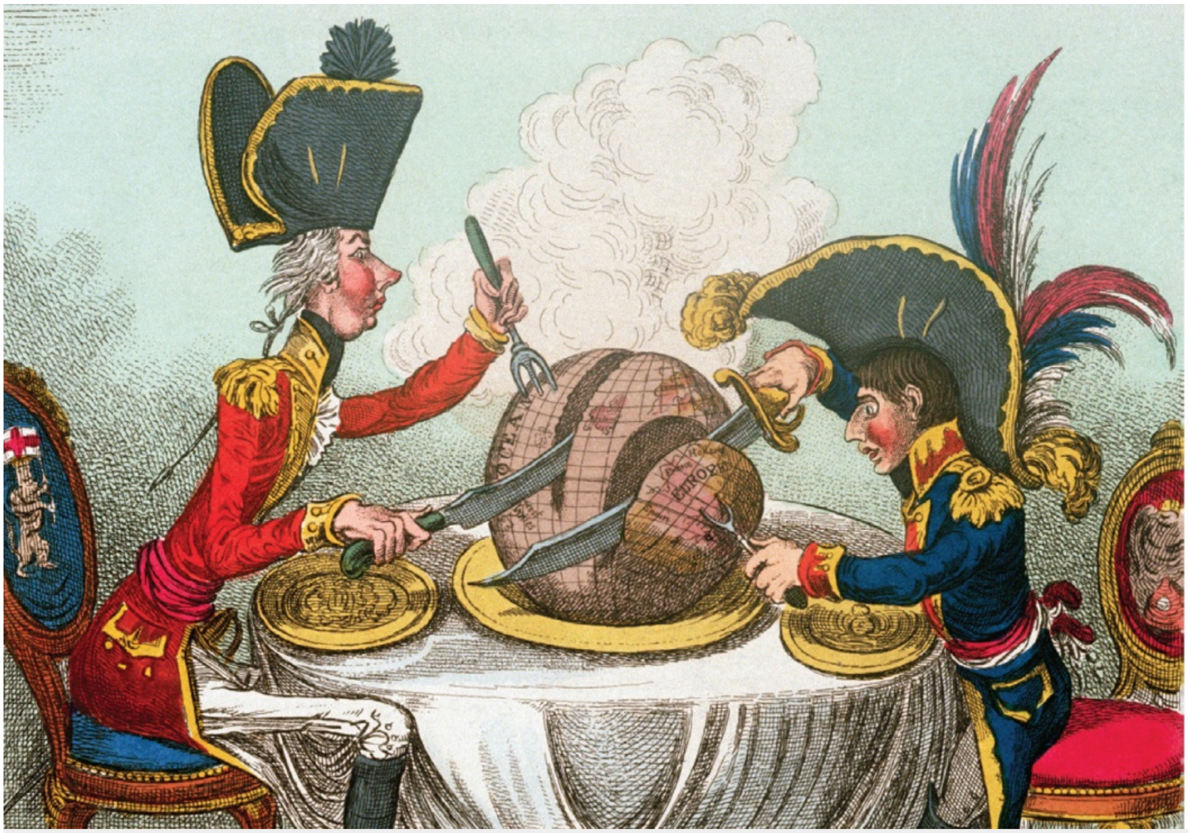
1807

Napoleon attributed his military success “three-quarters to morale” and the rest to leadership and superiority of numbers at the point of attack. Conscription provided the large numbers: 1.3 million men ages twenty to twenty-four were drafted between 1800 and 1812, another one million in 1813–1814. Military service was a means of social mobility. The men who rose through the ranks to become officers were young, ambitious, and accustomed to the new ways of war. Consequently, the French army had higher morale than the armies of other powers, most of which rejected conscription as too democratic and continued to restrict their officer corps to the nobility.

To end squabbling among his generals, Napoleon united all the French armies into one — the Grand Army — under his personal command. By 1812, he was commanding 700,000 troops; in any given battle, between seventy thousand and 180,000 men, not all of them French, fought for France. Napoleon inspired almost fanatical loyalty. He fought alongside his soldiers in some sixty battles and had nineteen horses shot from under him. One opponent said that Napoleon’s presence alone was worth forty thousand men.

A brilliant strategist, Napoleon outmaneuvered virtually all his opponents by preventing his enemies from joining their forces. He then went directly for the main body of the biggest opposing army and tried to crush it in a lightning campaign. He gathered the largest possible army for one great and decisive battle and then followed with a relentless pursuit to break enemy morale altogether. His military command, like his rule within France, was personal and highly centralized. He essentially served as his own operations officer. This style worked as long as Napoleon could be on the battlefield, but he failed to train independent subordinates to take over in his absence. He also faced constant difficulties in supplying a rapidly moving army, which, because of its size, could not always live off the land.

One of Napoleon's greatest advantages was the lack of coordination among his enemies. Britain dominated the seas but did not want to field huge land armies. On the continent, the French republic had already set up satellites in the Netherlands and Italy, which served as a buffer against the big powers to the east — Austria, Prussia, and Russia. By maneuvering diplomatically and militarily, Napoleon could usually take these on one by one. He won striking victories against the Austrians at Marengo and Hohenlinden in 1800, forcing them to agree to peace terms. Once the Austrians had withdrawn, Britain agreed to the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, effectively ending hostilities on the continent. Napoleon considered the peace with Great Britain merely a truce, however, and it lasted only until 1803.



Hulton Deutsch/Getty Images.

James Gillray, “The Plum-Pudding in Danger” Gillray’s political cartoon shows British Prime Minister William Pitt and Napoleon Bonaparte dividing up the globe (the plum pudding) after the Peace of Amiens in 1802. The legend reads “The Plumb-pudding in danger — or — State Epicures taking un Petit Souper [little supper]. ‘the great Globe itself and all which it inherit’ is too small to satisfy such unsatiable appetites.” The quote within the legend comes from a play by Shakespeare. Gillray, a British printmaker, published over 1000 such prints, making him the father of the modern political cartoon.

Napoleon used the breathing space not only to consolidate his position before taking up arms again but also to send an expeditionary force to the Caribbean colony of St. Domingue to regain control of the island. Despite the arrest and imprisonment of the leading Black general, Toussaint L’Ouverture, continuing resistance among the Black population and an epidemic of yellow fever forced Napoleon to withdraw his troops from St. Domingue and abandon his plans to extend his empire to the Western Hemisphere. As part of his retreat, he sold the Louisiana Territory to the United States in 1803.

When war resumed in Europe, the British navy once more proved its superiority by blocking an attempted French invasion and by defeating the French and their Spanish allies in a huge naval battle at Trafalgar in 1805. France lost many ships; the British lost no vessels, but their renowned admiral Lord Horatio Nelson died in the battle.

On land, Napoleon remained invincible. In 1805, Austria took up arms again when Napoleon demanded that it declare neutrality in the conflict with Britain. Napoleon promptly captured twenty-five thousand Austrian soldiers at Ulm in Bavaria, in 1805. After marching on to Vienna, he again trounced the Austrians, who had been joined by their new ally, Russia. The battle of Austerlitz, often considered Napoleon's greatest victory, was fought on December 2, 1805, the first anniversary of his coronation.

After maintaining neutrality for a decade, Prussia now declared war on France. In 1806, the French routed the Prussian army at Jena and Auerstädt. In 1807, Napoleon defeated the Russians at Friedland. Personal negotiations between Napoleon and the young tsar Alexander I (r. 1801–1825) resulted in a humiliating settlement imposed on Prussia, which paid the price for temporary reconciliation between France and Russia; the Treaties of Tilsit turned Prussian lands west of the Elbe River into the kingdom of Westphalia under Napoleon's brother Jerome, and Prussia's Polish provinces became the duchy of Warsaw.

The Impact of French Victories

By annexing some territories and setting up others as satellite kingdoms with much-reduced autonomy, Napoleon attempted to colonize large parts of Europe (see Map 20.1 on page 719). He brought the disparate German and Italian states together so that he could rule them more effectively and exploit their resources for his own ends. In July 1806, he established the Confederation of the Rhine, which soon included almost all the German states except Austria and Prussia. The Holy Roman Emperor gave up his title, held since the thirteenth century, and became simply the emperor of Austria. Napoleon established three units in Italy: the territories directly annexed to France and the satellite kingdoms of Italy and Naples. Italy had not been so unified since the Roman Empire.

Napoleon forced French-style reforms on both the annexed territories, which were ruled directly from France, and the satellite kingdoms, which were usually ruled by one or another of Napoleon's relatives but with a certain autonomy. French-style reforms included abolishing serfdom, eliminating seigneurial dues, introducing the Napoleonic Code, suppressing monasteries, and subordinating church to state, as well as extending civil rights to Jews and other religious minorities. Yet almost everyone had some cause for complaint. Republicans regretted Napoleon's conversion of the sister republics into kingdoms. Tax increases and ever-rising conscription quotas fomented discontent as well. The annexed territories and satellite kingdoms paid half the cost of Napoleon's wars.

Almost everywhere, conflicts arose between Napoleon's desire for a standardized, centralized government and local insistence on maintaining customs and traditions. Sometimes his own relatives sided with the countries they ruled. Napoleon’s brother Louis, for instance, would not allow conscription in the Netherlands because the Dutch had never had compulsory military service. When Napoleon tried to introduce an economic policy banning trade with Great Britain, Louis’s lax enforcement infuriated the emperor, and Napoleon annexed the satellite kingdom in 1810.

Napoleon’s victories forced defeated rulers to rethink their political and cultural assumptions. After the crushing defeat of Prussia in 1806 left his country greatly reduced in territory, Frederick William III (r. 1797–1840) abolished serfdom and allowed non-nobles to buy and enclose land. Peasants gained their personal independence from their noble landlords, who could no longer sell them to pay gambling debts, for example, or refuse them permission to marry. Yet the lives of the former serfs remained bleak; they were left without land, and their landlords no longer had to care for them in hard times. The king’s advisers also overhauled the army to make the high command more efficient and to open the way to the appointment of middle-class officers. Prussia instituted these reforms to try to compete with the French, not to promote democracy. As one reformer wrote to Frederick William, “We must do from above what the French have done from below.”

Reform received lip service in Russia. Tsar Alexander I had gained his throne after an aristocratic coup deposed and killed his autocratic and capricious father, Paul (r. 1796–1801), and in the early years of his reign the remorseful young ruler created Western-style ministries, lifted restrictions on importing foreign books, and founded six new universities. In addition, reform commissions studied abuses, nobles were encouraged to free their serfs voluntarily (a few actually did so), and there was even talk of drafting a constitution. But none of these efforts reached beneath the surface of Russian life, and by the second decade of his reign, Alexander began to reject the Enlightenment spirit that his grandmother Catherine the Great had instilled in him.

The one power always standing between Napoleon and total dominance of Europe was Great Britain. The British ruled the seas and financed anyone who would oppose Napoleon. In an effort to bankrupt this "nation of shopkeepers" by choking its trade, Napoleon inaugurated the **Continental System** in 1806. It prohibited all commerce between Great Britain and France or France's dependent states and allies. At first, the system worked: in 1807–1808, British exports dropped by 20 percent and manufacturing by 10 percent. The British retaliated by confiscating merchandise from ships that sailed into or out of the prohibited ports — they even took merchandise from powers that were neutral in the wars.

In the midst of continuing wars, moreover, the Continental System proved impossible to enforce, and widespread smuggling brought British goods into the European market. British growth continued, despite some setbacks; calico-printing works, for example, quadrupled their production, and imports of raw cotton increased by 40 percent. At the same time, French and other continental industries benefited from the temporary protection from British competition.

Smuggling British goods was only one way of opposing the French.

Almost everywhere in Europe, resistance began as local opposition to French demands for money or draftees but eventually prompted a more nationalistic patriotic defense. Italians formed a network of secret societies called the *carbonari* ("charcoal burners"), which got its name from the practice of marking each new member's forehead with a charcoal mark. Throughout the nineteenth century, the carbonari played a leading role in Italian nationalism. In the German states, intellectuals wrote passionate defenses of the virtues of the German nation and of the superiority of German literature.

No nations bucked under Napoleon's reins more than Spain and Portugal. In 1807, Napoleon sent 100,000 troops through Spain to invade Portugal, Great Britain's ally. The royal family fled to the Portuguese colony of Brazil, but fighting continued, aided by a British army. When Napoleon got his brother Joseph named king of Spain in place of the senile Charles IV (r. 1788–1808), the Spanish clergy and nobles raised bands of peasants to fight the French occupiers. Even Napoleon's taking personal command of the French forces failed to quell the Spanish, who for six years fought a war of national independence that pinned down thousands of French soldiers. Germaine de Staël commented that Napoleon "never understood that a war might be a crusade.… He never reckoned with the one power that no arms could overcome — the enthusiasm of a whole people."

The Second of May, 1808 or *The Charge of the Mamelukes, 1814* (oil on canvas) (post-restoration)/ Goya y Lucientes, Francisco Jose de (1746–1828)/Prado, Madrid, Spain/Bridgeman Images.

French Atrocities in Spain In 1814, the Spanish painter Francisco Jose de Goya y Lucientes was inspired to depict a popular rebellion that took place in Madrid in 1808. The Spanish rebelled against the invading French when they learned that the French armies were forcing members of the Spanish royal family to leave Madrid. In this detail of the painting *The Second of May, 1808*, Mamelukes of the French army charge the rioting Spanish. (Mamelukes were Muslim soldiers who had originally been slaves.)

Spanish peasants hated French requisitioning of their food supplies and sought to defend their priests against French anticlericalism. Spanish nobles feared revolutionary reforms and were willing to defend the old monarchy in the person of the young Ferdinand VII, heir to Charles IV, even while Ferdinand himself was congratulating Napoleon on his victories. The Spanish Catholic church spread anti-French propaganda that equated Napoleon with heresy. As the former archbishop of Seville wrote to the archbishop of Granada in 1808, “You realize that we must not recognize as king a Freemason, heretic, Lutheran, as are all the Bonapartes and the French nation.” The Spanish peasant rebels, assisted by the British, countered every French massacre with atrocities of their own. They tortured their French prisoners (boiling one general alive) and lynched collaborators.

From Russian Winter to Final Defeat, 1812–1815

Despite opposition, Napoleon ruled over an extensive empire by 1812. Only two major European states remained fully independent — Great Britain and Russia — but once allied they would successfully challenge his dominion and draw many other states to their side. Britain sent aid to the Portuguese and Spanish rebels, while Russia once again prepared for war. Tsar Alexander I made peace with the Ottoman Turks and allied himself with Great Britain and Sweden. In 1812, Napoleon invaded Russia with 250,000 horses and 680,000 men, including contingents of Italians, Poles, Swiss, Dutch, and Germans. This daring move proved to be his undoing.

Napoleon followed his usual strategy of trying to strike quickly, but the Russian generals avoided confrontation and retreated eastward, destroying anything that might be useful to the invaders. In September, on the road to Moscow, Napoleon finally engaged the main Russian force in the gigantic battle of Borodino (see Map 20.1 on page 719). In just that one day the French casualties numbered thirty thousand men; the Russians lost forty-five thousand. Once again the Russians retreated, leaving Moscow undefended. When Napoleon approached, the departing Russians set the wooden city on fire. Within a week, three-fourths of it had burned to the ground. Still Alexander refused to negotiate, and French morale plunged with worsening problems of supply. Weeks of constant marching in the dirt and heat had worn down the foot soldiers, who were dying of disease or deserting in large numbers.

In October, Napoleon began his retreat; in November came the cold. A German soldier in the Grand Army described trying to cook fistfuls of raw bran with snow to make something like bread. The Grand Army soon lost thirty thousand horses and had to abandon most of its artillery and food supplies. Russian forces harassed the retreating army, now more pathetic than grand. By December, only 100,000 French troops remained, less than one-sixth the original number, and the retreat had turned into a rout: the Russians had captured 200,000 soldiers, including three thousand officers.

Napoleon had made a classic military mistake that would be repeated by Adolf Hitler in World War II: fighting a war on two distant fronts simultaneously. The Spanish war tied down 250,000 French troops and forced Napoleon to bully Prussia and Austria into supplying soldiers of dubious loyalty for the Moscow campaign; those soldiers deserted at the first opportunity. The fighting in Spain and Portugal also exacerbated the already substantial logistical and communications problems involved in marching to Moscow.

Napoleon’s humiliation might have been temporary if the British and Russians had not successfully organized a coalition to complete the job. By the spring of 1813, Napoleon had replenished his army with another 250,000 men. With British financial support, Russian, Austrian, Prussian, and Swedish armies met the French outside Leipzig in October 1813 and defeated Napoleon in the Battle of the Nations. One by one, Napoleon’s German allies deserted him to join the German nationalist “war of liberation.” The Confederation of the Rhine dissolved, and the Dutch revolted and restored the prince of Orange. Joseph Bonaparte fled Spain, and a combined Spanish-Portuguese army under British command invaded France. In only a few months, the allied powers crossed the Rhine and marched toward Paris. In March 1814, the French Senate deposed Napoleon, who abdicated when his remaining generals refused to fight. Napoleon went into exile on the island of Elba off the Italian coast. His wife, Marie-Louise, refused to accompany him. The allies restored to the throne Louis XVIII (r. 1814–1824), the brother of Louis XVI, beheaded during the Revolution. (Louis XVI’s son was known as Louis XVII even though he died in prison in 1795 without ever ruling.)

Napoleon had one last chance to regain power. Louis XVIII was caught between nobles returning from exile, who demanded a complete restoration of their lands and powers, and the vast majority of ordinary people, who had supported either the republic or Napoleon during the previous twenty-five years. Sensing an opportunity, Napoleon escaped from Elba in early 1815 and, landing in southern France, made swift progress to Paris. Although he had left in ignominy, now crowds cheered him and former soldiers volunteered to serve him. The period eventually known as the Hundred Days (the length of time between

Napoleon's escape and his final defeat) had begun. Louis XVIII fled across the border, waiting for help from the powers allied against Napoleon.

Napoleon quickly moved his reconstituted army of seventy-four thousand men into present-day Belgium. At first, it seemed that he might succeed in separately fighting the two armies arrayed against him — a Prussian army of some sixty thousand men and a joint force of sixty-eight thousand Belgian, Dutch, German, and British troops led by British general Sir Arthur Wellesley (1769–1852), duke of Wellington. The decisive **battle of Waterloo** took place on June 18, 1815, less than ten miles from Brussels. Napoleon's forces attacked but failed to dislodge their opponents. Late in the afternoon, the Prussians arrived and completed the rout. Napoleon had no choice but to abdicate again. This time the victorious allies banished him permanently to the remote island of St. Helena, far off the coast of West Africa, where he died in 1821 at the age of fifty-one.

The cost of Napoleon's rule was high: 750,000 French soldiers and 400,000 others from annexed and satellite states died between 1800 and 1815, along with a similar number among the allies and two to three million civilians. Napoleon's impact was not just destructive, however. His plans for a united Europe, his insistence on spreading the legal reforms of the French Revolution, his social welfare programs, and even his inadvertent awakening of national sentiment set the agenda for European history in the modern era (see Contrasting Views on pages 726–727).

Contrasting Views

Napoleon: For and Against

After his final exile, Napoleon presented himself as a martyr to the cause of liberty whose goal was to create a European "federation of free people." Few were convinced by this "gospel according to St. Helena" (Excerpt 1). Followers such as Emmanuel de Las Cases burnished the Napoleonic legend, but detractors such as Benjamin Constant viewed him as a tyrant (Excerpt 2). For all his defects, Napoleon fascinated even those who were too young to understand his rise and fall. The French romantic poet Victor Hugo celebrated both the glory and the tragedy of Napoleonic ambitions (Excerpt 3).

1. Napoleon's Own View from Exile

As might be expected, Napoleon put the most positive possible construction on his plans for France. In exile he wrote letters and talked at length to Emmanuel de Las Cases (1766–1842), an aristocratic officer in the royal navy who rallied to Napoleon in 1802, served in the Council of State, and later accompanied him to St. Helena. Much of what we know about Napoleon's views comes from a book published by Las Cases in 1821.

March 3, 1817:

In spite of all the libels, I have no fear whatever about my fame. Posterity will do me justice. The truth will be known; and the good I have done will be compared with the faults I have committed. I am not uneasy as to the result. Had I succeeded, I would have died with the reputation of the greatest man that ever existed. As it is, although I have failed, I shall be considered as an extraordinary man: my elevation was unparalleled, because unaccompanied by crime. I have fought fifty pitched battles, almost all of which I have won. I have framed and carried into effect a code of laws that will bear my name to the most distant posterity. I raised myself from nothing to be the most powerful monarch in the world. Europe was at my feet. I have always been of the opinion that the sovereignty lay in the people. In fact, the imperial government was a kind of republic. Called to the head of it by the voice of the nation, my maxim was, *la carrière est ouverte aux talents* ["careers open to talent"] without distinction of birth or fortune, and this system of equality is the reason that your oligarchy hates me so much.

Source: R. M. Johnston, *The Corsican: A Diary of Napoleon's Life in His Own Words* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1921), 492.

2. Benjamin Constant, Spokesman for the Liberal Opposition

to Napoleon

Benjamin Constant (1767–1830) came from a French Calvinist family that had fled to Switzerland to escape persecution. Constant spent the early years of the French Revolution in a minor post at a minor German court. He moved to Paris in 1795 and became active in French politics during the Directory. Under Napoleon he went into exile, where he published a romantic novel, Adolphe *(1806), and pamphlets like this one attacking Napoleon. He reconciled to Napoleon during the Hundred Days and then opposed the restored Bourbon monarchy. In this selection, written during his exile, he expresses his hostility to Napoleon as a usurper dependent on war to maintain himself in power.*

Surely, Bonaparte is a thousand times more guilty than those barbarous conquerors who, ruling over barbarians, were by no means at odds with their age. Unlike them, he has chosen barbarism; he has preferred it. In the midst of enlightenment, he has sought to bring back the night. He has chosen to transform into greedy and bloodthirsty nomads a mild and polite people: his crime lies in this premeditated intention, in his obstinate effort to rob us of the heritage of all the enlightened generations who have preceded us on this earth. But why have we given him the right to conceive such a project?

When he first arrived here, alone, out of poverty and obscurity, and until he was twenty-four, his greedy gaze wandering over the country around him, why did we show him a country in which any religious idea was the object of irony? [Constant refers here to de-Christianization during the French Revolution.] When he listened to what was professed in our circles, why did serious thinkers tell him that man had no other motivation than his own interest? …

Because immediate usurpation was easy, he believed it could be durable, and once he became a usurper, he did all that usurpation condemns a usurper to do in our century.

It was necessary to stifle inside the country all intellectual life: he banished discussion and proscribed the freedom of the press.

The nation might have been stunned by that silence: he provided, extorted or paid for acclamation which sounded like the national voice.… War flung onto distant shores that part of the French nation that still had some real energy. It prompted the police harassment of the timid, whom it could not force abroad. It struck terror into men’s hearts, and left there a certain hope that chance would take responsibility for their deliverance: a hope agreeable to fear and convenient to inertia. How many times have I heard men who were pressed to resist tyranny postponing this, during wartime till the coming of peace, and in peacetime until war commences!

I am right therefore in claiming that a usurper’s sole resource is uninterrupted war. Some object: what if Bonaparte had been pacific? Had he been pacific, he would never have lasted for twelve years.

Source: Benjamin Constant, "Further Reflections on Usurpation," in *Political Writings*, trans. Biancamaria Fontana (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 161–63.

3. Victor Hugo, "The Two Islands" (1825)

Victor Hugo (1802–1885) was France's greatest romantic poet and novelist, author of The Hunchback of Notre Dame *and* Les Misérables. *His father was a Napoleonic general, but his mother was an equally ardent royalist. In this early poem, Hugo compares Napoleon to one of Napoleon's favorite icons, the eagle, a symbol of empire. The two islands of the title are Corsica, Napoleon's birthplace, and St. Helena, his place of final exile and death.*

These Isles, where Ocean's shattered spray
Upon the ruthless rocks is cast,
Seem like two treacherous ships of prey,
Made by eternal anchors fast.
The hand that settled bleak and black
Those shores on their unpeopled rack,
And clad in fear and mystery,
Perchance thus made them tempest-torn,
That Bonaparte might there be born,
And that Napoleon there might die. . . .
He his imperial nest hath built so far and high,
He seems to us to dwell within that tranquil sky,
Where you shall never see the angry tempest break.
'Tis but beneath his feet the growling storms are sped,
And thunders to assault his head
Must to their highest source go back.
The bolt flew upwards: from his eyrie [nest] riven,
Blazing he falls beneath the stroke of heaven;
Then kings their tyrant foe reward —
They chain him, living, on that lonely shore;
And earth captive giant handed o'er
To ocean's more resistless guard. . . .
Shame, hate, misfortune, vengeance, curses sore,
On him let heaven and earth together pour:
Now, see we dashed the vast Colossus low.
May he forever rue, alive and dead,

All tears he caused mankind to shed,
And all the blood he caused to flow.

Source: Henry Carrington, *Translations from the Poems of Victor Hugo* (London: Walter Scott, 1885), 34–41.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. Which of these views of Napoleon has the most lasting value as opposed to immediate dramatic effect?
2. According to these selections, what was Napoleon's greatest accomplishment? His greatest failure?
3. Victor Hugo called Napoleon "the vast Colossus." Why did he pick this larger-than-life metaphor even when writing lines critical of Napoleon's legacy of tears and bloodshed?

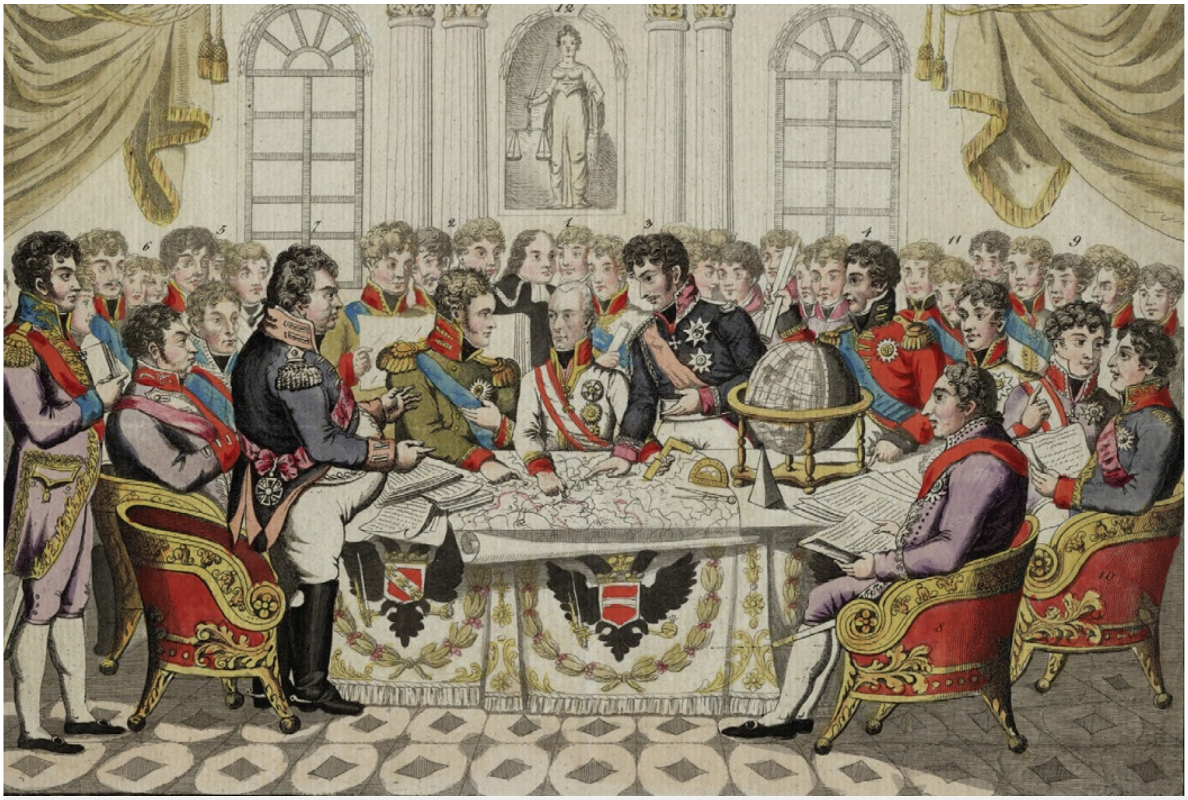
REVIEW QUESTION

Why was Napoleon able to gain control over so much of Europe's territory?

The “Restoration” of Europe

Even while Napoleon was making his last desperate bid for power, his enemies were meeting in the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815) to decide the fate of postrevolutionary, post-Napoleonic Europe. Although interrupted by the Hundred Days, the **Congress of Vienna** settled the boundaries of European states, determined who would rule each nation, and established a new framework for international relations based on periodic meetings, or congresses, between the major powers. The doctrine of conservatism that emerged in reaction to the events of the French Revolution bolstered this post-Napoleonic order and in some places went hand in hand with a revival of religion.

The Congress of Vienna, 1814–1815



Heritage Images/Hulton Archive/Getrty Images.

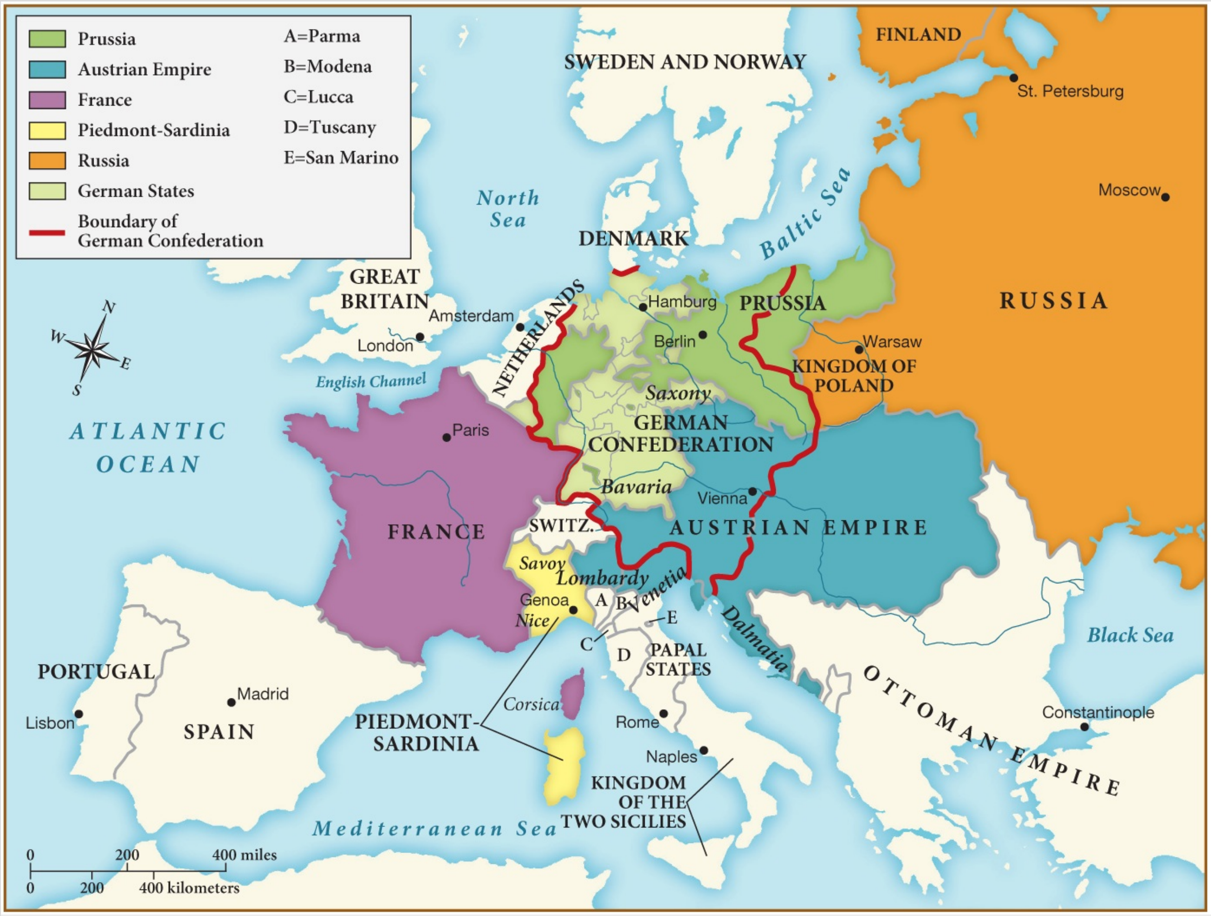
Congress of Vienna An unknown French engraver caricatured the efforts of the diplomats at the Congress of Vienna, complaining that they used the occasion to divide the spoils of European territory. What elements in this engraving make it a caricature?

In addition to determining the boundaries of France, the congress had to decide the fate of Napoleon's duchy of Warsaw, the German province of Saxony, the Netherlands, the states once part of the Confederation of the Rhine, and various Italian territories. All had either changed hands or been created during the wars. These issues were resolved by face-to-face negotiations among representatives of the five major powers: Austria, Russia, Prussia, Britain, and France. With its aim to establish a long-lasting, negotiated peace endorsed by all parties, both winners and losers, the Congress of Vienna provided a model for the twentieth-century League of Nations and United Nations. The congress system, or "concert of Europe," helped prevent another major war until the 1850s, and no conflict comparable to the Napoleonic wars would occur again until 1914.

Austria's chief negotiator, Prince **Klemens von Metternich** (1773–1859), took the lead in devising the settlement and shaping the post-Napoleonic order. A well-educated nobleman who spoke five languages, Metternich served as a minister in the Austrian cabinet from 1809 to 1848. He aimed to return as much as possible to the pre-1789 political order, but to do so he also needed to maintain France's great-power status as a counter to Russia and Prussia. He therefore worked with the British prime minister Robert Castlereagh (1769–1822) to ensure a moderate agreement. Metternich and Castlereagh believed that French aggression must be contained, because it had threatened the European peace since the days of Louis XIV, but at the same time agreed that France must remain a major player to prevent any one European power from dominating the others. Castlereagh hoped to make Britain the arbiter of European affairs, but he knew this could be accomplished only through adroit diplomacy because the British constitutional monarchy had little in common with most of its more absolutist continental counterparts.

The task of ensuring France's status at the Congress of Vienna fell to Prince Charles Maurice de Talleyrand (1754–1838), an aristocrat and former bishop who had embraced the French Revolution, served as Napoleon's foreign minister, and ended as foreign minister to Louis XVIII after helping arrange the emperor's overthrow. When the French army failed to oppose Napoleon's return to power in the Hundred Days, the allies took away all territory conquered since 1790, levied an indemnity against France, and required it to support an army of occupation until it had paid.

The goal of the Congress of Vienna was to achieve postwar stability by establishing secure states with guaranteed borders (Map 20.2). Because the congress aimed to “restore” as many regimes as possible to their former rulers, this epoch is sometimes labeled the **restoration**. But simple restoration was not always feasible. The congress turned the duchy of Warsaw, for example, into a new Polish kingdom but made the tsar of Russia its king. (Poland would not regain its independence until 1918.) The former Dutch Republic and the Austrian Netherlands, both annexed to France, were now united as the new kingdom of the Netherlands under the restored stadholder. Austria took charge of the German Confederation, which replaced the defunct Holy Roman Empire and also included Prussia.



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 20.2 Europe after the Congress of Vienna, 1815

The Congress of Vienna forced France to return to its 1789 borders. The Austrian Netherlands and the Dutch Republic were united in a new kingdom of the Netherlands, the German states were joined in a German Confederation that built on Napoleon's Confederation of the Rhine, and Napoleon's duchy of Warsaw became the kingdom of Poland with the tsar of Russia as king. To compensate for its losses in Poland, Prussia gained territory in Saxony and on the left bank of the Rhine. Austria reclaimed the Italian provinces of Lombardy and Venetia and the Dalmatian coast.

The Congress of Vienna also resolved various international trade issues. Great Britain, which had abolished its slave trade in 1807, urged the congress to condemn that trade for other nations. The congress agreed in principle; in reality, however, the slave trade continued in many places until 1850. Nearly three million Africans were sold into slavery between 1800 and 1850, and most were transported on either Portuguese or Brazilian slave ships.

To impart spiritual substance to this very calculated settlement of political affairs, Tsar Alexander proposed the Holy Alliance, which called on divine assistance in upholding religion, peace, and justice. Prussia and Austria signed the agreement, but Great Britain refused to accede to what Castlereagh called “a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense.” Despite the reassertion of traditional religious principles, the congress had in fact given birth to a new diplomatic order: in the future, the legitimacy of states depended on the treaty system, not on “divine right.”

The Emergence of Conservatism

The French Revolution and Napoleonic domination of Europe had shown contemporaries that government could be changed overnight, that the old hierarchies could be overthrown in the name of reason, and that even Christianity could be written off or at least profoundly altered with the stroke of a pen. After the French Revolution and the Napoleonic domination of Europe, the old order no longer commanded automatic obedience. It was now merely *old*, no longer “natural” and “timeless.” It had been ousted once and therefore might fall again. People needed reasons to believe in their restored governments. The political doctrine that justified the restoration was **conservatism**.

Conservatives benefited from the disillusionment that permeated

Europe after 1815. They saw a logical progression in recent history: the Enlightenment, based on reason, led to the French Revolution, with its bloody guillotine and horrifying Terror, which in turn spawned the authoritarian and militaristic Napoleon. Therefore, those who espoused conservatism rejected both the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. They favored monarchies over republics, tradition over revolution, and established religion over Enlightenment skepticism.

The original British critic of the French Revolution, Edmund Burke (1729–1799), inspired many of the conservatives who followed. He had argued that the revolutionaries erred in thinking they could construct an entirely new government based on reason. Government, Burke said, had to be rooted in long experience, which evolved over generations. All change must be gradual and must respect national and historical traditions. Like Burke, later conservatives believed that religious and other major traditions were an essential foundation for any society. Most of them took their resistance to change even further, however, and tried to restore the pre-1789 social order.

Conservatives blamed the French Revolution's attack on religion on the skepticism and anticlericalism of such Enlightenment thinkers as Voltaire, and they defended both hereditary monarchy and the authority of the church, whether Catholic or Protestant. Louis de Bonald, an official under the restored French monarchy, insisted that "the revolution began with the declaration of the rights of man and will only finish when the rights of God are declared." In this view, an enduring social order could be constructed only on the foundations provided by the church, the state, and the patriarchal family. Faith, sentiment, history, and tradition must fill the vacuum left by the failures of reason and excessive belief in individual rights. Across Europe, these views were taken up and elaborated by government advisers, professors, and writers.

The restored French monarchy provided a major test for conservatism because the returning Bourbons had to confront the legacy of twenty-five years of upheaval. Louis XVIII tried to ensure a measure of continuity by maintaining Napoleon's Civil Code. He also guaranteed the rights of ownership to church lands sold during the revolutionary period and created a parliament composed of the Chamber of Peers, nominated by the king, and the Chamber of Deputies, elected by very restricted suffrage (fewer than 100,000 voters in a population of thirty million). In making these concessions, the king tried to follow a moderate course of compromise, but the Ultras (ultraroyalists) pushed for complete repudiation of the revolutionary past. When Louis returned to power after Napoleon's final defeat, armed royalist bands attacked and murdered hundreds of Bonapartists and former revolutionaries. In 1816, the Ultras insisted on abolishing divorce and set up special courts to punish opponents of the regime. When an assassin killed Louis XVIII's nephew in 1820, the Ultras successfully demanded even more extreme measures.

The Revival of Religion

The experience of revolutionary upheaval and nearly constant warfare prompted many to renew their religious faith once peace returned. In France, the Catholic church sent missionaries to hold open-air “ceremonies of reparation” to express repentance for the outrages of revolution. In Rome, the papacy reestablished the Jesuit order, which had been disbanded during the Enlightenment.

In parts of Protestant Germany and Britain, religious revival had begun in the eighteenth century with the rise of Pietism and Methodism, movements that stressed individual religious experience. The English Methodists followed John Wesley (1703–1791), who had preached an emotional, morally austere, and very personal “method” of gaining salvation. The Methodists, or Wesleyans, gradually separated from the Church of England and in the early decades of the nineteenth century attracted thousands of members in huge revival meetings that lasted for days. Shopkeepers, artisans, agricultural laborers, miners, and workers in cottage industries, both male and female, flocked to the new denomination. In their hostility to elaborate ritual and their encouragement of popular preaching, the Methodists in England fostered a sense of democratic community and even a rudimentary sexual equality. From the beginning, women preachers traveled on horseback to preach in barns, town halls, and textile dye houses. The Methodist Sunday schools that taught thousands of poor children to read and write eventually helped create greater demands for working-class political participation.

The religious revival was not limited to Europe. In the United States, the second Great Awakening began around 1790 with huge camp meetings that brought together thousands of worshippers and scores of evangelical preachers, many of them Methodist. (The original Great Awakening had taken place in the 1730s and 1740s, sparked by the preaching of George Whitefield, a young English evangelist and follower of John Wesley — see the illustration on page 652.) Men and women danced to exhaustion, fell into trances, and spoke in tongues. During this period, Protestant sects began systematic missionary activity in other parts of the world. In the British colony of India, for example, Protestant missionaries pushed the British administration to abolish the Hindu custom of *sati* — the burning of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands — in 1829. The missionaries hoped such actions would make Indians more likely to embrace Christianity. Missionary activity by Protestants and Catholics would become one of the arms of European imperialism and cultural influence in the nineteenth century.

Review Question

To what extent did the Congress of Vienna restore the old order?

Challenges to the Conservative Order

Conservatives hoped to clamp a lid on European affairs, but the lid kept threatening to fly off. Drawing on the turmoil in society and politics was romanticism, the burgeoning international movement in the arts and literature that dominated artistic expression in the first half of the nineteenth century. Although romantics shared with conservatives a distrust of the Enlightenment's emphasis on reason, romanticism did not translate into a unified political position. Isolated revolts threatened the hold of some conservative governments in the 1820s, but most of these rebellions were quickly bottled up. Then, in 1830, successive uprisings briefly overwhelmed the established order. Across Europe, angry protesters sought constitutional guarantees of individual liberties and national unity and autonomy. The revolutionary legacy came back to life again.

Romanticism

As an artistic movement, romanticism (see Terms of History on page 734) encompassed poetry, music, painting, history, and literature. It glorified nature, emotion, genius, and imagination as antidotes to the Enlightenment and to classicism in the arts, challenging the reliance on reason, symmetry, and cool geometric spaces. Classicism idealized models from Roman history; romanticism turned to folklore and medieval legends. Classicism celebrated orderly, crisp lines; romantics sought out all that was wild, fevered, and disorderly. Romantics might take any political position, but they exerted the most political influence when they expressed nationalist feelings.

Romantic poetry celebrated overwhelming emotion and creative imagination. One of the most influential of the romantic poets, George Gordon, Lord Byron (1788–1824), compared the poet to Prometheus, the mythological figure who brought fire from the Greek gods to human beings (see Primary Source Analysis). Romantic poetry sometimes elevated the wonders of nature almost to the supernatural. In a poem that became one of the most beloved exemplars of romanticism, "Tintern Abbey" (1798), the English poet William Wordsworth (1770–1850) compared himself to a deer even while making nature seem filled with human emotions. Wordsworth had greeted the French Revolution with joy but had gradually become disenchanted and celebrated British nationalism instead.

Their emphasis on authentic self-expression at times drew romantics to exotic, mystical, or even reckless experiences. Some romantics depicted the artist as possessed by demons and obsessed with hallucinations. This more nightmarish side was captured, and perhaps criticized, by Mary Shelley in *Frankenstein*; she subtitled the book "or, The Modern Prometheus." In his old age, German poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) likewise denounced the extremes of romanticism, calling it "everything that is sick."

Romanticism in painting similarly idealized nature and the individual of deep feelings. The German romantic painter Caspar David Friedrich (1774–1840) depicted scenes that captured the romantic fascination with the sublime power of nature (see Environment Matters on page 736). His melancholy figures looked lost in the vastness of an overpowering nature. Friedrich hated the modern world. The English painter Joseph

M. W. Turner (1775–1851) depicted his vision of nature in mysterious, misty seascapes, anticipating later artists by blurring the outlines of objects. The French painter Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) chose contemporary as well as medieval scenes of great turbulence to emphasize light and color and break away from what he saw as “the servile copies repeated *ad nauseum* in academies of art.” Critics denounced his techniques as “painting with a drunken broom.” To broaden his experience of light and color, Delacroix traveled in the 1830s to North Africa and painted many exotic scenes in Morocco and Algeria.

The towering presence of the German composer **Ludwig van Beethoven** (1770–1827) in early-nineteenth-century music helped establish the direction for musical romanticism. His music, according to one leading German romantic, “sets in motion the lever of fear, of awe, of horror, of suffering, and awakens just that infinite longing which is the essence of Romanticism.” Beethoven transformed the symphony into a connected work with recurring and evolving musical themes. Some of his work was explicitly political; his Ninth Symphony (1824) employed a chorus to sing the German poet Friedrich Schiller’s verses in praise of universal human solidarity. Beethoven had admired Napoleon and even dedicated his Third Symphony, the *Eroica* (1804), to him, but when he learned of Napoleon’s decision to name himself emperor, the composer tore up the dedication in disgust.

If romantics had any common political thread, it was the support of nationalist aspirations, especially through the search for the historical origins of national identity. Romantic poets and writers collected old legends and folktales that expressed a shared cultural and linguistic heritage stretching back to the Middle Ages. These collections showed that Germany, for example, had always existed even if it did not currently take the form of a single unified state. Italian nationalists took *The Betrothed* (1825–1827), a novel by Alessandro Manzoni (1785–1873), as a kind of bible. Manzoni, the grandson of the Italian Enlightenment hero Cesare Beccaria, set his novel in the seventeenth century, when Spain controlled Italy's destiny, but his readers understood that he intended to attack the Austrians who ruled northern Italy in his own day.

Manzoni had been inspired to write his novel by the most influential of all historical novelists, **Sir Walter Scott** (1771–1832). While working as a lawyer and then judge in Scotland, Scott first collected and published traditional Scottish ballads that he had heard as a child. After achieving immediate success with his own poetry, especially *The Lady of the Lake* (1810), he switched to historical novels. His novels are almost all renditions of historical events, from *Rob Roy* (1817), with its account of Scottish resistance to the English in the early eighteenth century, to *Ivanhoe* (1819), with its tales of medieval England. Readers snatched them up the minute they appeared; the first printing of *Rob Roy* sold out in two weeks. Very much a man of his time, Scott also published a successful biography of Napoleon only five years after the emperor's death.

TERMS OF HISTORY

Romanticism

Unlike many terms in the history of the creative arts, *romanticism* was actually used to describe the movement by its adherents, not just later scholars. Yet what artists or writers meant by it varied so greatly that exceptions could be cited to any generalization about it. At the beginning, supporters of romanticism saw themselves as challenging classicism, which had emphasized order, symmetry, and unity in the arts. An English magazine published in 1823 complained that the French Academy, the arbiter of French language and style, “has determined never to receive within its bosom anyone polluted by the dramatic heresy of romanticism.” Here “dramatic” referred to drama or playwriting.

The magazine was defending a pamphlet by the French novelist Stendhal (the pen name of Henri Beyle) that had preferred Shakespeare to the seventeenth-century French classical playwright Racine. Stendhal defined romanticism as “the art to present to people literary works that, in the present state of their habits and beliefs, is liable to give them the greatest pleasure possible.” What he had in mind became clear when he contrasted it to classicism, which on the contrary, “presents them the literature that was giving the greatest possible pleasure to their great grandfathers.”[1] Romanticism was courageous, risk-taking, and willing to depict deep emotions; classicism, in this view, was cautious, careful, and always skimming the surface.

The defiance of classicism could lead in many different directions. Romantics might emphasize individual genius, the beauty of nature, color, and awe or the genius of the nation, the wildness of nature, madness, and horror. For all these twists and turns, two of its widely shared characteristics have shaped modern life in profound ways: the emphasis on nature and on depth of feeling. The emphasis on nature helped give rise to environmental and conservation efforts, but also to tourism, and the stress on depth of feeling has influenced everything from music to marriage. Modern life is almost unimaginable without the influence of romanticism.

[1] Stendhal, *Racine et Shakespeare: études sur le romantisme* (Calmann-Lévy, 1854), pp. 32–33.

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

Byron’s Poetry, 1821

George Gordon Byron (1788–1824), known simply as Lord Byron because he inherited an English title, was one of the leading romantic poets of his time. His life as well as his poetry reflected many of the themes of romanticism. He traveled extensively as a young man and left England permanently in 1816, leaving behind a failed marriage and a reputation for extra-marital affairs and unpaid debts. In Switzerland he became friends with Percy Bysshe Shelley and Shelley’s future *wife Mary, author of* Frankenstein, *and with Germaine de Staël. In Italy, he made himself expert in Armenian and wrote the poem,* The Prophecy of Dante *(1821), excerpted here. He died of a fever while helping the Greeks fight for their independence.*

Many are poets, but without the name,
For what is poesy but to create
From overfeeling good or ill; and aim

At an external life beyond our fate,
And be the new Prometheus of new men,
Bestowing fire from heaven, and then, too late,

Finding the pleasure given repaid with pain,
And vultures to the heart of the bestower,
Who, having lavish'd his high gift in vain,

Lies chain'd to his long rock by the sea-shore?
So be it: we can bear. — But thus all they
Whose intellect is an o'ermastering power

Which still recoils from its encumbering clay
Or lightens it to spirit, whatsoe'er
The form which their emotions may essay,

Are bards; the kindled marble's bust may wear
More poesy upon its speaking brow
Than aught less than the Homeric page may bear;

One noble stroke with a whole life may glow,
Or deify the canvas till it shine
With beauty so surpassing all below …

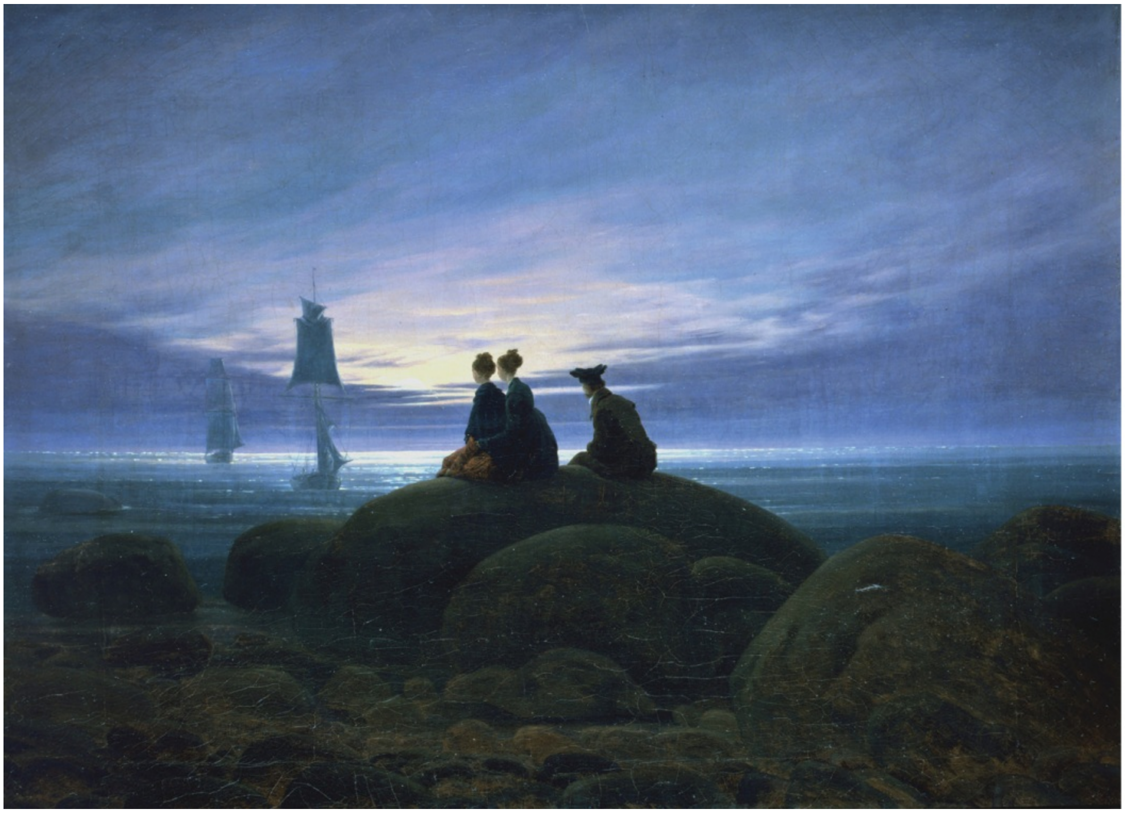
Source: *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron, complete in one volume* (New York: D. Appleton, 1851), 512.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. What makes this poem an example of romanticism as a movement?
2. In Greek mythology, Prometheus is the figure who steals fire from the gods and gives it to humans. Why does Byron choose Prometheus as his central figure in these lines?

ENVIRONMENT MATTERS

Nature Tourism



Universal History Archive/Universal Images Group/Shutterstock

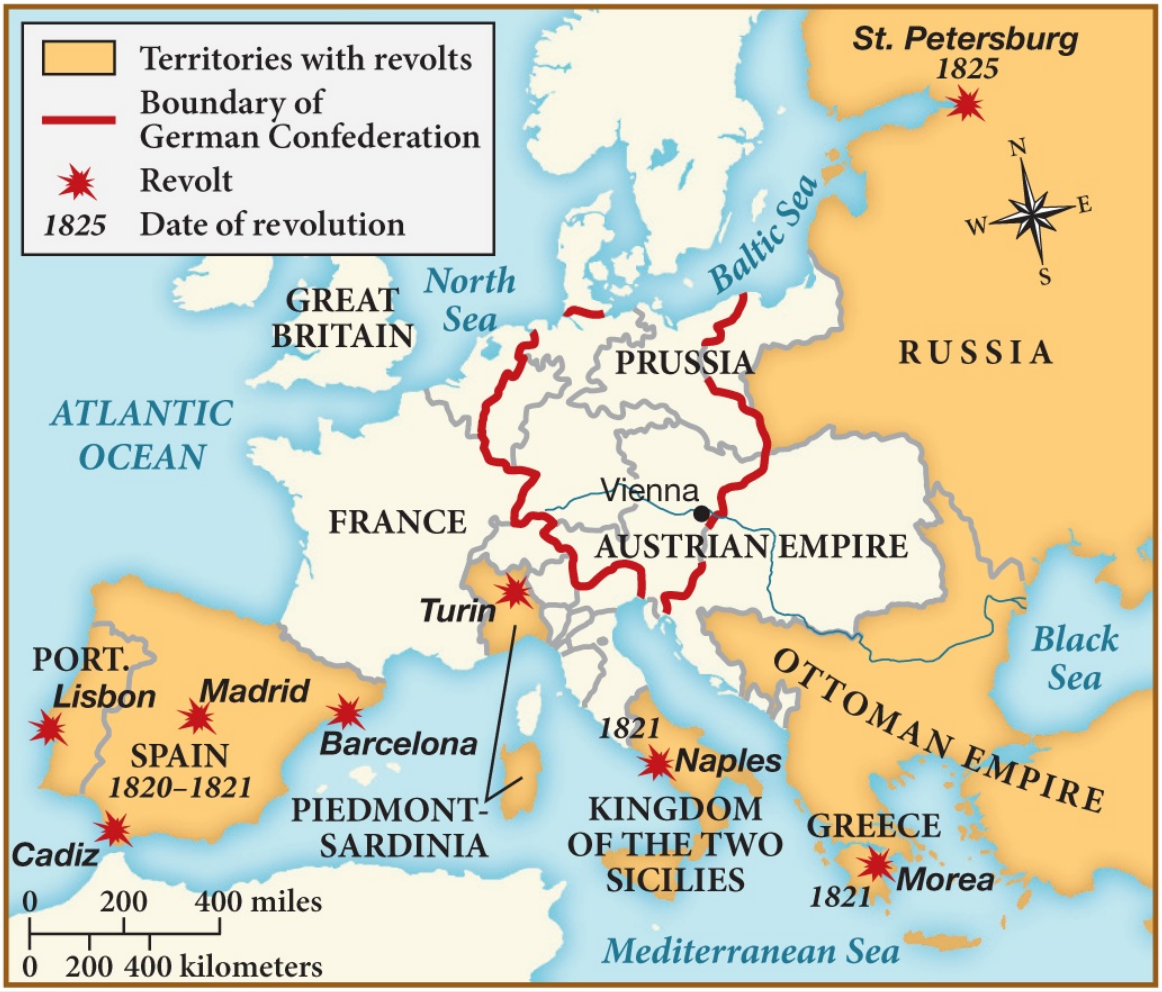
In this painting of 1822, *Moonrise over the Sea,* Caspar David Friedrich captured the romantic fascination with nature and the new interest in visiting the seashore. He emphasized individual engagement with nature just at the moment when sea resorts with grand hotels, balls, and concerts were beginning to offer a social experience of the seaside. This new kind of tourism completely changed the environment of the coasts.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. The mood of this painting is ambiguous. How would you interpret the reactions of the three spectators to the sea?
2. How is this painting an example of romanticism in art?

Political Revolts in the 1820s

The restoration of regimes after Napoleon's fall disappointed those who dreamed of constitutional freedoms and national independence. Membership grew in secret societies such as the carbonari, attracting tens of thousands of members. Revolts broke out in the 1820s in Spain, Italy, Russia, and Greece (Map 20.3), as well as across the Atlantic in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of Latin America (see page 740).



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MAP 20.3 Revolutionary Movements of the 1820s

The revolts of the 1820s took place on the periphery of Europe, in Spain, Italy, Greece, Russia, and in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of Latin America. Rebels in Spain and Russia wanted constitutional reforms. Although the Italian revolts failed, as did the uprisings in Spain and Russia, the Greek and Latin American independence movements eventually succeeded.

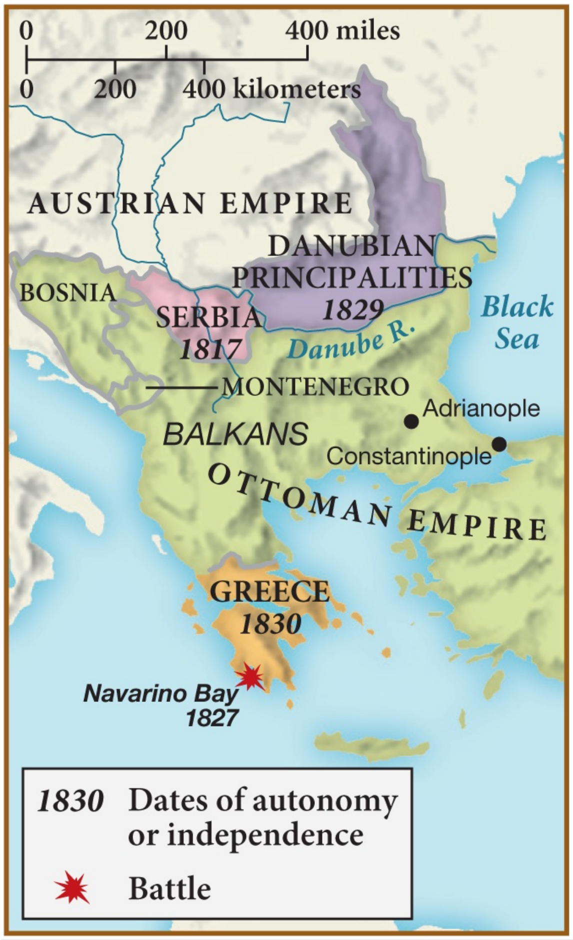
When Ferdinand VII regained the Spanish crown in 1814, he ordered foreign books and newspapers to be confiscated at the frontier and allowed the publication of only two newspapers. Many army officers who had encountered French ideas responded by joining secret societies. In 1820, disgruntled soldiers demanded that Ferdinand proclaim his adherence to the constitution of 1812, which he had abolished in 1814. Ferdinand bided his time, and in 1823, a French army invaded and restored him to absolute power. The French acted with the consent of the other great powers. The restored Spanish government tortured and executed hundreds of rebels; thousands were imprisoned or forced into exile.

Hearing of the Spanish uprising, rebellious soldiers in the kingdom of Naples joined forces with the carbonari and demanded a constitution. The promise of reform also sparked rebellion in the northern Italian kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia, where rebels urged Charles Albert, the young heir to the Piedmont throne, to fight the Austrians for Italian unification. After the rulers of Austria, Prussia, and Russia met and agreed on intervention in 1821, the Austrians defeated the rebels in Naples and Piedmont. Although Great Britain condemned the indiscriminate suppression of revolutionary movements, Metternich convinced the other powers to agree to his silencing the Italian opposition to Austrian rule.

Metternich acted quickly to suppress any sign of dissent closer to home. University students had formed nationalist student societies called *Burschenschaften*, and in 1817, they held a mass rally at which they burned books they did not like, including Napoleon's Civil Code. Metternich was convinced — incorrectly — that the Burschenschaften in the German states and the carbonari in Italy were linked in an international conspiracy. In 1819, when a student assassinated the playwright August Kotzebue because he had ridiculed the student movement, Metternich convinced the leaders of the biggest German states to pass the Carlsbad Decrees, dissolving the student societies and more strictly censoring the press. Professors who criticized their rulers were immediately fired.

Aspirations for constitutional government surfaced in Russia when Alexander I died suddenly in 1825. In December, when the troops assembled in St. Petersburg to take an oath of loyalty to Alexander's brother Nicholas as the new tsar, rebel officers insisted that the crown belonged to another brother, Constantine, whom they hoped would be more favorable to constitutional reform. Constantine, though next in the line of succession after Alexander, had refused the crown. Soldiers loyal to Nicholas easily suppressed the Decembrist Revolt (so-called after the month of the uprising). The subsequent trial, however, transformed the rebels into legendary heroes. For the next thirty years, Nicholas I (r. 1825–1855) used a new political police, the Third Section, to spy on potential opponents and stamp out rebelliousness.

The Ottoman Turks faced growing nationalist challenges in the Balkans. The Serbs revolted against Turkish rule and won virtual independence by 1817. A Greek general in the Russian army, Prince Alexander Ypsilanti, tried to lead a revolt against the Turks in 1820 but failed when the tsar, urged on by Metternich, disavowed him. Metternich feared rebellion even by Christians against their Turkish rulers. A second revolt, this time by Greek peasants, sparked a wave of atrocities in 1821 and 1822. The Greeks killed every Turk who did not escape; in retaliation, the Turks hanged the Greek patriarch of Constantinople and, in the areas they still controlled, pillaged churches, massacred thousands of men, and sold the women into slavery.



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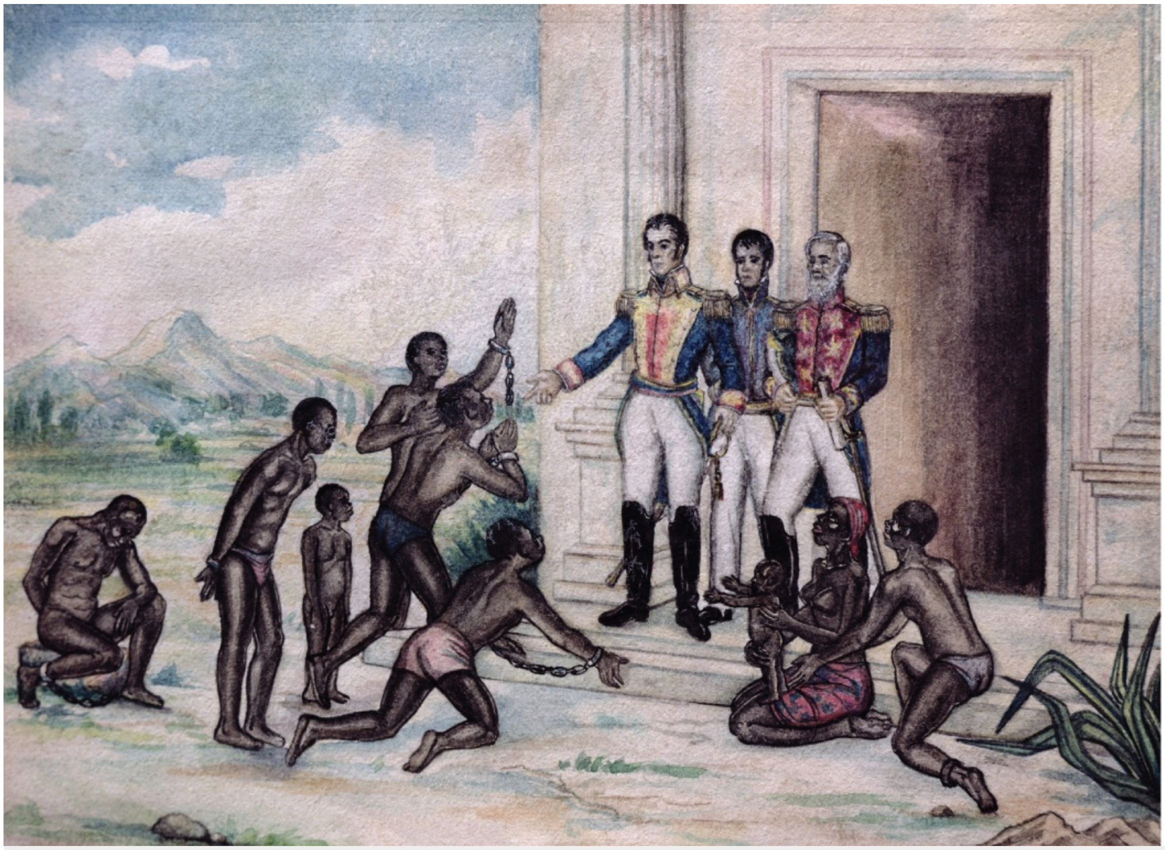
Nationalistic Movements in the Balkans, 1815–1830

Western opinion turned against the Turks; Greece, after all, was the birthplace of Western civilization. While the great powers negotiated, Greeks and pro-Greece committees around the world sent food and military supplies; like the English romantic poet Byron (see Primary Source Analysis on page 735), a few enthusiastic European and American volunteers joined the Greeks. The Greeks held on until the great powers were willing to intervene. In 1827, a combined force of British, French, and Russian ships destroyed the Turkish fleet at Navarino Bay; and in 1828, Russia declared war on Turkey and advanced close to Constantinople. The Treaty of Adrianople of 1829 gave Russia a protectorate over the Danubian principalities in the Balkans and provided for a conference among representatives of Britain, Russia, and France, all of whom had broken with Austria in support of the Greeks. In 1830, Greece was declared an independent kingdom under the guarantee of the three powers; in 1833, the second son of King Ludwig of Bavaria became Otto I of Greece. Greek independence, supported by European public opinion, showed that Metternich's systematic suppression of nationalism was reaching its limits.

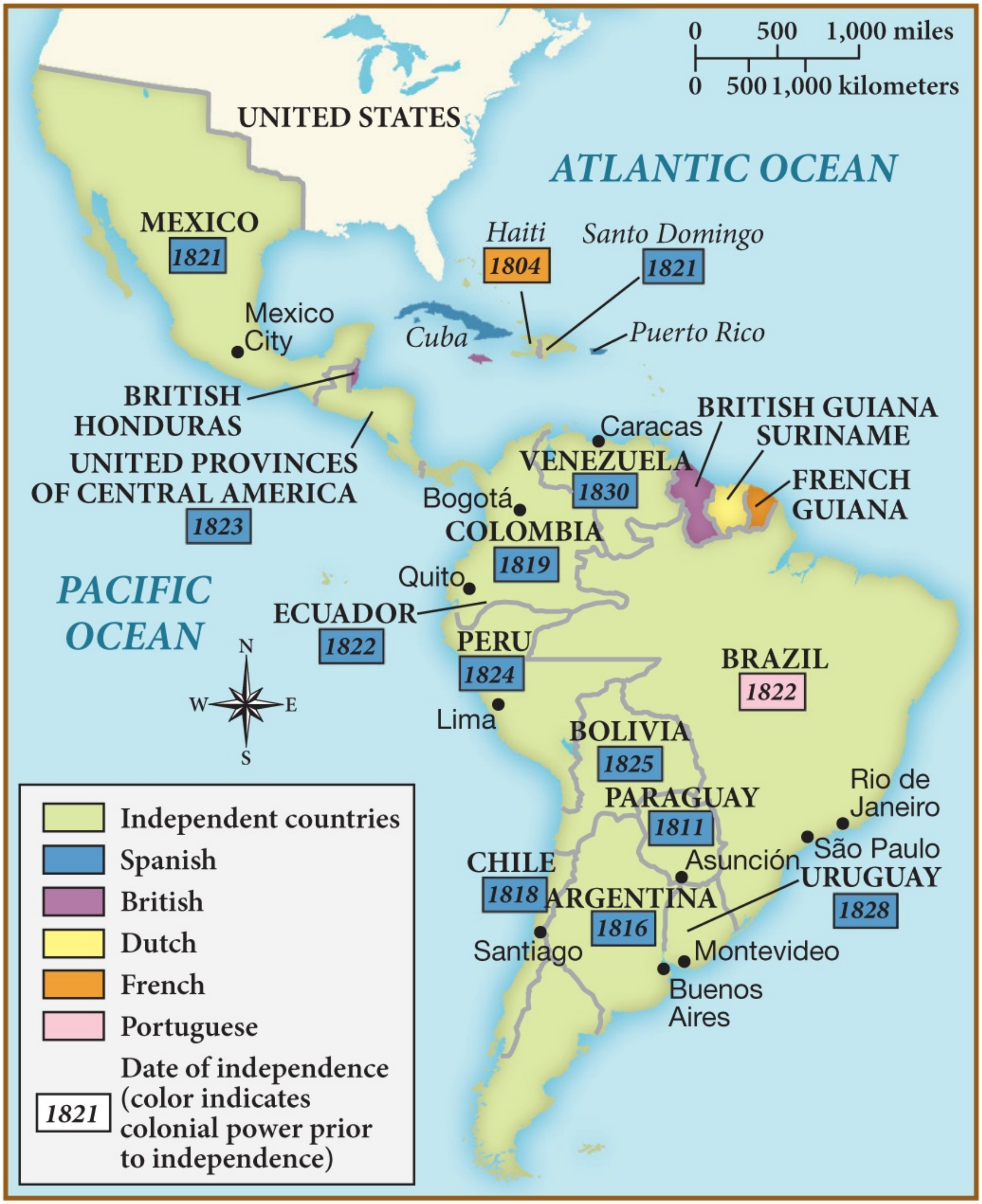
Across the Atlantic, national revolts also succeeded after a series of bloody wars of independence. Taking advantage of the upheavals in Spain and Portugal that began under Napoleon, restive colonists from Mexico to Argentina rebelled. One leader who stood out was **Simón Bolívar** (1783–1830), born in Caracas (present-day Venezuela) to an aristocratic slave-owning family of Spanish descent. He was educated in Europe on the works of Voltaire and Rousseau. Although Bolívar fancied himself a Latin American Napoleon, he had to acquiesce to the formation of a series of independent republics between 1821 and 1823, even in Bolivia, which is named after him.



By Fernandez Luis Cancino [19th century]/Casa-Museo 20 de Julio de 1810, Bogotá, Colombia/ Bridgeman Images.

Simón Bolívar This watercolor by Fernandez Luis Cancino celebrates Bolívar's promise to abolish slavery in territories he freed from Spanish rule. Although Bolívar liberated his own slaves in 1820, he was unable to persuade the legislators of the newly independent countries to act immediately. They insisted on gradual emancipation.

By 1825, Portugal had lost all its American colonies, including Brazil, and Spain was left with only Cuba and Puerto Rico (Map 20.4). Brazil declared its independence under the banner of the Portuguese king's own son and therefore maintained a monarchical form of government along with slavery. In contrast, the new republics freed those enslaved people who fought on their side, abolished the slave trade, and gradually eliminated slavery. The United States and Great Britain recognized the new states, and in 1823, U.S. president James Monroe announced his Monroe Doctrine, closing the Americas to European intervention — a prohibition that depended on British naval power and British willingness to declare neutrality.



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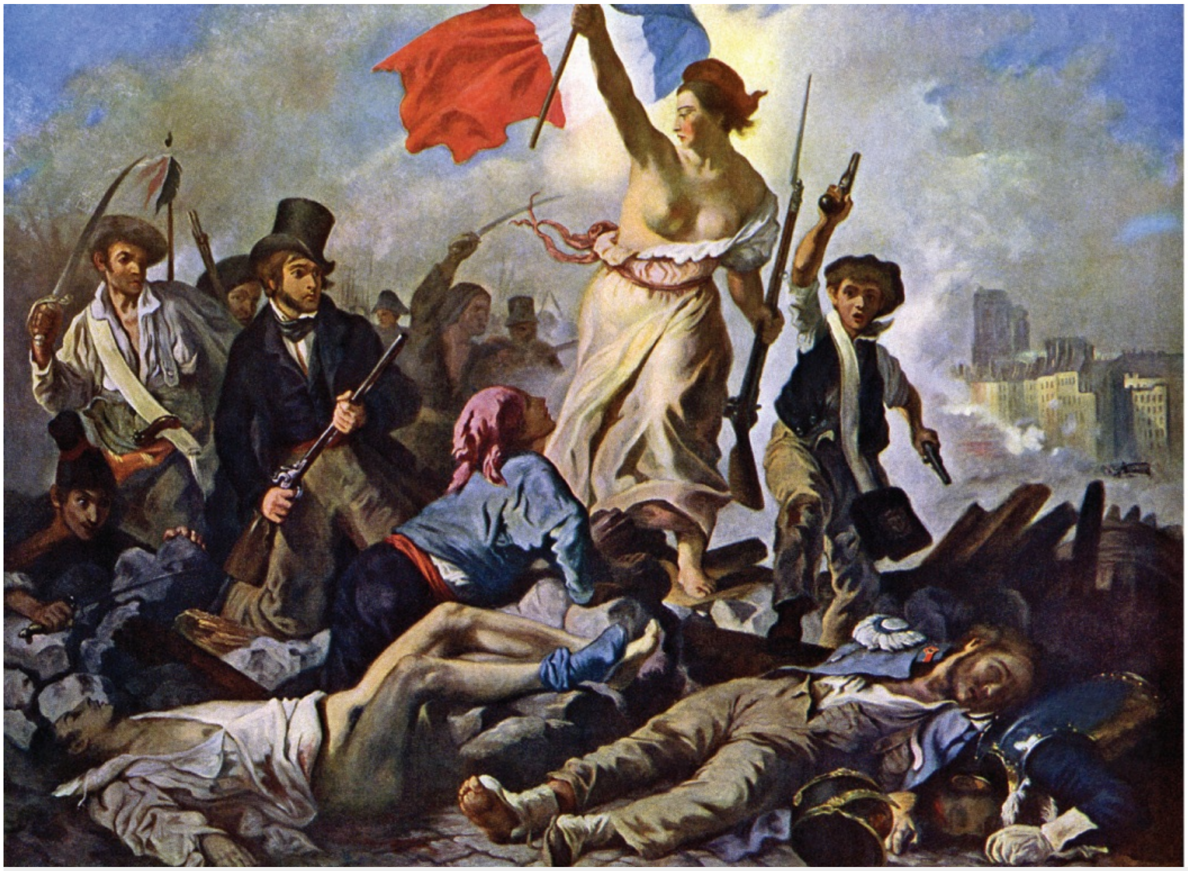
MAP 20.4 Latin American Independence, 1804–1830

Napoleon's occupation of Spain and Portugal seriously weakened those countries' hold on their Latin American colonies. Despite the restoration of the Spanish and Portuguese rulers in 1814, most of their colonies successfully broke away in a wave of rebellions between 1811 and 1830.

Revolution and Reform, 1830–1832

In 1830, a new wave of liberal and nationalist revolts broke out. The revolts of the 1820s had served as warning shots but had been largely confined to the peripheries of Europe. Now revolution once again threatened the established order in western Europe.

French king Louis XVIII’s younger brother and successor, Charles X (r. 1824–1830), brought about his own downfall by steering the monarchy in an increasingly repressive direction. In 1825, he agreed to compensate nobles who had emigrated during the French Revolution for the loss of their estates and imposed the death penalty for such offenses as stealing religious objects from churches. He further enraged liberals when he dissolved the legislature and imposed strict censorship. On July 26, 1830, spontaneous demonstrations in Paris turned into street battles that, over three days, left five hundred citizens and 150 soldiers dead. A group of moderate liberal leaders, fearing the reestablishment of a republic, offered the crown to Charles X’s cousin Louis-Philippe, duke of Orléans, and sent Charles into exile in England.



Ivy Close Images/AGE Fotostock.

Eugène Delacroix, *Liberty Leading the People* (1830) Already known as a leading romantic painter, Delacroix chose to mix symbol and realism in this celebration of the French revolution of 1830. The woman leading the people is the incarnation of Liberty, always represented by the figure of a woman (for example, the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor). Delacroix was a close personal friend of George Sand (see p. 761), and they shared enthusiasm for Byron and Shakespeare, promoted by Byron as the supreme example of literary genius.

Though the new king doubled the number of men eligible to vote, it was still a minuscule number: 170,000 in a country of thirty million. Revolution had broken the hold of those who wanted to restore the pre-1789 monarchy and nobility, but it had gone no further this time than installing a more liberal, constitutional monarchy.

Even so, news of the July revolution in Paris ignited the Belgians, whose country had been annexed to the kingdom of the Netherlands in 1815. Differences in traditions, language, and religion separated the largely Catholic Belgians from the Dutch. An opera about a seventeenth-century insurrection in Naples provided the spark, and students in Brussels rioted, shouting, “Down with the Dutch!”

The riot turned into revolt. King William of the Netherlands appealed to the great powers to intervene; after all, the Congress of Vienna had established his kingdom. But Great Britain and France opposed intervention and invited Russia, Austria, and Prussia to a conference that guaranteed Belgium independence in exchange for its neutrality in international affairs. Belgian neutrality would remain a cornerstone of European diplomacy for a century. After much maneuvering, the crown of the new kingdom of Belgium was offered to a German prince, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, in 1831. The choice, like that of Otto I of Greece, ensured the influence of the great European powers without favoring any one of them in particular. Belgium, like France and Britain, now had a constitutional monarchy.

The Austrian emperor and the Russian tsar would have supported intervention in Belgium had they not been preoccupied with their own revolts. While the carbonari inspired a revolt in Naples in favor of a constitution and an uprising in Palermo demanded independence for Sicily (both were part of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies), in the north, rebels in Piedmont fought for an Italy independent of Austria. Metternich sent Austrian armies to quell the unrest.

The Polish revolt was more serious. In 1830, in response to news of revolution in France, students raised the banner of rebellion. Polish aristocrats formed a provisional government, but it was defeated by the Russian army. In reprisal, Tsar Nicholas abolished the Polish constitution that his brother Alexander had granted in 1815 and ordered thousands of Poles executed or banished. The independence movements in Poland and Italy went underground only to reemerge later.

Reform of Parliament rather than revolution preoccupied the British. In August 1819, sixty thousand people attended an illegal political meeting held in St. Peter's Fields in Manchester to demand reform of parliamentary elections, which had long been controlled by aristocratic landowners. When the local authorities sent the cavalry to arrest the speaker, panic resulted; eleven people were killed and many hundreds injured. Punsters called it the battle of Peterloo or the Peterloo massacre. An alarmed government passed the Six Acts, which forbade large political meetings and restricted press criticism.

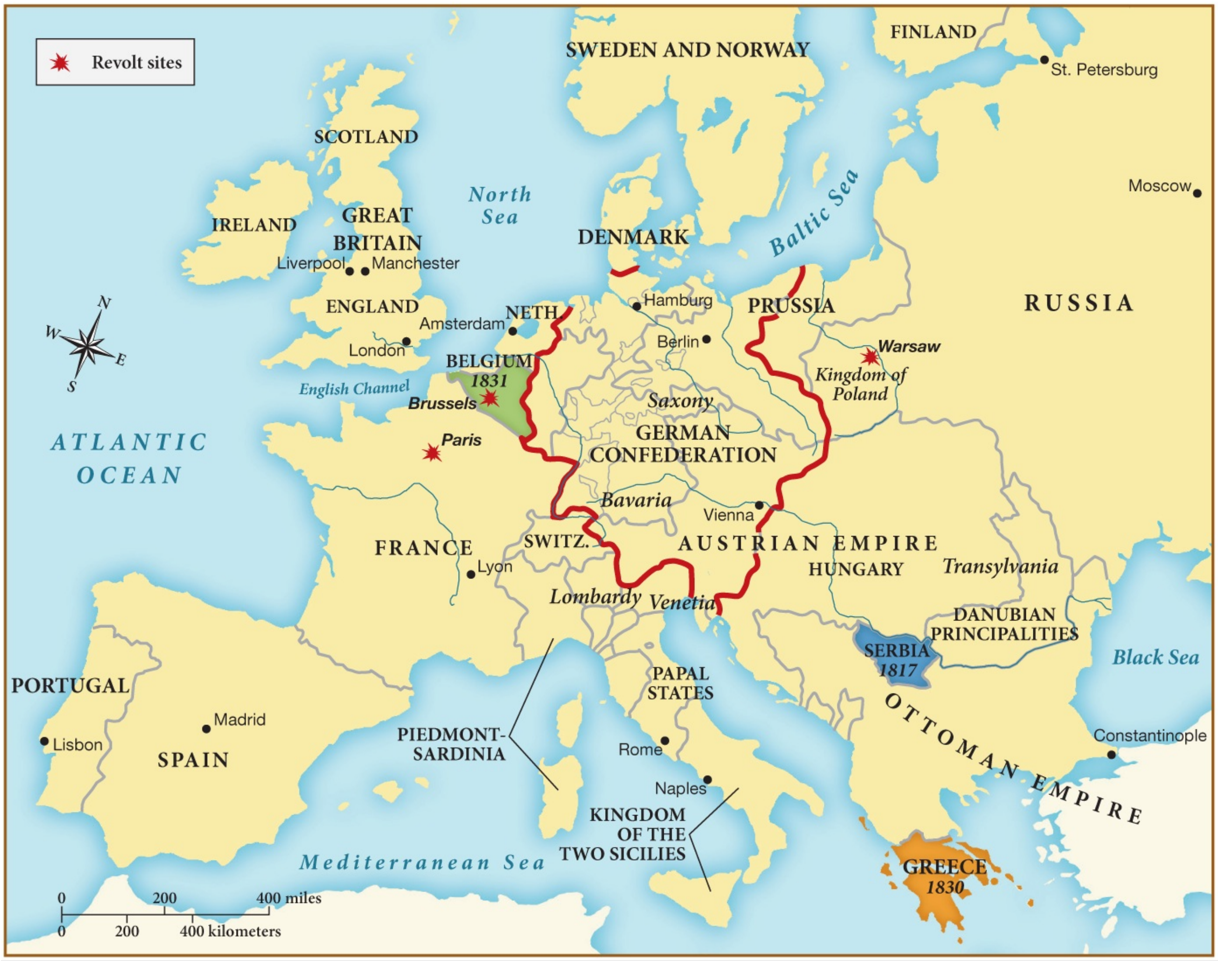
In the 1820s, however, new men came into government. Sir Robert Peel (1788–1850), the secretary for home affairs, revised the criminal code to reduce the number of crimes punishable by death and introduced a municipal police force in London, called the Bobbies after him. In 1824, the laws prohibiting labor unions were repealed, and though restrictions on strikes remained, workers could now organize themselves legally to confront their employers collectively. In 1828, the appointment of the duke of Wellington, the hero of Waterloo, as prime minister kept the Tories in power. Wellington's government pushed through a bill in 1829 allowing Catholics to sit in Parliament and hold most public offices.

When in 1830, and again in 1831, the Whigs in Parliament proposed an extension of the right to vote, Tory diehards, principally in the House of Lords, dug in their heels and predicted that even the most modest proposals would doom civilization itself. Even though the proposed law would grant only limited, not universal, male suffrage, mass demonstrations in favor of it took place in many cities. In this “state of diseased and feverish excitement” (according to its opponents), the **Reform Bill of 1832** passed, after the king threatened to create enough new peers to obtain its passage in the House of Lords.

Although the Reform Bill altered Britain’s political structure in significant ways, the gains were not revolutionary. One of the bill’s foremost backers, historian and member of Parliament Thomas Macaulay, explained, “I am opposed to Universal Suffrage, because I think that it would produce a destructive revolution. I support this plan, because I am sure that it is our best security against a revolution.” Although the number of male voters nearly doubled, only 8 percent of the population qualified to vote. Nevertheless, the bill set a precedent for widening suffrage further. Those disappointed with the outcome would organize with renewed vigor in the 1830s and 1840s.

REVIEW QUESTION

Why were independence movements thwarted in Italy and Poland in this era, but not in Greece, Belgium, and Latin America?



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MAPPING THE WEST

Europe in 1830

By 1830, the fragilities of the Congress of Vienna settlement had become apparent. Rebellion in Poland failed, but Belgium won its independence from the kingdom of the Netherlands, and a French revolution in July chased out the Bourbon ruler and installed Louis-Philippe, who promised constitutional reform. Most European rulers held on to their positions in this period of ferment, but they had to accommodate new desires for constitutional guarantees of rights and growing nationalist sentiment.

Analyzing the Map: Which countries experienced nationalist upheavals?

Making Connections: Why were the independence movements in Serbia, Greece, and Belgium successful while those in Poland and the Italian states were not?

Conclusion

The agitations and uprisings of the 1820s and early 1830s showed that the revolutionary legacy still smoldered and might erupt into flames again at any moment. Napoleon Bonaparte transformed the legacy but also kept it alive. He reshaped French institutions and left a lasting imprint in many European countries. Moreover, like Frankenstein's monster, he bounced back from numerous reversals; between the French retreat from Moscow in 1812 and his final defeat at Waterloo in 1815, Napoleon lost many battles yet managed to raise an army again and again.

The powers that eventually defeated Napoleon tried to maintain the European peace by shoring up monarchical governments and damping down aspirations for constitutional freedoms and national autonomy. Nevertheless, Belgium separated from the Netherlands, Greece achieved independence from the Turks, Latin American countries shook off the rule of Spain and Portugal, and the French installed a more liberal monarchy than the one envisioned by the Congress of Vienna. Metternich's vision of a conservative Europe still held, but in the next two decades dramatic social changes would prompt a new and much more deadly round of revolutions.

Chapter 20 Review

Key Terms and People

Be sure that you can identify the term or person and explain its historical significance.

Napoleon Bonaparte
First Consul
Civil Code
Continental System
battle of Waterloo
Congress of Vienna
Klemens von Metternich
restoration
conservatism
Ludwig van Beethoven
Sir Walter Scott
Simón Bolívar
Reform Bill of 1832

Review Questions

1. In what ways did Napoleon continue the French Revolution, and in what ways did he break with it?

2. Why was Napoleon able to gain control over so much of Europe’s territory?
3. To what extent did the Congress of Vienna restore the old order?
4. Why were independence movements thwarted in Italy and Poland in this era, but not in Greece, Belgium, and Latin America?

Making Connections

1. What was the long-term significance of Napoleon for Europe?
2. What best explains Napoleon’s fall from power: apathy at home, resistance to his rule, or military defeat?
3. In what ways did Metternich succeed in holding back the revolutionary legacy? In what ways did he fail?
4. How did the revolts and rebellions of the 1820s reflect the revolutionary legacy? In what ways did they move in new directions?

Important Events

1799	Coup against Directory government in France; Napoleon Bonaparte is named

	First Consul
1801	Napoleon signs concordat with the pope
1804	Napoleon is crowned emperor of France, issues new Civil Code
1805	British naval forces defeat French at the battle of Trafalgar; Napoleon wins his greatest victory at the battle of Austerlitz
1807–1814	French invade and occupy Spain and Portugal
1812	Napoleon invades Russia
1814–1815	Congress of Vienna
1815	Napoleon is defeated at Waterloo and exiled to island of St. Helena, where he dies in 1821
1818	Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein*
1820	Revolt of liberal army officers against Spanish crown
1824	Ludwig van Beethoven, Ninth Symphony
1825	Russian army officers demand constitutional reform in Decembrist Revolt
1830	Greece gains its independence from Ottoman Turks; rebels overthrow Charles X of France and install Louis-Philippe; rebellion in Poland against Russia fails
1832	English Parliament passes Reform Bill

Consider three events

Congress of Vienna (1814–1815), Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein* (1818), and Ludwig van Beethoven, Ninth Symphony (1824). How did the peace established by the Congress of Vienna help foster these works? How might things have been different if Napoleon had not been defeated?

Suggested References

Napoleon and his wars have always been subjects of great interest, but recent scholars have devoted more attention to the long-term influence of the wars. The years between 1815 and 1830 have not attracted as much scholarship, even though those years are arguably more significant than the Napoleonic era for their long-term cultural and political effects.

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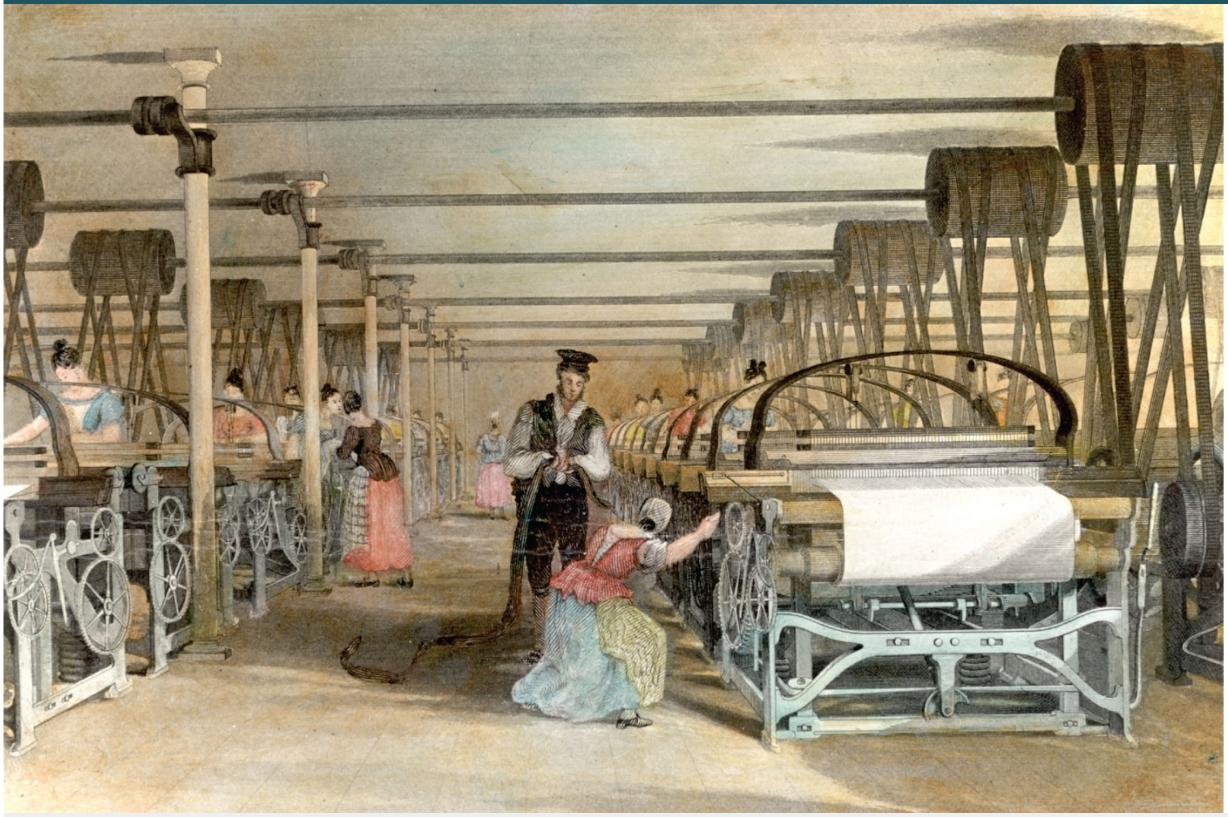
Walter Scott Digital Archive: http://www.walterscott.lib.ed.ac.uk/

[i] Primary source.

CHAPTER 21

Industrialization and Social Ferment

1830–1850



Time Life Pictures/Getty Images.

Workers at an English Cotton Factory, 1830s This colored engraving sanitizes the environment in a cotton mill or factory, which was typically saturated with cotton dust. It also underrepresents the number of children who still made up nearly half of the labor force in manufacturing in 1835. It does, however, show the preponderance of female labor (under male supervision) and the importance of steam-driven looms. The number of looms in England and Scotland increased from 2,400 in 1803 to 100,000 in 1833.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

The Industrial Revolution

What dangers did the Industrial Revolution pose to both urban and rural life?

Reforming the Social Order

In which areas did reformers trying to address the social problems created by industrialization and urbanization succeed, and in which areas did they fail?

Ideologies and Political Movements

Why did ideologies have such a powerful appeal in the 1830s and 1840s?

The Revolutions of 1848

Why did the revolutions of 1848 fail?

In 1836, an English factory inspector reported that boys aged twelve to fifteen sometimes worked two days straight at a factory in Yorkshire with breaks only for meals and one hour's rest at midnight. Their job was to tear up rags, and they wore handkerchiefs over their mouths to keep out the swirling clouds of cloth particles. The report came to light because the British Parliament passed a Factory Act in 1833 that forbade hiring children under nine years of age and limited the hours of children aged thirteen to eighteen to no more than twelve hours a day.

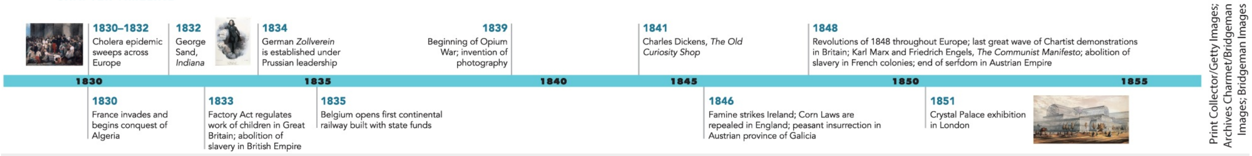
Textile factories, like the one depicted in the opening illustration, brought together many of the changes associated with industrialization. A factory was a large, privately owned building filled with steam-powered machinery that was run by a combination of women, men, and children — both boys and girls. Although factories employed only a small percentage of the population, they attracted much attention because they transformed the nature of work, permanently altered the landscape, and created new forms of both wealth and misery. Already by 1830, more than a million people in Britain depended on the cotton industry for employment, and cotton cloth constituted 50 percent of the country's exports.

Industrialization and its by-product of rapid urban growth fundamentally changed political conflicts, social relations, cultural concerns, as well as the landscape itself. So great were the changes that they are collectively labeled the Industrial Revolution. Although this revolution did not take place in a single decade like the French Revolution, the introduction of steam-driven machinery, large factories, and a new working class transformed life in the Western world.

The shock of industrial and urban growth generated an outpouring of commentary on the need for social reforms. Many who wrote on social issues expected middle-class women to organize their homes as a domestic haven from the heartless process of upheaval. Yet despite the emphasis on domesticity, middle-class women participated in public issues, too: they set up reform societies that fought prostitution and helped poor mothers, they agitated for temperance (abstention from alcohol), and they joined the campaigns to abolish slavery.

Social ferment set the ideological pots to a boil. A word coined during the French Revolution, **ideology** refers to a coherent set of beliefs about the way the social and political order should be organized. The dual impact of the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution prompted the development of a whole spectrum of ideologies to explain the meaning of the changes taking place. Nationalists, liberals, socialists, and communists offered competing visions of the social order they desired: they all agreed that change was necessary, but they disagreed about both the means and the ends of change. Their contest came to a head in 1848 when the rapid transformation of European society led to a new set of revolutionary outbreaks, more consuming than any since 1789.

CHAPTER TIMELINE



1830–1832 Cholera epidemic sweeps across Europe

1830 France invades and begins conquest of Algeria

1832 George Sand, *Indiana*

1833 Factory Act regulates work of children in Great Britain; abolition of slavery in British Empire

1834 German *Zollverein* is established under Prussian leadership

1835 Belgium opens first continental railway built with state funds

1839 Beginning of Opium War; invention of photography

1841 Charles Dickens, *The Old Curiosity Shop*

1846 Famine strikes Ireland; Corn Laws are repealed in England; peasant insurrection in Austrian province of Galicia

1848 Revolutions of 1848 throughout Europe; last great wave of Chartist demonstrations in Britain; Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*; abolition of slavery in French colonies; end of serfdom in Austrian Empire

1851 Crystal Palace exhibition in London

Print Collector/Getty Images; Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Images; Bridgeman Images

CHAPTER FOCUS

How did the Industrial Revolution create new social and political conflicts?

The Industrial Revolution

French and English writers of the 1820s invented the term **Industrial Revolution** to capture the drama of contemporary change and to draw a parallel with the French Revolution. The chief components of the Industrial Revolution, industrialization and urbanization, are long-term processes that have continued to the present. The Industrial Revolution began in England in the 1770s and 1780s in textile manufacturing and spread from there across the continent. In the 1830s and 1840s, industrialization and urbanization both accelerated quite suddenly, as governments across Europe encouraged railroad construction and the mechanization of manufacturing. Many officials, preachers, and intellectuals worried that unchecked growth would destroy traditional social relationships and create disorder.

Roots of Industrialization

Industrialization relied on steam engines; they powered textile looms and, when adapted as locomotive engines, they prompted an explosion in railroad building. A key breakthrough took place in 1776 when Scottish engineer James Watt developed an efficient steam engine that could be used to pump water from coal mines or drive machinery in textile factories. Since coal fired the steam engines that drove new textile machinery, innovations tended to reinforce one another. This kind of synergy built on previous changes in the textile industry. In 1733, the Englishman John Kay had patented the flying shuttle, which enabled weavers to “throw” yarn across the loom rather than draw it back and forth by hand. Weavers began producing cloth more quickly than spinners could produce the thread. The resulting shortage of spun thread propelled the invention of the spinning jenny, a spinning wheel that enabled one worker to run eight spools at once. The increased output of yarn then stimulated the mechanization of weaving. Using the engines produced by James Watt and his partner Matthew Boulton, Edmund Cartwright designed a mechanized loom in the 1780s that, when perfected, could be run by a small boy and yet yield fifteen times the output of a skilled adult working a handloom. By the end of the century, manufacturers were assembling new power machinery in large factories that hired semiskilled men, women, and children to replace skilled weavers.

Several factors interacted to make England the first site of the Industrial Revolution. England had a good supply of private investment capital from overseas trade and commercial profits, ready access to raw cotton produced by slave labor in its Caribbean colonies and the southern United States, and the necessary natural resources at home such as coal and iron. Good opportunities for social mobility provided an environment that fostered the pragmatism of the English and Scottish inventors who designed the machinery. The agricultural revolution of the eighteenth century had enabled England to produce food more efficiently, freeing some agricultural workers to move to the new sites of manufacturing. Cotton textile production skyrocketed.

The rapid expansion of the British textile industry had a colonial corollary: the destruction of the hand manufacture of textiles in India. The British put high import duties on Indian cloth entering Britain and kept such duties very low for British cloth entering India. The effects were catastrophic for Indian manufacturing: in 1813, the Indian city of Calcutta exported to England £2 million worth of cotton cloth; by 1830, Calcutta was importing from England £2 million worth of the product. When Britain abolished slavery in its Caribbean colonies in 1833, British manufacturers began to buy raw cotton in the southern United States, where slavery still flourished.

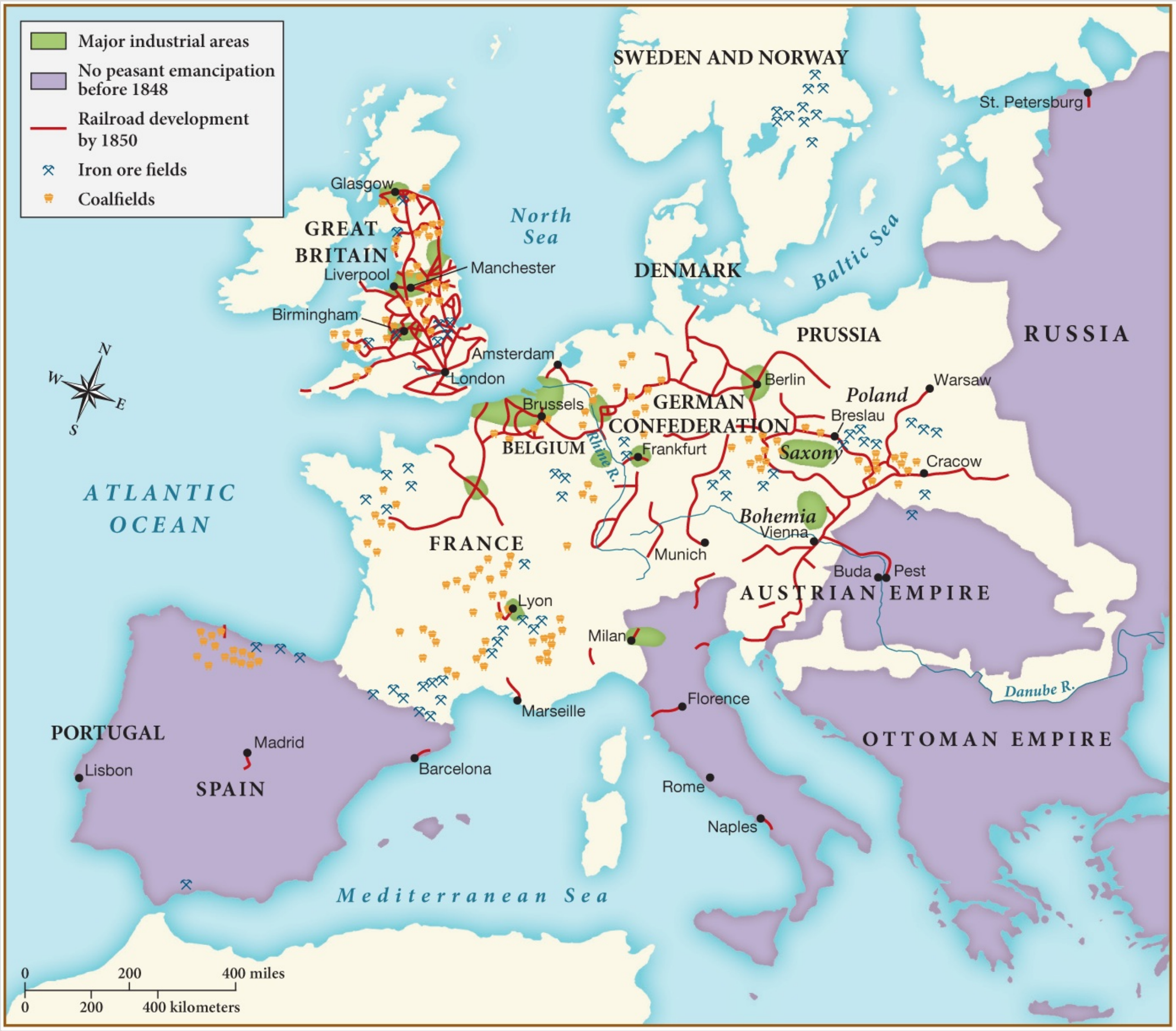
Elsewhere in Europe, textile manufacturing — long a linchpin in the European economy — expanded even without the introduction of new machines and factories because of the spread of the “putting-out,” or “domestic,” system. Under the putting-out system, manufacturers supplied the raw materials, such as woolen or cotton fibers, to families working at home. The mother and her children washed, carded, and combed the fibers. Then the mother and oldest daughters spun them fibers into thread. The father, assisted by the younger children, wove the cloth. The cloth was then finished (bleached, dyed, smoothed, and so on) under the supervision of the manufacturer in a large workshop, located either in town or in the countryside. This system had existed in the textile industry for hundreds of years, but it grew dramatically in the eighteenth century, and the manufacture of other products — such as glassware, baskets, nails, and guns — followed suit. The spread of the putting-out system of manufacturing is sometimes called proto-industrialization to signify that the process helped pave the way for the full-scale Industrial Revolution. Because of the increase in textile production, ordinary people began to wear underclothes and nightclothes, both rare in the past. White, red, blue, yellow, green, and even pastel shades of cotton now replaced the black, gray, or brown of traditional wool.

Workers in the textile industry enjoyed few protections against fluctuations in the market. Hundreds of thousands of families might be reduced to bankruptcy in periods of overproduction. Handloom weavers sometimes violently resisted the establishment of the factory power looms that would force them out of work. In England in 1811 and 1812, for example, bands of handloom weavers wrecked factory machinery and burned mills in the Midlands, Yorkshire, and Lancashire. To restore order and protect industry, the government sent in an army of twelve thousand regular soldiers and made machine wrecking punishable by death. The rioters were called Luddites after the fictitious figure Ned Ludd, whose signature appeared on their manifestos. (The term is still used to describe those who resist new technology.)

Engines of Change

Steam-driven engines took on a dramatic new form in the 1820s when the English engineer George Stephenson perfected an engine to pull wagons along rail tracks. The idea of a railroad was not new: iron tracks had been used since the seventeenth century to haul coal from mines in wagons pulled by horses. A railroad system as a mode of human transport, however, developed only after Stephenson's invention of a steam-powered locomotive. Placed on the new tracks, steam-driven carriages could transport people and goods to the cities and link coal and iron deposits to the new factories. In the 1840s alone, railroad track mileage more than doubled in Great Britain, and British investment in railways jumped tenfold. The British also began to build railroads in India. Private investment that had been going into the building of thousands of miles of canals now went into railroads. Britain's success with rail transportation led other countries to develop their own projects. Railroads grew spectacularly in the United States in the 1830s and 1840s, reaching nine thousand miles of track by midcentury. In 1835, Belgium (newly independent in 1830) opened the first continental European railroad with state bonds backed by British capital. By 1850, the world had 23,500 miles of track, most of it in western Europe.

Railroad building spurred both industrial development and state power (Map 21.1). Governments everywhere participated in the construction of railroads, which depended on both private and state funds to pay for the massive amounts of iron, coal, heavy machinery, and human labor required to build and run them. Demand for iron products accelerated industrial development. Until the 1840s, cotton had led industrial production; between 1816 and 1840, cotton output more than quadrupled in Great Britain, but from 1830 to 1850, Britain's output of iron and coal doubled. Similarly, Austrian output of iron doubled between the 1820s and the 1840s. One-third of all investment in the German states in the 1840s went into railroads.



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MAP 21.1 Industrialization in Europe, c. 1850

Industrialization (mainly mechanized textile production) first spread in a band across northern Europe that included Great Britain, northern France, Belgium, the northern German states, the region around Milan in northern Italy, and Bohemia. Although railroads were not the only factor in promoting industrialization, the map makes clear the interrelationship between railroad building and the development of new industrial sites of coal mining and textile production.

Steam-powered engines made Britain the world leader in manufacturing. By midcentury, more than half of Britain's national income came from manufacturing and trade. The number of steamboats in Great Britain rose from two in 1812 to six hundred in 1840. Between 1840 and 1850, steam-engine power doubled in Great Britain and increased even more rapidly elsewhere in Europe, as those adopting British inventions strove to catch up. The power applied in German manufacturing, for example, grew sixfold during the 1840s but still amounted to only a little more than a quarter of the British figure.

Although Great Britain consciously strove to protect its industrial supremacy, thousands of British engineers defied laws against the export of machinery or the emigration of artisans. Only slowly, thanks to the pirating of British methods and to new technical schools, did most continental countries begin closing the gap. Belgium became the fastest-growing industrial power on the continent: between 1830 and 1844, the number of steam engines in Belgium quadrupled, and Belgians exported seven times as many steam engines as they imported.

Industrialization spread slowly east from key areas in Prussia (near Berlin), Saxony, and Bohemia. Cotton production in the Austrian Empire tripled between 1831 and 1845, and coal production increased fourfold from 1827 to 1847. Even so, by 1850, continental Europe still lagged almost twenty years behind Great Britain in industrial development.

The advance of industrialization in eastern Europe was slow, in large part because serfdom still survived there, hindering labor mobility and tying up investment capital: as long as peasants were legally tied to the land as serfs, they could not migrate to the new factory towns, and landlords felt little incentive to invest their income in manufacturing. The problem was worse in Russia, where industrialization would not take off until the end of the nineteenth century.

Despite the spread of industrialization, factory workers remained a minority everywhere. In the 1840s, factories in England employed only 5 percent of the workers; in France, 3 percent; in Prussia, 2 percent. The putting-out system remained strong, employing two-thirds of the manufacturing workers in Prussia and Saxony, for example, in the 1840s. Many peasants kept their options open by combining factory work or putting-out work with agricultural labor. From Switzerland to Russia, people worked in agriculture during the spring and summer and in manufacturing in the fall and winter.

Factories drew workers from the urban population surge, which had begun in the eighteenth century and now accelerated. The number of agricultural laborers also increased during industrialization in Britain, suggesting that a growing birthrate created a larger population and fed workers into the new factory system. Factory employment resembled labor on family farms or in the putting-out system: entire families came to toil for a single wage, although family members performed different tasks. Workdays of twelve to seventeen hours were typical, even for children, and the work was grueling.

As urban factories grew, their workers gradually came to constitute a new socioeconomic class with a distinctive culture and traditions. The term *working class*, like *middle class*, came into use for the first time in the early nineteenth century. It referred to the laborers in the new factories. In the past, urban workers had labored in isolated trades: water and wood carrying, gardening, laundry, and building. In contrast, factories brought working people together with machines, under close supervision by their employers. Soon, developing a sense of common interests, they organized societies for mutual help and political reform. From these would come the first labor unions.

Industry returned unheard-of riches to factory owners and managers, even as it caused pollution and created new forms of poverty for exhausted workers. “From this foul drain the greatest stream of human industry flows out to fertilize the whole world,” wrote the French aristocrat Alexis de Tocqueville after visiting the new English industrial city of Manchester in the 1830s. “From this filthy sewer pure gold flows.” (See Contrasting Views on pages 754–755.) Studies by physicians set the life expectancy of workers in Manchester at just seventeen years (partly because of high rates of infant mortality), whereas the average life expectancy in England was forty years in 1840. In some parts of Europe, city leaders banned factories, hoping to insulate their towns from the effects of industrial growth.

Investigators detailed the pitiful condition of workers. A physician in the town of Mulhouse, in eastern France, described the “pale, emaciated women who walk barefooted through the dirt” to reach the factory. The young children who worked in the factory appeared “clothed in rags which are greasy with the oil from the looms and frames.” A report to the city government in Lille, France, in 1832 described the “dark cellars” where the cotton workers lived: “The air is never renewed, it is infected; the walls are plastered with garbage.”

Government inquiries often focused on women and children. The

British Factory Act of 1833 responded to horrific reports of child labor in the factories and the mines. Women and young children, sometimes under age six, hauled coal trucks through low, cramped passageways in coal mines. One nine-year-old girl, Margaret Gomley, described her typical day in the mines as beginning at 7:00 a.m. and ending at 6:00 p.m.: "I get my dinner at 12 o'clock, which is a dry muffin, and sometimes butter on, but have no time allowed to stop to eat it, I eat it while I am thrusting the load."

In 1842, the British Parliament prohibited the employment of women and girls underground. In 1847, the Central Short Time Committee, one of Britain's many social reform organizations, successfully pressured Parliament to limit the workday of women and children to ten hours. The continental countries followed the British lead, but since most did not insist on government inspection, enforcement was lax.

CONTRASTING VIEWS

The Effects of Industrialization

As industrial development transformed the landscape in Great Britain, it generated great enthusiasm and equally great controversy. In his early history of the cotton industry (Excerpt 1), Richard Guest emphasizes the virtues of the new steam technology and the speed with which it is transforming textile production in Great Britain. The Manchester physician James Phillips Kay (Excerpt 2) wrote about the effects of industrial labor on the workers. While sympathetic to the plight of the workers, he also worried about their moral degradation. The British Parliament acted to regulate child labor in the factories in 1833 (Excerpt 3), but efforts to enforce its limits continued for years afterward.

1. The Virtues of the New Technology (1823)

Richard Guest wrote his history of the cotton industry for a specific reason: to contest the claim that Richard Arkwright had provided some of the crucial inventions in cotton manufacturing. To develop his case, he gathered as much information as he could about the use of power looms in the new cotton factories in the region around Manchester, and that information remains invaluable.

The best hand Weavers seldom produce a piece of uniform evenness; indeed, it is next to impossible for them to do so, because a weaker or stronger blow with the lathe immediately alters the thickness of the cloth, and after an interruption of some hours, the most experienced weaver finds it difficult to recommence with a blow of precisely the same force as the one with which he left off. In Steam Looms, the lathe gives a steady, certain blow, and when once regulated by the engineer, moves with the greatest precision from the beginning to the end of the piece. Cloth made by these Looms, when seen by those manufacturers who employ hand Weavers, at once excites admiration and a consciousness that their own workmen cannot equal it. The increasing number of Steam Looms is a certain proof of their superiority over the Hand Looms. In 1818, there were in Manchester, Stockport, Middleton, Hyde, Stayley Bridge, and their vicinities, fourteen factories, containing about two thousand Looms. In 1821, there were in the same neighbourhoods thirty-two factories, containing five thousand seven hundred and thirty-two Looms.

Source: Richard Guest, *A Compendious History of the Cotton-Manufacture: With a Disproval of the Claim of Sir Richard Arkwright to the Invention of Its Ingenious Machinery* (Manchester: Printed by J. Pratt, 1823), 46–47.

2. The Life of the Workers (1832)

James Phillips Kay studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh and set up as a physician in Manchester in 1827 where he developed a lifelong interest in the problems of the poor. He became an assistant poor law commissioner soon after the passage of the new poor law in 1834. His account reflects the ambivalent attitudes of many middle-class people who felt sorry for the poor but also worried about their supposed propensity for alcohol and sexual promiscuity.

The operatives [those who work the looms] are congregated in rooms and workshops during twelve hours in the day, in an enervating, heated atmosphere, which is frequently loaded with dust or filaments of cotton, or impure from constant respiration, or from other causes. They are engaged in an employment which absorbs their attention, and unremittingly employ their physical energies. They are drudges who watch the movements, and assist the operation, of a mighty material force, which toils with an energy ever unconscious of fatigue. The persevering labour of the operative must rival the mathematical precision, the incessant motion, and the exhaustless power of the machine.…

His wife and children, too frequently subjected to the same process, are unable to cheer his remaining moments of leisure. Domestic economy is neglected, domestic comforts are unknown. A meal of the coarsest food is prepared with heedless haste, and devoured with equal precipitation. Home has no other relation to him than that of shelter – few pleasures are there – it chiefly presents to him a scene of physical exhaustion, from which he is glad to escape. Himself impotent of all the distinguishing aims of his species, he sinks into sensual sloth, or revels in more degrading licentiousness.

Source: James Phillips Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester* (London: J. Ridgway, 1832), 10–11.

3. The Factory Act of 1833

"An Act to regulate the Labour of Children and young Persons in the Mills and Factories of the United Kingdom (29 August 1833)" included several provisions to limit working hours and improve conditions for child laborers. An excerpt of them helps fill in the picture of life in the new factories.

- Persons under 18 Years of Age not allowed to work at Night in the Mills or Factories herein described

- Persons under 18 not to work more than 12 hours a day

- Employment of Children under 9 Years Prohibited

- The Employment of Children under 11, 12, and 13 Years of Age for more than Eight Hours a Day prohibited

- That all Children and young Persons whose Hours of Work are regulated and limited by this Act shall be entitled to the following Holydays; …*Christmas Day* and *Good Friday* the entire Day, and not fewer than Eight Half Days besides in every Year

Source: Great Britain, *A Collection of the Public General Statutes Passed in the Third and Fourth Year of the Reign of His Majesty King William the Fourth* (London: G. W. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, Printers to the Queen, 1833), 1063–65.

Questions to Consider

1. What were the advantages offered by mechanized factory production?
2. What were the disadvantages of factory life for workers and their families?
3. How do conditions in this period compare with those in present-day factories?

Urbanization and Its Consequences

Industrial development spurred urban growth, yet cities with little industry grew as well. **Urbanization** is the growth of towns and cities due to the movement of people from rural to urban areas. Here, too, Great Britain led the way: half the population of England and Wales was living in towns by 1850, while in France and the German states only about a quarter of the total population was urban. Both old and new cities teemed with rising numbers in the 1830s and 1840s; the population of Vienna ballooned by 125,000 between 1827 and 1847, and the new industrial city of Manchester grew by seventy thousand just in the 1830s.

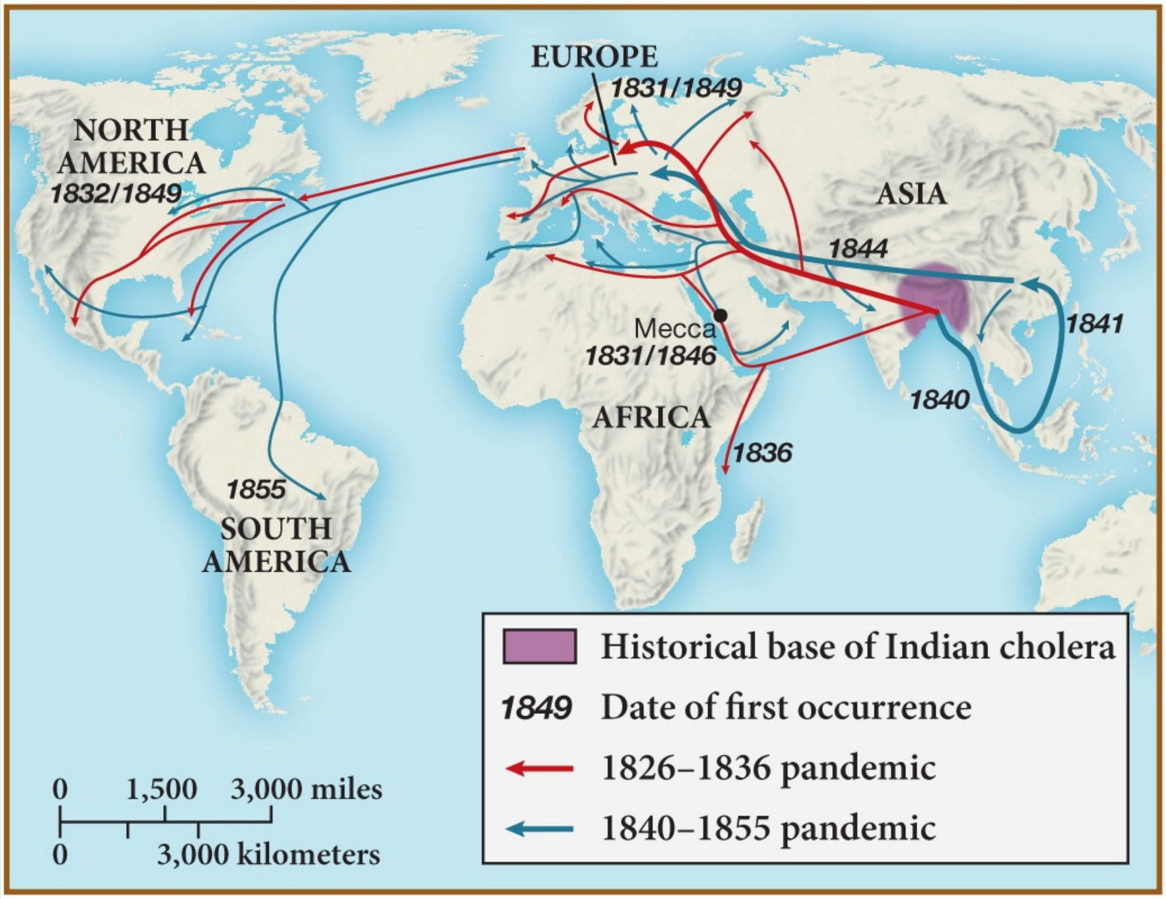
Massive emigration from rural areas, rather than births to women already living in cities, accounted for this remarkable increase. City life and new factories beckoned those faced with hunger and poverty, including immigrants from other lands: thousands of Irish emigrated to English cities, Italians went to French cities, and Poles flocked to German cities. Settlements sprang up outside the old city limits but gradually became part of the urban area. Cities incorporated parks, cemeteries, zoos, and greenways — all imitations of the countryside, which itself was being industrialized by railroads and factories.

The rapid influx of people caused serious overcrowding in the cities because the housing stock expanded much more slowly than the population did. In Paris, thirty thousand workers lived in lodging houses, eight or nine to a room, with no separation of the sexes. In 1847, in St. Giles, the Irish quarter of London, 461 people lived in just twelve houses. Men, women, and children with no money for fuel huddled together for warmth on piles of filthy rotting straw or potato peels.

Severe crowding worsened already dire sanitation conditions. Residents dumped refuse into streets or courtyards, and human excrement collected in cesspools under apartment houses. At midcentury, London's approximately 250,000 cesspools were emptied only once or twice a year. Water was scarce and had to be fetched daily from nearby fountains. Parisians, on average, had enough water for only two baths annually per person (the upper classes enjoyed more baths, of course; the lower classes, fewer). In London, private companies that supplied water turned on pumps in the poorer sections for only a few hours three days a week. In rapidly growing British industrial cities such as Manchester, one-third of the houses contained no latrines. Human waste ended up in the rivers that supplied drinking water. The horses that provided transportation inside the cities left droppings everywhere, and city dwellers often kept chickens, ducks, goats, pigs, geese, and even cattle, as well as dogs and cats, in their houses. The result was a "universal atmosphere of filth and stink," as one observer recounted.

Such conditions made cities prime breeding grounds for disease. In 1830 to 1832 and again in 1847 to 1851, devastating outbreaks of cholera swept across Asia and Europe, touching the United States as well in 1849 to 1850 (Map 21.2). Today we know that a waterborne bacterium causes cholera, but at the time no one understood the disease and everyone feared it. The usually fatal illness induced violent vomiting and diarrhea and left the skin blue, eyes sunken and dull, and hands and feet ice cold.

While cholera particularly ravaged the crowded, filthy neighborhoods of rapidly growing cities, it also claimed many rural and some well-to-do victims. In Paris, eighteen thousand people died in the 1832 epidemic and twenty-thousand in that of 1849; in London, seven thousand died in each epidemic; and in Russia, the epidemic was catastrophic, claiming 250,000 victims in 1831 to 1832 and one million in 1847 to 1851.



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MAP 21.2 The Spread of Cholera, 1826–1855

Contemporaries did not understand the causes of the cholera epidemics in the 1830s and the 1840s in Europe. Western Europeans knew only that the disease marched progressively from east to west across Europe. Nothing seemed able to stop it. It appeared and died out for reasons that could not be grasped at the time. Nevertheless, the cholera epidemics prompted authorities in most European countries to set up public health agencies to coordinate the response and study sanitation conditions in the cities.

Epidemics revealed the social tensions lying just beneath the surface of urban life. Middle-class reformers often considered the poor to be morally degenerate. In their view, overcrowding led to sexual promiscuity and illegitimacy. They depicted the lower classes as dangerously lacking in sexual self-control. Officials collected statistics on illegitimacy that seemed to bear out these fears: one-quarter to one-half of the babies born in the big European cities in the 1830s and 1840s were illegitimate, and alarmed medical men wrote about thousands of infanticides. In contrast, only a tiny fraction of rural births were illegitimate. The rising rate of births outside of marriage seemed to go hand in hand with drinking and crime. Beer halls and pubs dotted the urban landscape. By the 1830s, Hungary's twin cities of Buda and Pest had eight hundred beer and wine houses for the working classes. Police officials estimated that London had seventy thousand thieves and eighty thousand prostitutes. In many cities, nearly half the population lived at the level of bare subsistence, and increasing numbers depended on public welfare, charity, or criminality to make ends meet.

Print Collector/Getty Images.

Alfred Johannot, ***The Duke of Orleans Visiting the Sick at l'Hôtel-Dieu During the Cholera Epidemic in 1832*** In this painting from the 1830s, the artist depicts the son of French King Louis-Philippe visiting those who are sick with cholera. The royal family made a point of staying in Paris during the epidemic. The Hôtel-Dieu is the oldest hospital in Paris, located near Notre Dame Cathedral.

Everywhere reformers warned of a widening separation between rich and poor and a growing sense of hostility between the classes. A Swiss pastor noted: "A new spirit has arisen among the workers. Their hearts seethe with hatred of the well-to-do; their eyes lust for a share of the wealth about them; their mouths speak unblushingly of a coming day of retribution." In 1848, it would seem that day of retribution had arrived.

Agricultural Perils and Prosperity

Rising populations created increased demand for food and spurred changes in the countryside, too. Although agricultural yields increased by 30 to 50 percent in the first half of the nineteenth century, population grew by nearly 100 percent. Railroads and canals improved food distribution, but much of Europe — particularly in the east — remained isolated from markets and vulnerable to famines.

Most people still lived on the land, and the upper classes still dominated rural society. In France at midcentury, almost two million economically independent peasants tended their own small properties. But in England, southern Italy, Prussia, and eastern Europe, large landowners, usually noblemen, consolidated and expanded their estates by buying up the land of less successful nobles or peasants. As agricultural prices rose, the big landowners pushed for legislation to allow them to continue converting common land to private property.

Wringing a living from the soil under such conditions put pressure on traditional family life. Men often migrated seasonally to earn cash in factories or as village artisans, while their wives, sisters, and daughters did the traditional “men’s work” of tending crops. In the past, population growth had been contained by postponing marriage (leaving fewer years for childbearing) and by high rates of death in childbirth as well as infant mortality. Now, as child mortality declined outside the industrial cities and people without property began marrying earlier, Europeans became more aware of birth control methods. The vulcanization of rubber in the 1840s improved the reliability of condoms. When such methods failed and population increase left no options open at home, people emigrated, often to the United States. Between 1816 and 1850, five million Europeans left their home countries for new lives overseas. When France colonized Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s, officials tried to attract settlers by emphasizing the fertility of the land; they offered the prospect of agricultural prosperity in the colony as an alternative to the rigors of industrialization and urbanization at home.

Rural political power remained in the hands of traditional elites. The biggest property owners controlled the political assemblies and often personally selected local officials. Nowhere did the old rural social order seem more impregnable than in Russia. Most Russian serfs remained tied to the land, and troops easily suppressed serfs' uprisings in 1831 and 1842. Yet in the 1850s, railroad construction would begin to transform life in Russia, too, and the railroads would bring with them the same social problems — urbanization, the beginning of industrialization, and a growing awareness of social disparities — that threatened the social and political order in western Europe in the 1830s and 1840s. These new social problems demanded a response. But would that response be reform or revolution?

REVIEW QUESTION

What dangers did the Industrial Revolution pose to both urban and rural life?

Reforming the Social Order

The experience of dramatic economic and social changes prompted artists and writers to focus on emerging social problems and inspired the creation of new organizations for social reform. Middle-class women often took the lead in establishing charitable organizations that tried to bring religious faith, educational uplift, and the reform of manners to the lower classes. The middle class, both men and women, expected women to soften the rigors of a rapidly changing society, but this expectation led to some confusion about women's proper role: should they devote themselves to social reform in the world or to their own domestic spaces? Many hoped to apply the same zeal for reform to the colonial peoples living in places administered by Europeans.

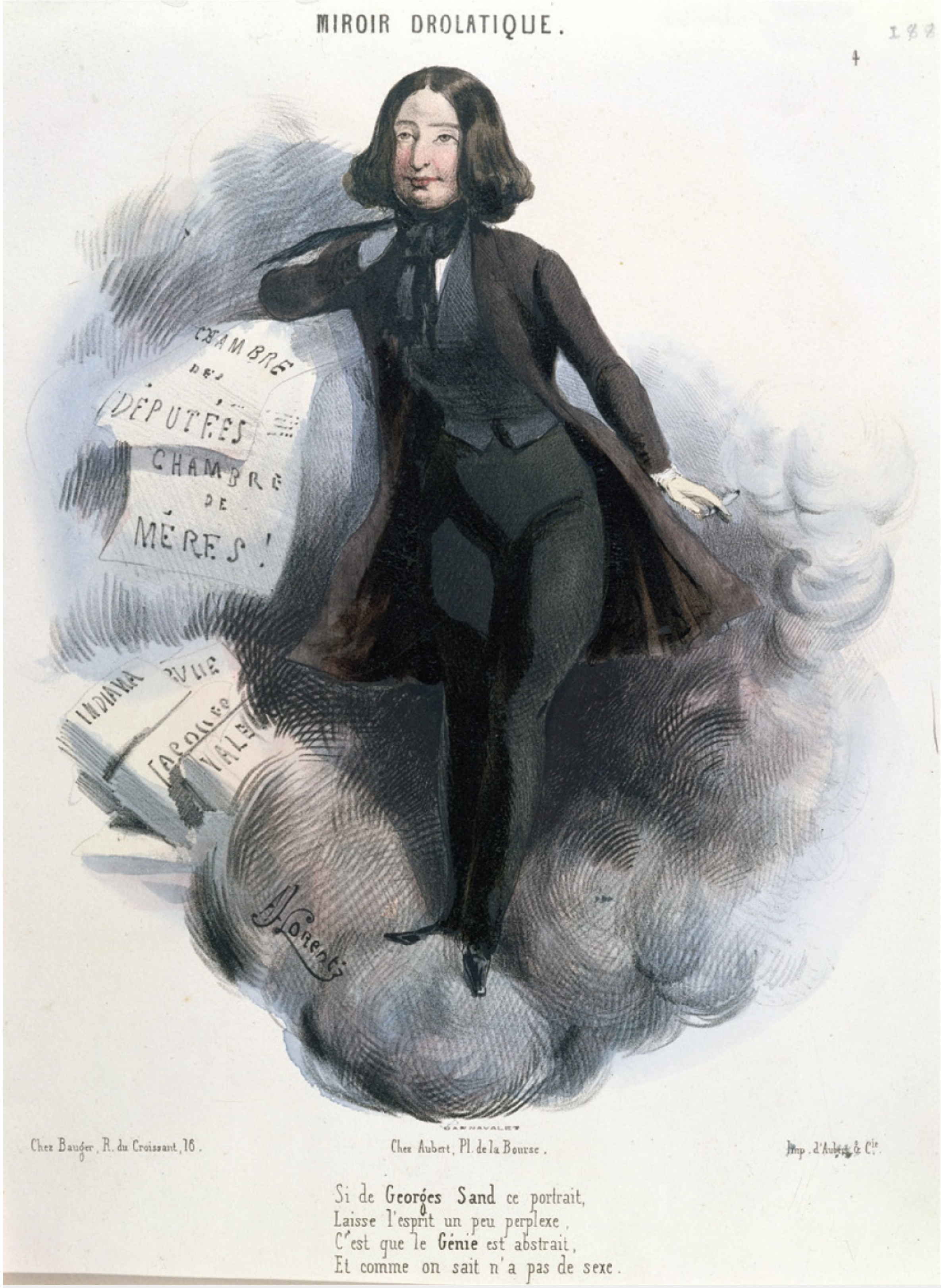
Cultural Responses to the Social Question

The *social question*, an expression reflecting the widely shared concern about social changes arising from industrialization and urbanization, pervaded all forms of art and literature. The dominant artistic movement of the time, romanticism, generally took a dim view of industrialization. The English-born American painter Thomas Cole (1801–1848) complained in 1836: "In this age … a meager utilitarianism seems ready to absorb every feeling and sentiment, and what is sometimes called improvement in its march makes us fear that the bright and tender flowers of the imagination shall all be crushed beneath its iron tramp." Yet culture itself underwent important changes as the growing capitals of Europe attracted flocks of aspiring painters and playwrights; the 1830s and 1840s witnessed an explosion in culture as the number of would-be artists increased dramatically and new technologies such as photography and lithography brought art to the masses. Many of these new intellectuals would support the revolutions of 1848. Because romanticism tended to glorify nature and reject industrial and urban growth, romantics often gave vivid expression to the problems created by rapid economic and social transformation. The English poet Elizabeth Barrett Browning, best known for her love poems, denounced child labor in “The Cry of the Children” (1843). In *Rain, Steam, and Speed: The Great Western Railway* (1844), the leading English romantic painter, Joseph M. W. Turner (1775–1851), portrayed the struggle between the forces of nature and the means of economic growth. Turner was fascinated by steamboats: in *The Fighting “Téméraire” Tugged to Her Last Berth to Be Broken Up* (1838), he featured the victory of steam power over more conventional sailing ships (see Environment Matters).

Increased literacy, the spread of reading rooms and lending libraries, and serialization in newspapers and journals gave novels a large reading public. Unlike the fiction of the eighteenth century, which had focused on individual personalities, the great novels of the 1830s and 1840s specialized in the portrayal of social life in all its varieties. Manufacturers, financiers, starving students, workers, bureaucrats, prostitutes, underworld figures, thieves, and aristocratic men and women filled the pages of works by popular writers. Hoping to get out of debt, the French writer Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850) pushed himself to exhaustion and a premature death by cranking out ninety-five novels and many short stories. He aimed to catalog the social types that could be found in French society. Many of his characters, like himself, were driven by the desire to climb higher in the social order.

The English fiction writer Charles Dickens (1812–1870) worked with a similar frenetic energy and for much the same reason. When his father was imprisoned for debt in 1824, the young Dickens took a job in a shoe-polish factory. He eventually became a journalist and managed to produce a series of novels that attracted thousands of readers. In them, he paid close attention to the distressing effects of industrialization and urbanization. In *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1841), for example, he depicts the Black Country, the manufacturing region west and northwest of Birmingham, as a "cheerless region," a "mournful place," in which tall chimneys "made foul the melancholy air."

Novels by women often revealed the bleaker side of women's situations. Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847) describes the difficult life of an orphaned girl who becomes a governess, the only occupation open to most single middle-class women. The French novelist Amandine-Aurore-Lucile Dupin Dudevant (1804–1876), writing under the pen name **George Sand**, took her social criticism a step further. She announced her independence in the 1830s by dressing like a man and smoking cigars. Though she published her work under a male pseudonym, as did many other women writers of the time, she created female characters who prevail in difficult circumstances through romantic love and moral idealism. Her notoriety — she became the lover of the Polish pianist and composer Frédéric Chopin, among others, and threw herself into socialist politics — made the term *George-Sandism* a common expression of disdain toward independent women.

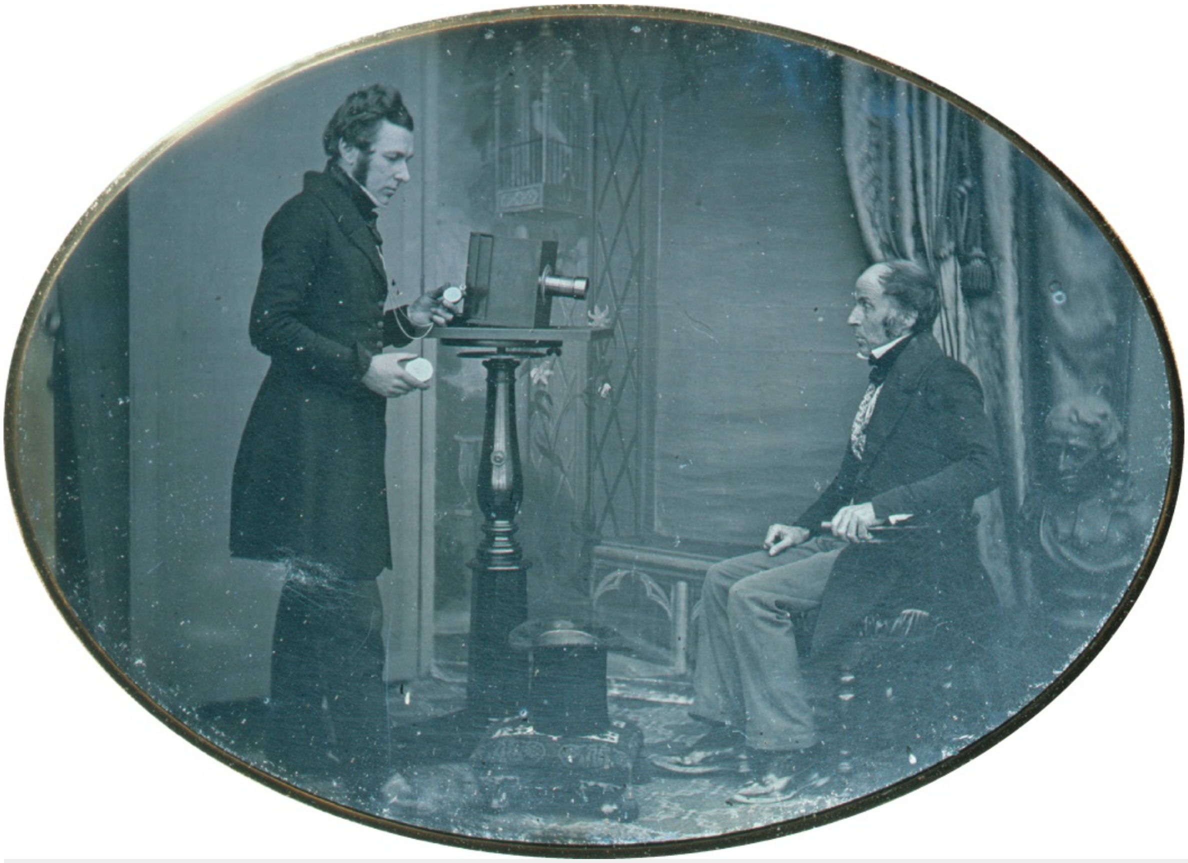

MIROIR DROLATIQUE.
CHAMBRE DES DÉPUTÉES
CHAMBRE DE MÈRES !
INDIANA
REVUE
A. Lorentz
Chez Bauger, R. du Croissant, 16.
Chez Aubert, Pl. de la Bourse.
Imp. d'Aubert & Cie.
Si de Georges Sand ce portrait,
Laisse l'esprit un peu perplexe,
C'est que le Génie est abstrait,
Et comme on sait n'a pas de sexe.

Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Images.

George Sand In this lithograph by Alcide Lorentz of 1842, George Sand is shown in one of her notorious male costumes standing on a cloud created by the cigar in her left hand. Sand published numerous works, including novels (*Indiana* is shown at the left of the image), plays, essays, travel writing, and an autobiography. She advocated setting up a Chamber of Mothers to go alongside the Chamber of Deputies (her right arm rests on sheets with those words on them), and she actively participated in the revolution of 1848 in France, writing pamphlets in support of the new republic. Disillusioned by the rise to power of Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, she withdrew to her country estate and devoted herself exclusively to her writing.

As artists became more interested in society and social relations, ordinary citizens crowded cultural events. Museums opened to the public across Europe. Popular theaters in big cities drew thousands from the lower and middle classes every night; in London, for example, some twenty-four thousand people attended eighty “penny theaters” nightly. The audience for print culture also multiplied. In the German states, for example, the production of new literary works doubled between 1830 and 1843, as did the number of periodicals and newspapers and the number of booksellers. Young children and ragpickers sold cheap prints and books door to door or in taverns.

The advent of photography in 1839 provided an amazing new medium for artists. The daguerreotype, named after its inventor, French painter Jacques Daguerre (1787–1851), prompted one artist to claim that “from today, painting is dead.” Although this prediction was highly exaggerated, photography did open up new ways of portraying reality. It did so only gradually, however, as early photographs required exposure times of twenty to thirty minutes, making it impossible to capture anything or anyone in movement.



Science & Society Picture Library/Getty Images.

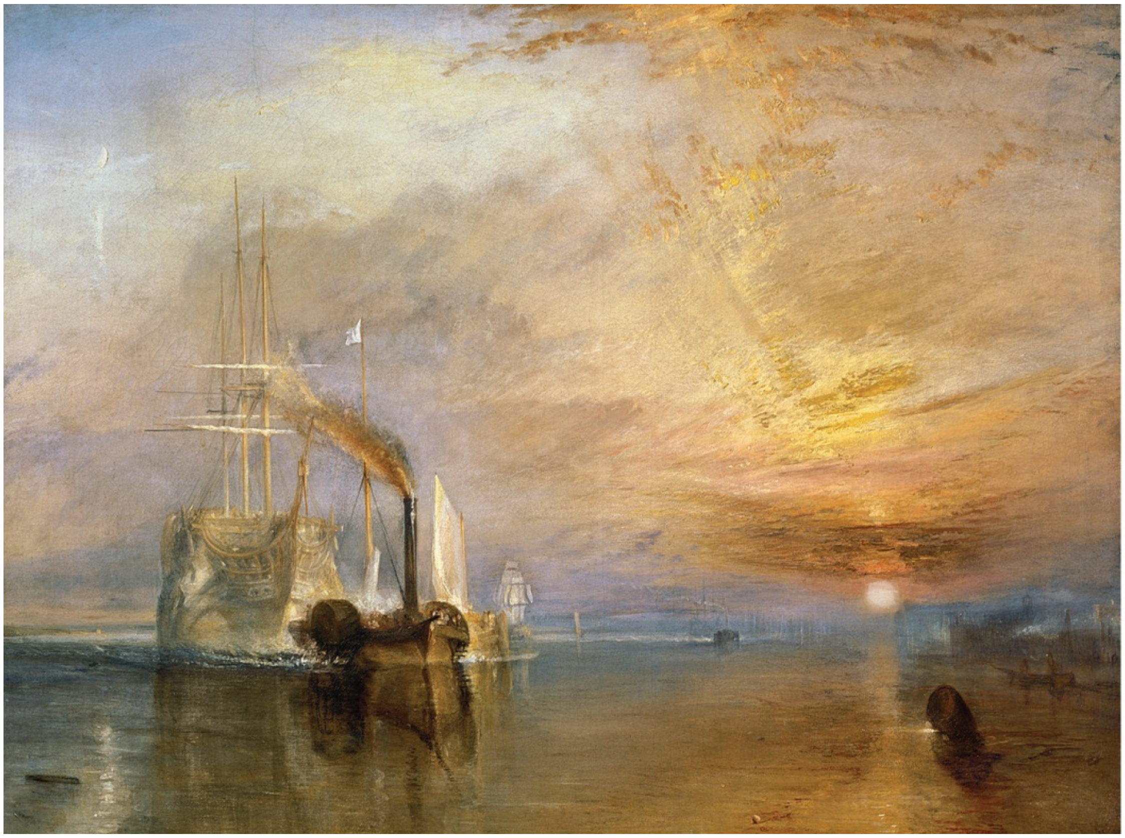
Daguerreotype Jacques Daguerre experimented extensively with producing an image on a metal plate before he came up with a viable photographic process in 1837. In 1839, the French government bought the rights and made the process freely available. In this daguerreotype of 1843, Jabez Hogg is shown timing a portrait he is taking in Richard Beard's studio in London. Beard opened the first daguerreotpe studio in Europe in 1841.

Culture expanded its reach in part because the ranks of artists and writers swelled. Estimates suggest that the number of painters and sculptors in France, the undisputed center of European art at the time, grew sixfold between 1789 and 1838. Not everyone could succeed in this hothouse atmosphere, in which writers and artists furiously competed for public attention. Their own troubles made some of them more keenly aware of the hardships faced by the poor. A satirical article in one of the many bitingly critical journals and booklets published in

Berlin proclaimed: “In Ipswich in England a mechanical genius has invented a stomach, whose extraordinary efficient construction is remarkable. This artificial stomach is intended for factory workers there and is adjusted so that it is fully satisfied with three lentils or peas; one potato is enough for an entire week.”

ENVIRONMENT MATTERS

Joseph M. W. Turner, *The Fighting “Téméraire” Tugged to Her Last Berth to Be Broken Up* (1838)



National Gallery, London, UK/Bridgeman Images

A steamer belching smoke tows a wooden sailing ship to its last berth, where it will be destroyed. Turner displays his mastery of color in the final blaze of sunset, and he uses the sunset to signal the passing of the old ways, based on wood, in favor of the new industrial, steam-driven age. As an avid reader of the romantic poets, especially Byron, Turner clearly felt some regret about the appearance of the new steam-driven vessels.

Questions to Consider

1. How does the painting capture the clash of old and new?
2. Does the emphasis on the beauty of the scene cancel out the message about the passing of wooden ships?

The Varieties of Social Reform

Lithographs, novels, and even joke booklets helped drive home the need for social reform, but religious conviction also inspired efforts to help the poor. Moral reform societies, Bible groups, Sunday schools, and temperance groups aimed to turn the poor into respectable people. In 1844, for example, 450 different relief organizations operated in London alone.

Religiously motivated reformers first had to overcome the perceived indifference of the working classes. Protestant and Catholic clergy complained that workers had no interest in religion; less than 10 percent of the workers in the cities attended religious services. To combat indifference, British religious groups launched the Sunday school movement, which reached its zenith in the 1840s. By 1851, more than half of all working-class children ages five to fifteen were attending Sunday school, even though very few of their parents regularly went to religious services. The Sunday schools taught children how to read at a time when few working-class children could go to school during the week.

Women took a more prominent role than ever before in charitable work. Catholic religious orders, which by 1850 enrolled many more women than men, ran schools, hospitals, leper colonies, insane asylums, and old-age homes. The Catholic church established new religious orders, especially for women, and increased missionary activity overseas. Protestant women in Great Britain and the United States established Bible, missionary, and female reform societies by the hundreds. Chief among their concerns was prostitution, and many societies dedicated themselves to reforming “fallen women” and castigating men who visited prostitutes.

Catholics and Protestants alike promoted the temperance movement. The first societies had appeared in the United States as early as 1813, and by 1835, the American Temperance Society claimed 1.5 million members. Temperance advocates viewed drunkenness as a sign of moral weakness and a threat to social order, yet temperance societies also attracted working-class people who shared the desire for respectability.

Social reformers saw education as one of the main prospects for uplifting the poor and the working class. In 1833, the French government passed an education law that required every town to maintain a primary school, pay a teacher, and provide free education to poor boys. As the law’s author, François Guizot, argued, “Ignorance renders the masses turbulent and ferocious.” Girls’ schools were optional, although hundreds of women taught at the primary level, most of them in private, often religious schools. Despite these efforts, only one out of every thirty children went to school in France, many fewer than in Protestant states such as Prussia, where 75 percent of children were in primary school by 1835. Popular education remained woefully undeveloped in most of eastern Europe. Peasants were specifically excluded from the few primary schools in Russia, where Tsar Nicholas I blamed the Decembrist Revolt of 1825 on education.

Above all else, the elite sought to impose discipline and order on working people. Popular sports, especially blood sports such as cockfighting and bearbaiting, suggested a lack of control, and long-standing efforts in Great Britain to eliminate these recreations now gained momentum through organizations such as the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. By the end of the 1830s, bullbaiting had been abandoned in Great Britain. The other blood sports died out more slowly, and efforts in other countries generally lagged behind those of the British.

When private charities failed to meet the needs of the poor, governments often intervened. Great Britain sought to control the costs of public welfare by passing a new poor law in 1834, called by its critics the Starvation Act. The law required that all able-bodied persons receiving relief be housed together in workhouses, with husbands separated from wives and parents from children. Workhouse life was designed to be as unpleasant as possible so that poor people would move on to regions that had better employment prospects. British women from all social classes organized anti-poor law societies to protest the separation of mothers from their children in the workhouses.

Many women viewed charitable work as the extension of their domestic roles: they promoted virtuous behavior and morality in their efforts to improve society. But women's social reform activities concealed a paradox. According to the ideology that historians call **domesticity**, women were to live their lives entirely within the domestic sphere, devoting themselves to their families and the home. The English poet Alfred, Lord Tennyson, captured this view in a popular poem published in 1847: "Man for the field and woman for the hearth; / Man for the sword and for the needle she. / … All else confusion."

Most women had little hope of economic independence. The notion that they belonged in a separate, domestic sphere prevented women from pursuing higher education, work in professional careers, or participation in politics through voting or holding office — all activities deemed appropriate only to men. Laws everywhere codified the subordination of women. Many countries followed the model of Napoleon's Civil Code (see page 716), which classified married women as legal incompetents along with children, the insane, and criminals. In some countries, such as France and Austria, unmarried women enjoyed some rights over property, but elsewhere laws explicitly defined them as perpetual minors under paternal control.

Distinctions between men and women were most noticeable in the privileged classes. Whereas boys attended secondary schools, most middle- and upper-class girls still received their education at home or in church schools, where they were taught to be religious, obedient, and accomplished in music and languages. As men's fashions turned practical — long trousers and short jackets of solid, often dark colors; no makeup (previously common for aristocratic men), and simply cut hair

— women continued to dress for decorative effect, now with tightly corseted waists that emphasized the differences between female and male bodies. Middle- and upper-class women favored long hair that required hours of brushing and pinning up, and they wore long, cumbersome skirts.

Scientists reinforced stereotypes. Once considered sexually insatiable, women were now described as incapacitated by menstruation and largely uninterested in sex, an attitude that many equated with moral superiority. Thus was born the “Victorian” woman (the epoch gets its name from England’s Queen Victoria — see page 810), a figment of the largely male medical imagination. Physicians and scholars considered women mentally inferior. In 1839, Auguste Comte, an influential early French sociologist, wrote, “As for any functions of government, the radical inaptitude of the female sex is there yet more marked … and limited to the guidance of the mere family.”

Some women denounced the ideology of domesticity and separate spheres; the English writer Ann Lamb, for example, proclaimed that “the duty of a wife *means* the obedience of a Turkish slave.” Middle-class women who did not marry, however, had few options for earning a living; they often worked as governesses or ladies’ companions for the well-to-do. Most lower-class women worked because of financial necessity; as the wives of peasants, laborers, or shopkeepers, they had to supplement the family’s meager income by working on the farm, in a factory, or in a shop. Domesticity might have been an ideal for them, but rarely was it a reality.

Abuses and Reforms Overseas

Like the ideal of domesticity, the ideal of colonialism often conflicted with the reality of economic interests. In the first half of the nineteenth century, those economic interests changed as European colonialism underwent a subtle but momentous transformation. Colonialism became **imperialism** — a word coined only in the mid-nineteenth century — as Europeans turned their interest away from the plantation colonies of the Caribbean and toward new colonies in Asia and Africa. Colonialism had most often led to the establishment of settler colonies, direct rule by Europeans, the introduction of slave labor from Africa, and the wholesale destruction of indigenous peoples. In contrast, imperialism usually meant more indirect forms of economic exploitation and political rule. Europeans still profited from their colonies, but now they also aimed to re-form colonial peoples in their own image — when it did not conflict too much with their economic interests to do so.

Colonialism — as opposed to imperialism — rose and fell with the enslavement of Black Africans. British religious groups, especially the Quakers, had taken the lead in forming antislavery societies. They gained a first victory in 1807 when the British House of Lords voted to abolish the slave trade (though not the institution of slavery itself). British reformers finally obtained the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1833. Antislavery petitions to Parliament bore 1.5 million signatures, including those of 350,000 women on one petition alone. In France, the new government of Louis-Philippe took strong measures against clandestine slave traffic, virtually ending French participation during the 1830s. Slavery was abolished in the remaining French Caribbean colonies in 1848.

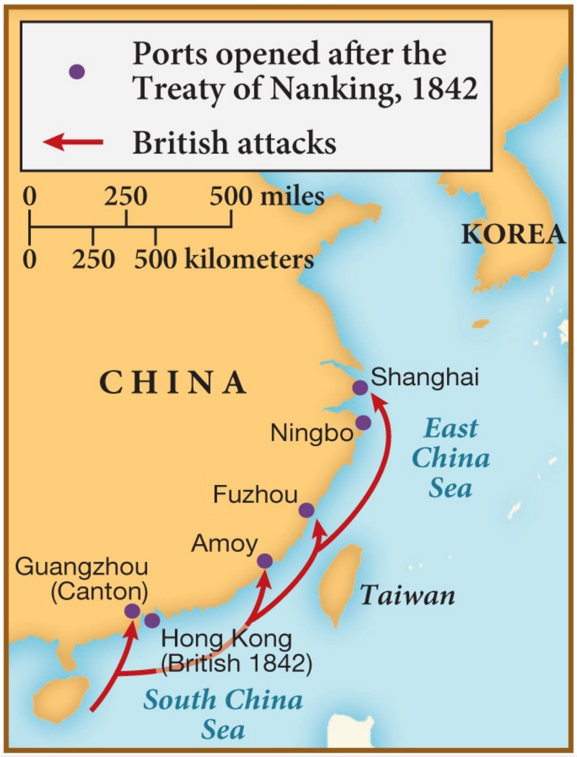
Neither slavery nor the slave trade disappeared immediately just because the British and French had given it up. Because of increased participation by Spanish and Portuguese traders, almost as many enslaved people were bought and sold in the 1820s as in the 1780s and the overall traffic did not dwindle until the 1850s. Human bondage continued unabated in Brazil, Cuba (still a Spanish colony), and the United States. Some American reformers supported abolition, but they remained a minority. Like serfdom in Russia, slavery in the Americas involved a quagmire of economic, political, and moral problems that worsened as the nineteenth century wore on.

Despite the abolition of slavery, Britain and France had not lost interest in overseas colonies. Using the pretext of an insult to its envoy, France invaded Algeria in 1830 and, after a long military campaign, established political control over most of the country in the next two decades. By 1848, more than seventy thousand French, Italian, and Maltese colonists had settled there with government encouragement, often confiscating the lands of native peoples. In that year, the French government officially incorporated Algeria as part of France. France also imposed a protectorate government over the South Pacific island of Tahiti.

Although the British granted Canada greater self-determination in 1839, they extended their dominion elsewhere by annexing Singapore (1819), an island off the Malay peninsula, and New Zealand (1840). They also increased their control in India through the administration of the East

India Company, a private group of merchants chartered by the British crown. The British educated a native elite to take over much of the day-to-day business of administering the country, and they used native soldiers to augment their military control. By 1850, only one in six soldiers serving Britain in India was European.

The East India Company also tried to establish a regular trade with China in opium, long known for its medicinal uses but increasingly bought in China as a recreational drug. The Chinese government forbade Western merchants to venture outside the southern city of Guangzhou (Canton) and banned the import of opium, but these measures failed. By smuggling Indian opium into China and bribing local officials, British traders built up a flourishing market, and by the mid-1830s they were pressuring the British government to force an expanded opium trade on the Chinese. When the Chinese authorities expelled British merchants from southern China in 1839, Britain retaliated by bombarding Chinese coastal cities. The **Opium War** ended in 1842, when Britain dictated to a defeated China the Treaty of Nanking, by which four more Chinese ports were opened to Europeans and the British took sovereignty over the island of Hong Kong, received a substantial war indemnity, and were assured of a continuation of the opium trade. In this case, reform took a backseat to economic interest, despite the complaints of religious groups in Britain.



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The Opium War, 1839–1842

Pictures From History/Bridgeman Images.

First Opium War This print by Thomas Allom, based on a sketch by an officer present, depicts the battle of Chinkiang (Zhenjiang) fought between British and Chinese forces on July 21, 1842, during the First Opium War. It was the last major battle of the war because the capture of this stronghold enabled the British to block river traffic. Like most British illustrations, this one gives no hint of the destructiveness and suffering inflicted on the Chinese.

REVIEW QUESTION

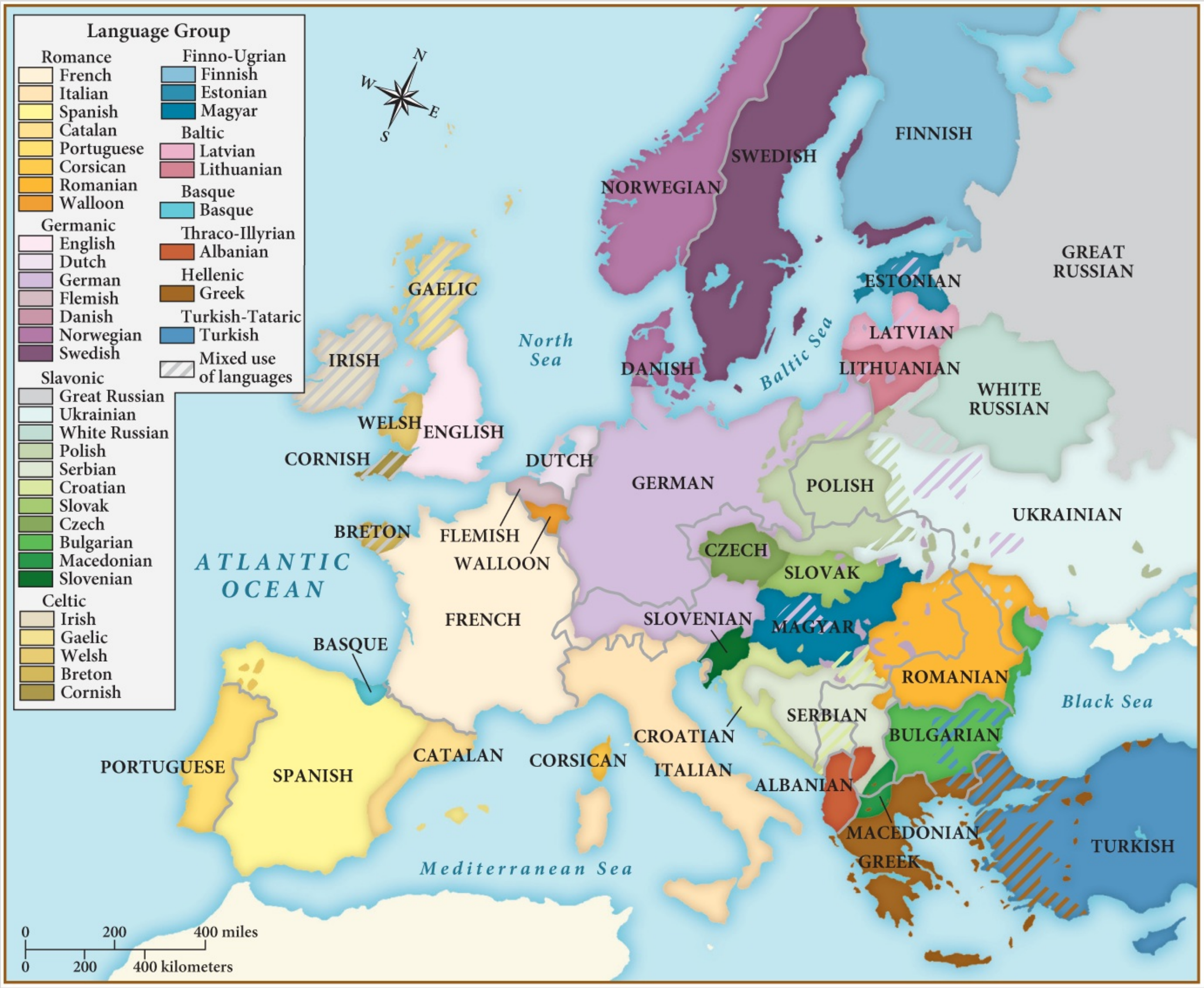
In which areas did reformers trying to address the social problems created by industrialization and urbanization succeed, and in which areas did they fail?

Ideologies and Political Movements

Although reform organizations grew rapidly in the 1830s and 1840s, many Europeans found them insufficient to answer the questions raised by industrialization and urbanization. How did the new social order differ from the earlier one, which was less urban and less driven by commercial concerns? Who should control this new order? Should governments try to moderate or accelerate the pace of change? New ideologies such as liberalism and socialism offered competing answers to these questions and provided the platform for new political movements. Established governments faced challenges not only from liberals and socialists but also from the most potent of the new doctrines, nationalism. Nationalists looked past social problems to concentrate on achieving political autonomy and self-determination for groups identified by ethnicity rather than by class.

The Spell of Nationalism

According to the doctrine of **nationalism**, all peoples derive their identities from their nations, which are defined by common language, shared cultural traditions, and sometimes religion. When such nations do not coincide with state boundaries, nationalism can produce violence and warfare as different national groups compete for control over territory (Map 21.3).



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MAP 21.3 Languages of Nineteenth-Century Europe

Even this detailed map of linguistic diversity understates the number of different languages and dialects spoken in Europe. In Italy, for example, few people spoke Italian as their first language. Instead, they spoke local dialects such as Piedmontese or Ligurian, and some who came from the regions bordering France spoke better French than Italian. How does the map underline the inherent contradictions of nationalism in Europe? What were the consequences of linguistic diversity within national borders? Keep in mind that even in Spain, France, and Great Britain, linguistic diversity continued right up to the beginning of the 1900s.

Nationalist aspirations were especially explosive for the Austrian Empire, which included a variety of peoples united only by their enforced allegiance to the Habsburg emperor. The empire included three main national groups: the Germans, who made up one-fourth of the population; the Magyars of Hungary (which included Transylvania and Croatia); and the Slavs, who together formed the largest group in the population but were divided into different ethnic groups such as Poles, Czechs, Croats, and Serbs. The Austrian Empire also included Italians in Lombardy and Venetia, and Romanians in Transylvania. Efforts to govern such diverse peoples preoccupied Prince Klemens von Metternich, chief minister to the weak Habsburg emperor Francis I (r. 1792–1835). Metternich's domestic policy aimed to restrain nationalist impulses, and it largely succeeded until the 1840s. He set up a secret police organization on the Napoleonic model that opened letters of even the highest officials. Metternich's policies forced the leading Italian nationalist, **Giuseppe Mazzini** (1805–1872), into exile in France in 1831. There Mazzini founded Young Italy, a secret society that attracted thousands with its message that Italy would touch off a European-wide revolutionary movement. The conservative order throughout Europe felt threatened by Mazzini's charismatic leadership and conspiratorial scheming, but he lacked both European allies against Austria and widespread support among the Italian masses.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

If you were an Italian university student in the 1830s, would you join Mazzini's Young Italy movement? Would you embrace revolution as a means to national unification or advocate a more cautious route? What would you do faced with Metternich's policy of closely monitoring nationalist activity in the Austrian lands? Would this dissuade you from joining possibly illegal organizations?

Austria was deliberately excluded when the German states formed a *Zollverein* ("customs union") in 1834, under Prussian leadership. German nationalists sought a government uniting German-speaking peoples, but they could not agree on its boundaries: Would the unified German state include both Prussia and the Austrian Empire? If it included Austria, what about the non-German territories of the Austrian Empire? And could the powerful, conservative kingdom of Prussia coexist in a unified German state with other, more liberal but smaller states? These questions would vex German history for decades to come.

Polish nationalism revived after the collapse of the revolt in 1830 against Russian domination. It found its most ringing voice in the poet Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855), whose mystical writings portrayed the Polish exiles as martyrs of a crucified nation with an international Christian mission. Mickiewicz formed the Polish Legion to fight for national restoration, but rivalries and divisions prevented united action until 1846, when Polish exiles in Paris tried to launch a coordinated insurrection for Polish independence. Plans for an uprising in the Polish province of Galicia in the Austrian Empire collapsed when peasants instead revolted against their noble Polish masters.

In Russia, nationalism took the form of opposition to Western ideas. Russian nationalists, or Slavophiles (lovers of the Slavs), opposed the Westernizers, who wanted Russia to follow Western models of industrial development and constitutional government. The Slavophiles favored maintaining rural traditions infused by the values of the Russian Orthodox church. Only a return to Russia's basic historical principles, they argued, could protect the country against the corrosion of rationalism and materialism. The conflict between Slavophiles and Westernizers has continued to shape Russian cultural and intellectual life to the present day.

The most significant nationalist movement in western Europe could be found in Ireland. The Irish had struggled for centuries against English occupation, but Irish nationalists developed strong organizations only in the 1840s. In 1842, a group of writers founded the Young Ireland movement, which aimed to recover Irish traditions and preserve the Irish language (spoken by at least one-third of the peasantry). Daniel O'Connell (1775–1847), a Catholic lawyer and landowner who sat in the British House of Commons, hoped to force the British Parliament to repeal the Act of Union of 1801, which had made Ireland part of Great Britain. In 1843, London newspapers reported "monster meetings" that drew crowds of as many as 300,000 people in support of repeal of the union. In response, the British government arrested O'Connell and convicted him of conspiracy.

Liberalism in Economics and Politics

As an ideology, **liberalism** had a longer lineage than nationalism but enjoyed less influence among the common people. Liberalism traced its origins to the writings of John Locke in the seventeenth century and the Enlightenment philosophy in the eighteenth. The adherents of liberalism defined themselves in opposition to conservatives on one end of the political spectrum and revolutionaries on the other. Unlike conservatives, liberals supported the Enlightenment ideals of constitutional guarantees of personal liberty and free trade in economics, believing that they would promote social improvement and economic growth. Liberals generally applauded the social and economic changes produced by the Industrial Revolution, while opposing the violence and excessive state power promoted by the French Revolution. The leaders of the expanding middle class composed of manufacturers, merchants, and professionals favored liberalism.

The rapid industrialization and urbanization of Great Britain created a receptive environment for liberalism. Its foremost proponent in the early nineteenth century was the philosopher and jurist Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832). He called his brand of liberalism utilitarianism because he held that the best policy is the one that produces “the greatest good for the greatest number” and is thus the most useful, or utilitarian. Bentham criticized the injustices of the British parliamentary process, the abuses of the prisons and the penal code, and the educational system. In his zeal for social engineering, Bentham proposed model prisons that would emphasize rehabilitation through close supervision rather than corporal punishment.

British liberals wanted government to limit its economic role to maintaining the currency, enforcing contracts, and financing major enterprises like the military and the railroads. They therefore sought to lower or eliminate British tariffs, especially through repeal of the **Corn Laws**, which benefited landowners by preventing the import of cheap foreign grain while keeping the price of food artificially high for the workers. When landholders in the House of Commons thwarted efforts to lower grain tariffs, two Manchester cotton manufacturers set up the Anti–Corn Law League. The league appealed to the middle class against the landlords, who were labeled “a bread-taxing oligarchy” and “blood-sucking vampires,” and attracted thousands of workers to its meetings. League members established local branches, published newspapers and the journal *The Economist* (founded in 1843 and now one of the world’s most influential periodicals), and campaigned in elections. They finally won the support of the Tory prime minister Sir Robert Peel, whose government repealed the Corn Laws in 1846.

Free trade had less appeal in continental Europe than in England because continental industries needed protection against British industrial dominance. As a consequence, liberals on the continent focused on constitutional reform. French liberals, for example, agitated for greater press freedoms and a broadening of the vote. Louis-Philippe’s government thwarted liberals’ hopes for reforms by suppressing many political organizations and reestablishing censorship. Repression muted criticism in most other European states as well. Nevertheless, some state bureaucrats, especially university-trained middle-class officials, favored economic liberalism. Hungarian count Stephen Széchenyi (1791–1860) personally campaigned for the introduction of British-style changes. He helped start up steamboat traffic on the Danube, encouraged the importation of machinery and technicians for steam-driven textile factories, and pushed the construction of Hungary’s first railway line, from Budapest to Vienna.

In the 1840s, however, Széchenyi’s efforts paled before those of the flamboyant Magyar nationalist Lajos Kossuth (1802–1894). After spending four years in prison for sedition, Kossuth grabbed every opportunity to publicize American democracy and British political liberalism, all in a fervent nationalist spirit. In 1844, he founded the Protective Association, whose members bought only Hungarian products; to Kossuth, boycotting Austrian goods was crucial to ending “colonial dependence” on Austria.

Even in Russia, signs of liberal opposition appeared in the 1830s and 1840s. Small circles of young noblemen serving in the army or bureaucracy met in cities, especially Moscow, to discuss the latest Western ideas. Out of these groups came such future revolutionaries as Alexander Herzen (1812–1870), described by the police as “a daring free-thinker, extremely dangerous to society.” Tsar Nicholas I (r. 1825–1855) banned Western liberal writings as well as all books about the United States. He sent nearly ten thousand people a year into exile in Siberia as punishment for their political activities.

Socialism and the Early Labor Movement

The newest ideology, **socialism**, took up where liberalism left off: socialists believed that the liberties advocated by liberals benefited only the middle class — the owners of factories and businesses — not the workers (see Terms of History on page 772). They sought to reorganize society totally rather than to reform it piecemeal through political measures. They envisioned a future society in which workers would share a harmonious, cooperative, and prosperous life.

Early socialists criticized the emerging Industrial Revolution for dividing society into two classes: the new middle class, or capitalists (who owned the wealth), and the working class, their downtrodden and impoverished employees. As their name suggests, the socialists aimed to restore harmony and cooperation through social reorganization. Robert Owen (1771–1858), a successful Welsh-born manufacturer, founded British socialism. In 1800, he bought a cotton mill in New Lanark, Scotland, and began to set up a model factory town, where workers labored only ten hours a day (instead of seventeen, as was common) and children between the ages of five and ten attended school rather than working. Owen moved to the United States in the 1820s and founded a community named New Harmony in Indiana. The experiment collapsed after three years, a victim of internal squabbling. But out of Owen's experiments and writings, such as *The Book of the New Moral World* (1820), would come the movement for producer cooperatives (businesses owned and controlled by their workers), consumers' cooperatives (stores in which consumers owned shares), and a national trade union.

The French socialists Claude Henri de Saint-Simon (1760–1825) and Charles Fourier (1772–1837) shared Owen's alarm about the effects of industrialization on social relations. Saint-Simon — who coined the terms *industrialism* and *industrialist* to define the new economic order and its chief animators — believed that work was the central element in the new society and that it should be controlled not by politicians but by scientists, engineers, artists, and industrialists themselves. To correct the abuses of the new industrial order, Fourier urged the establishment of communities that were part garden city and part agricultural commune; all jobs would be rotated to maximize happiness. Fourier hoped that a network of small, decentralized communities would replace the state.

Women often played key roles in early socialism. In 1832, Saint-Simonian women founded a feminist newspaper, *The Free Woman*, asserting that "with the emancipation of woman will come the emancipation of the worker." In Great Britain, many women joined the Owenites and helped form cooperative societies and unions. They defended women's working-class organizations against the complaints of men in the new societies and trade unions. The French activist Flora Tristan (1801–1844) devoted herself to reconciling the interests of male and female workers. She published a stream of books and pamphlets urging male workers to address women's unequal status, arguing that "the emancipation of male workers is *impossible* so long as women remain in a degraded state."

Even though most male socialists ignored Tristan's plea for women's participation, they did strive to create working-class associations. The French socialist Louis Blanc (1811–1882) explained the importance of working-class associations in his book *Organization of Labor* (1840), which deeply influenced the French labor movement. Similarly, the printer turned journalist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865) urged workers to form producers' associations so that the workers could control the work process and eliminate profits made by capitalists. His 1840 book *What Is Property?* argues that property is theft: labor alone is productive, and rent, interest, and profit are unjust.

After 1840, some socialists began to call themselves **communists**, emphasizing their desire to replace private property by communal, collective ownership. The Frenchman Étienne Cabet (1788–1856) was the first to use the word *communist*. In 1840, he published *Travels in Icaria,* a novel describing a communist utopia in which a popularly elected dictatorship efficiently organized work and reduced the workday to seven hours.

Out of the churning of socialist ideas of the 1840s emerged two men whose collaboration would change the definition of socialism and remake it into an ideology that would shake the world for the next 150 years. Karl Marx (1818–1883) had studied philosophy at the University of Berlin, edited a liberal newspaper until the Prussian government suppressed it, and then left for Paris, where he met Friedrich Engels (1820–1895). While working in the offices of his wealthy family's cotton-manufacturing interests in Manchester, England, Engels had been shocked into writing *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* (1845), a sympathetic depiction of industrial workers' dismal lives. In Paris, where German and eastern European intellectuals could pursue their political interests more freely than at home, Marx and Engels organized the Communist League, in whose name they published *The Communist Manifesto* in 1848 (see Primary Source Analysis on page 774).

It eventually became the touchstone of Marxist and communist revolutions all over the world. Communists, the *Manifesto* declared, must aim for "the downfall of the bourgeoisie [capitalist class] and the ascendancy of the proletariat [working class], the abolition of the old society based on class conflicts and the foundation of a new society without classes and without private property." Marx and Engels embraced industrialization because they believed it would eventually bring on the proletarian revolution and thus lead inevitably to the abolition of exploitation, private property, and class society.

Even when not overtly revolutionary, the upsurge in working-class organizations frightened the middle classes. A newspaper exclaimed in 1834, “The trade unions are, we have no doubt, the most dangerous institutions that were ever permitted to take root.” Many British workers joined in **Chartism**, which aimed to transform Britain into a democracy. In 1838, political radicals drew up the People’s Charter, which demanded universal manhood suffrage, vote by secret ballot, equal electoral districts, annual elections, and the elimination of property qualifications for and the payment of stipends to members of Parliament. Women took part by founding female political unions, setting up Chartist Sunday schools, organizing boycotts of unsympathetic shopkeepers, and joining Chartist temperance associations. Nevertheless, the People’s Charter refrained from calling for woman suffrage because the movement’s leaders feared that doing so would alienate potential supporters.

The Chartists organized a massive campaign during 1838 and 1839, with large public meetings, fiery speeches, and torchlight parades. Presented with petitions for the People’s Charter signed by more than a million people, the House of Commons refused to act. In response to this rebuff from middle-class liberals, the Chartists allied themselves in the 1840s with working-class strike movements in the manufacturing districts and associated with various European revolutionary movements.

Continental European workers were less well organized because trade unions and strikes were illegal everywhere except Great Britain. Nevertheless, artisans and skilled workers in France formed mutual aid societies that provided insurance, death benefits, and education. In eastern and central Europe, socialism and labor organization — like liberalism — had less impact than in western Europe. Cooperative societies and workers' newspapers did not appear in the German states until 1848. In general, labor organization tended to flourish where urbanization and industrialization were most advanced; even though factory workers rarely organized, skilled artisans did so in order to resist mechanization and wage cuts. When revolutions broke out in 1848, artisans and workers played a prominent — and controversial — role.

TERMS OF HISTORY

Socialism

Socialism already had many different meanings when the term first appeared in the 1830s. It could mean the program for social reform proposed by Robert Owen, Claude Henri de Saint-Simon, or Charles Fourier, all considered founders of socialism though they themselves did not use the term. For the writer George Sand, *socialist* was the opposite of *individualist*. Flora Tristan recounted a conversation in 1843 with a fellow socialist who called himself a Fourierist so as not to shock people, as socialist had already become a term of slander. The man considered himself a socialist, even a communist, because he supported equality, fraternity, and liberty for all people, including women. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels developed their ideas about communism as a way of going beyond what they claimed to be the defects of the proposals of Owen, Saint-Simon and Fourier, whom they labeled "utopian socialists" because they ignored class struggle and the need for revolution. Communism, nonetheless, is a variety of socialism, one that puts much more emphasis than other varieties of socialism on the state's role in remaking economy and society.

Underneath all the disagreements, then and now, socialism has two core meanings: (1) criticism of unfettered capitalist markets in labor and goods and (2) the conviction that political change, such as extending the right to vote, is not enough to ensure equality and social justice. In short, socialists put the emphasis on the social question and not on political or constitutional rights.

In that sense, they favored equality over liberty. They produced many innovative ideas such as consumer cooperatives and utopian communities but quarreled incessantly among themselves over the right methods to pursue. Should they form trade unions, political parties, or secret revolutionary groups? Should they try to ameliorate the effects of industrialization or aim to displace capitalism with new kinds of organization of production? Despite its political shortcomings, socialism offered powerful critiques of the inequalities created by industrialization that have not lost their relevance even today.

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (1848)

Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) were both sons of prosperous German-Jewish families that had converted to Christianity. In the manifesto for the Communist League, they laid out many of the central principles that would guide Marxist revolution in the future: they insisted that all history is shaped by class struggle and that in future revolutions the working class would overthrow the bourgeoisie, or middle class, and replace capitalism and private property with a communist state in which all property is collectively rather than individually owned. As this selection shows, Marx and Engels always placed more emphasis on class struggle than on the state that would result from the ensuing revolution.

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.…

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: It has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie [middle class] and Proletariat [working class].…

The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself.

But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons — the modern working class — the proletarians.…

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labour. Wage-labour rests exclusively on competition between labourers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all, is its own gravediggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

Source: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*. Trans. Samuel Moore (*Manifesto of the Communist Party*; London: William Reeves, 1888).

Questions to Consider

1. Who are the proletarians and why are they so important to Marx and Engels?
2. Why do Marx and Engels say that the bourgeoisie produces "its own gravediggers"?

Review Question

Why did ideologies have such a powerful appeal in the 1830s and 1840s?

The Revolutions of 1848

Food shortages, overpopulation, and unemployment helped turn ideological turmoil into revolution. In 1848, demonstrations and uprisings toppled governments, forced rulers and ministers to flee, and offered revolutionaries an opportunity to put liberal, socialist, and nationalist ideals into practice. In the end, the revolutions failed because the various ideological movements quarreled, leaving an opening for rulers and their armies to return to power. Rulers returned, but they now faced populations with greater expectations for political participation, national unification, and government responsiveness to social problems.

The Hungry Forties

Beginning in 1845, crop failures across Europe caused food prices to shoot skyward. In the best of times, urban workers paid 50 to 80 percent of their income for a diet consisting largely of bread; now even bread was beyond their means. Overpopulation hastened famine in some places, especially Ireland, where blight destroyed the staple crop, potatoes, first in 1846 and again in 1848 and 1851. Irish peasants had planted potatoes because a family of four might live off one acre of potatoes but would require at least two acres of grain. By the 1840s, Ireland was especially vulnerable to the potato blight. Out of a population of eight million, as many as one million people died of starvation or disease. Corpses lay unburied on the sides of roads, and whole families were found dead in their cottages, half eaten by dogs. Hundreds of thousands emigrated to England, the United States, and

Canada.

Throughout Europe, famine jeopardized social peace. In age-old fashion, rumors circulated about farmers hoarding grain to drive up prices. Believing that governments should ensure fair prices, crowds took to the streets to protest, often attacking markets or bakeries. Although harvests improved in 1848, by then many people had lost their land or become hopelessly indebted. High food prices also drove down the demand for manufactured goods, resulting in increased unemployment. Industrial workers' wages had been rising, but the cost of living rose even faster.

Another French Revolution

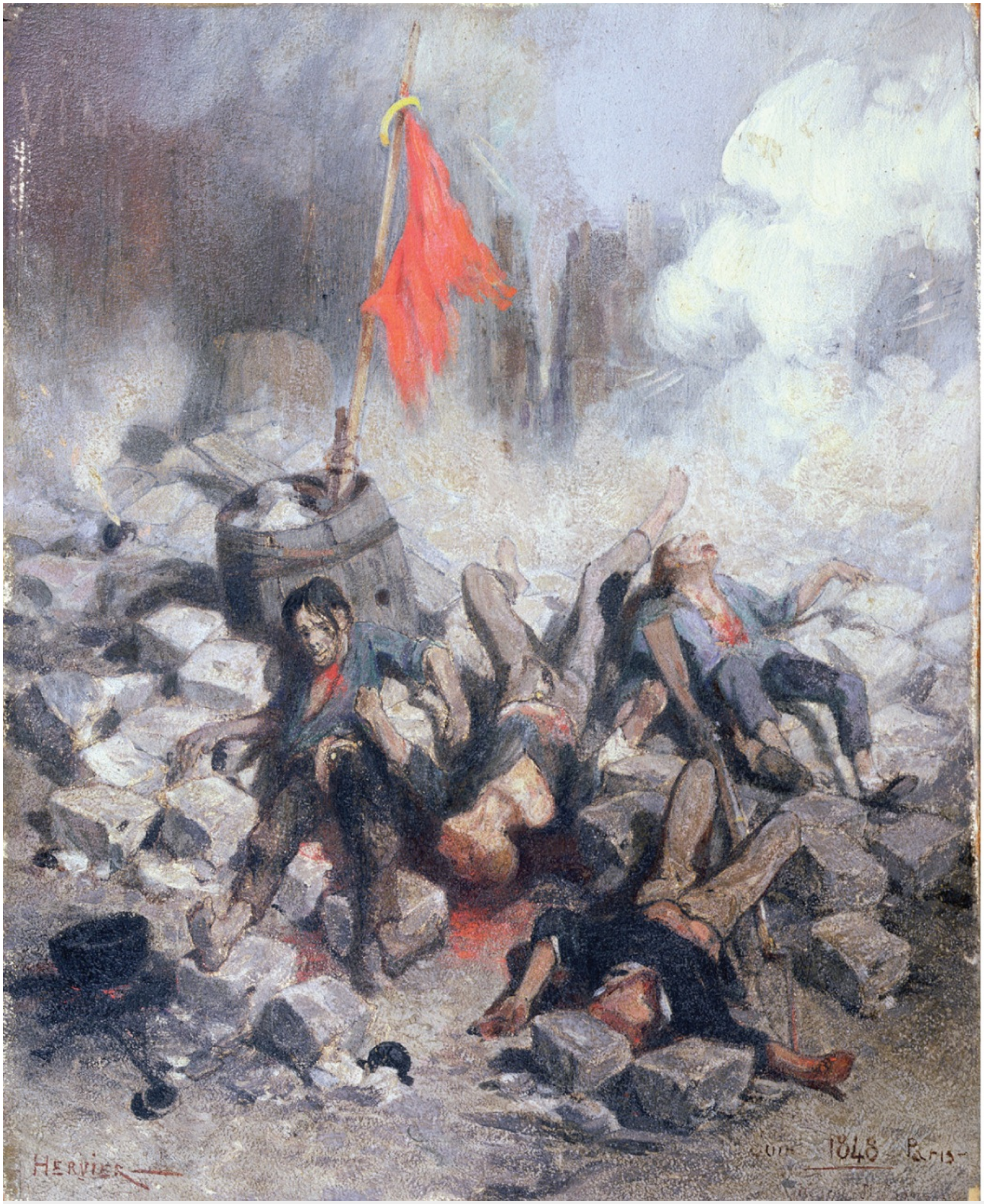
The specter of hunger amplified the voices criticizing established rulers. A Parisian demonstration in favor of reform turned violent on February 23, 1848, when panicky soldiers opened fire on the crowd, killing forty or fifty demonstrators. The next day, faced with fifteen hundred barricades and a furious populace, King Louis-Philippe abdicated and fled to England. A hastily formed provisional government declared France a republic once again.

The new French republican government issued liberal reforms — an end to the death penalty for political crimes, the abolition of slavery in the colonies, and freedom of the press — and agreed to introduce universal adult male suffrage despite misgivings about political participation by peasants and unemployed workers. The government allowed Paris officials to organize a system of "national workshops" to provide the unemployed with construction work. To meet a mounting deficit, the provisional government then levied a 45 percent surtax on property taxes, alienating peasants and landowners.

While peasants grumbled, scores of newspapers and political clubs inspired grassroots democratic fervor in Paris and other cities. Meeting in concert halls, theaters, and government auditoriums, the clubs became a regular evening attraction for the citizenry. Women also formed clubs, published women’s newspapers, and demanded representation in national politics.

This street-corner activism alarmed middle-class liberals and conservatives. Tension between the government and the workers in the national workshops rose. Faced with rising radicalism in Paris and other big cities, the voters elected a largely conservative National Assembly in April 1848; most of the deputies chosen were middle-class professionals or landowners who favored either a restoration of the monarchy or a moderate republic. The Assembly immediately appointed a five-man executive committee to run the government and pointedly excluded known supporters of workers’ rights. Suspicious of all demands for rapid change, the deputies dismissed a petition to restore divorce and voted down woman suffrage by 899 to 1. When the numbers enrolled in the national workshops in Paris rocketed from a predicted ten thousand to 110,000, the government ordered the workshops closed to new workers, and on June 21 it directed that those already enrolled move to the provinces or join the army.

The workers exploded in anger. In the June Days, as the following week came to be called, the government forces crushed the workers: more than ten thousand people, most of them workers, were killed or injured; twelve thousand were arrested; and four thousand eventually were convicted and deported to Algeria.



Louis Adolphe Hervier (1818–79)/Private Collection/Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Images.

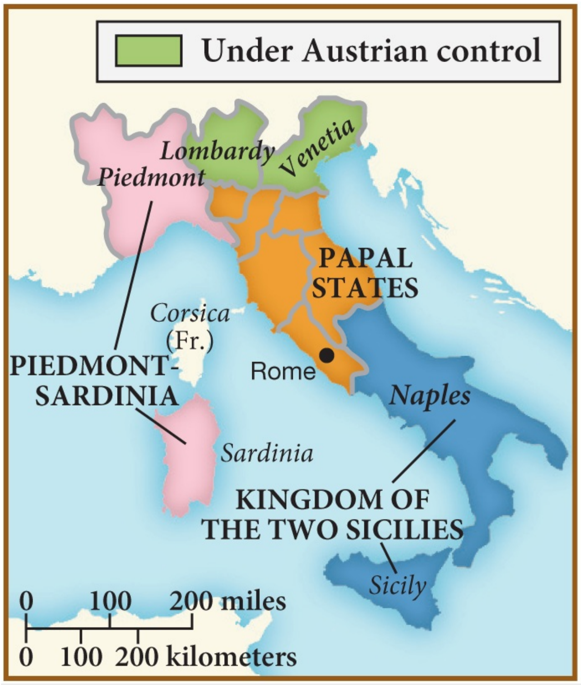
The Violence of Revolution Their red flag of revolt is all that is left to these victims at a barricade thrown up in Paris during the uprising of June 1848. What was the intention of artist Louis Adolphe Hervier when he chose to paint this scene?

After the National Assembly adopted a new constitution calling for a presidential election in which all adult men could vote, the electorate chose **Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte** (1808–1873), nephew of the dead emperor. Bonaparte got more than 5.5 million votes out of some 7.4 million cast. His election spelled the end of the Second Republic, just as his uncle had dismantled the first one established in 1792. In 1852, on the forty-eighth anniversary of Napoleon I's coronation as emperor, Louis- Napoleon declared himself Emperor Napoleon III, thus inaugurating the Second Empire. (Napoleon I's son died and never became Napoleon II, but Napoleon III wanted to create a sense of legitimacy and so used the Roman numeral III.) Although the revolution of 1848 never had a period of terror like that in 1793–1794, it nonetheless ended in similar fashion, with an authoritarian government that tried to play monarchists and republicans off against each other.

Nationalist Revolution in Italy

In January 1848, a revolt broke out in Palermo, Sicily, against the Bourbon ruler. Then came the electrifying news of the February revolution in Paris. In Milan, a huge nationalist demonstration quickly degenerated into battles between Austrian forces and armed demonstrators. In Venice, an uprising drove out the Austrians. Peasants in the south occupied large landowners' estates. Artisans and workers called for higher wages, restrictions on the use of machinery, and unemployment relief.

But class divisions and regional differences stood in the way of Italian national unity. Property owners, businessmen, and professionals wanted liberal reforms and national unification under a conservative regime; intellectuals, workers, and artisans dreamed of democracy and social reforms. Some nationalists favored a loose federation; others wanted a monarchy under Charles Albert of Piedmont-Sardinia; still others urged rule by the pope; a few shared Giuseppe Mazzini's vision of a republic with a strong central government. Many leaders of national unification spoke standard Italian only as a second language; most Italians spoke regional dialects.



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The Divisions of Italy, 1848

As king of the most powerful Italian state, Charles Albert (r. 1831–1849) inevitably played a central role. After some hesitation caused by fears of French intervention, he led a military campaign against Austria. Although Austrian troops defeated Charles Albert in the north, democratic and nationalist forces prevailed at first in the south. In the fall, the Romans drove the pope from the city and declared Rome a republic. For the next few months, republican leaders, such as Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807–1882), congregated in Rome to organize the new republic. These efforts faltered when foreign powers intervened. The new president of France, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, sent an expeditionary force to secure the papal throne for Pius IX. Mazzini and Garibaldi fled. Revolution had been defeated in Italy, but the memory of the Roman republic and the commitment to unification remained, and they would soon emerge again with new force.

Revolt and Reaction in Central Europe

News of the revolution in Paris also provoked popular demonstrations in central and eastern Europe. When the Prussian army tried to push back a crowd gathered in front of Berlin's royal palace on March 18, 1848, their actions provoked panic and street fighting. The next day the crowd paraded wagons loaded with the dead bodies of demonstrators under the window of the Prussian king Frederick William IV (r. 1840–1860), forcing him to salute the victims killed by his own army. In a state of near collapse, the king promised to call an assembly to draft a constitution.

The goal of German unification soon took precedence over social reform or constitutional changes within the separate states. In March and April, most of the German states agreed to elect delegates to a federal parliament at Frankfurt that would attempt to unite Germany. Local princes and even the more powerful kings of Prussia and Bavaria seemed to totter. Yet the revolutionaries' weaknesses soon became apparent. The eight hundred delegates to the Frankfurt parliament had little practical political experience and no access to an army. Unemployed artisans and workers smashed machines; peasants burned landlords' records and occasionally attacked Jewish moneylenders; women set up clubs and newspapers to demand their emancipation from "perfumed slavery."

The advantage lay with the princes, who bided their time. While the Frankfurt parliament laboriously prepared a liberal constitution for a united Germany — one that denied self-determination to Czechs, Poles, and Danes within its proposed German borders — Frederick William recovered his confidence. First, his army crushed the revolution in Berlin in the fall of 1848. Prussian troops then intervened to help other local rulers put down the last wave of democratic and nationalist insurrections in the spring of 1849. When the Frankfurt parliament finally concluded its work, offering the emperorship of a constitutional, federal Germany to the king of Prussia, Frederick William contemptuously refused this "crown from the gutter."

Events followed a similar course in the Austrian Empire. Just as Italians were driving the Austrians out of their lands in northern Italy and Magyar nationalists were demanding political autonomy for Hungary, a student-led demonstration for political reform on March 13, 1848, in Vienna turned into rioting, looting, and machine breaking. Metternich resigned, escaping to England in disguise. Emperor Ferdinand promised a constitution, an elected parliament, and the end of censorship. The beleaguered authorities in Vienna could not refuse Magyar demands for home rule, and Stephen Széchenyi and Lajos Kossuth (see page 771) both became ministers in the new Hungarian government. The Magyars were the largest ethnic group in Hungary but still did not make up 50 percent of the population, which included Croats, Romanians, Slovaks, and Slovenes, all of whom preferred Austrian rule to domination by local Magyars.

The ethnic divisions in Hungary foreshadowed the many political and social divisions that would doom the revolutionaries. Fears of peasant insurrection prompted the Magyar nationalists around Kossuth to abolish serfdom, thereby alienating the largest noble landowners. The new government infuriated the other nationalities when it imposed the Magyar language on them. In Prague, Czech nationalists convened a Slav congress as a counter to the Germans' Frankfurt parliament and called for a reorganization of the Austrian Empire that would recognize the rights of ethnic minorities.

The Austrian government took advantage of these divisions. To quell peasant discontent, it abolished all remaining peasant obligations to the nobility in March 1848. Rejoicing country folk soon lost interest in the revolution. Military force finally broke up the revolutionary movements. The first blow fell in Prague in June 1848; General Prince Alfred von Windischgrätz, the military governor, bombarded the city into submission when a demonstration led to violence (including the shooting death of his wife, watching from a window). After another uprising in Vienna a few months later, Windischgrätz marched seventy thousand soldiers into the capital and set up direct military rule. In December, the Austrian monarchy came back to life when the eighteen-year-old Francis Joseph (r. 1848–1916), unencumbered by promises extracted by the revolutionaries from his now feeble uncle Ferdinand, assumed the imperial crown after intervention by leading court officials. In the spring of 1849, the Austrian army teamed up with Tsar Nicholas I, who marched into Hungary with more than 300,000 Russian troops. Hungary was put under brutal martial law. Széchenyi went mad, and Kossuth found refuge in the United States.

Revolutions of 1848

1848	
January	Uprising in Palermo, Sicily
February	Revolution in Paris; proclamation of republic
March	Insurrections in Vienna, German cities, Milan, and Venice; autonomy movement in Hungary; Charles Albert of Piedmont-Sardinia declares war on Austrian Empire
May	Frankfurt parliament opens
June	Austrian army crushes revolutionary movement in Prague; June Days end in defeat of workers in Paris
July	Austrians defeat Charles Albert and Italian forces
November	Insurrection in Rome
December	Francis Joseph becomes Austrian emperor; Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte is elected president in France
1849	
February	Rome is declared a republic
April	Frederick William of Prussia rejects crown of united Germany offered by Frankfurt parliament
July	Roman republic overthrown by French intervention
August	Russian and Austrian armies combine to defeat Hungarian forces

Aftermath to 1848: Reimposing Authority

Although the revolutionaries of 1848 failed to achieve their goals, their efforts left a profound mark on the political and social landscape. Between 1848 and 1851, the French served a kind of republican apprenticeship that prepared the population for another, more lasting republic after 1870. In Italy, the failure of unification did not stop the spread of nationalist ideas and the rooting of demands for democratic participation. In the German states, the revolutionaries of 1848 turned nationalism from an idea devised by professors and writers into a popular enthusiasm and even a practical reality. The initiation of artisans, workers, and journeymen into democratic clubs increased political awareness in the lower classes and helped prepare them for broader political participation. Almost all the German states had a constitution and a parliament after 1850. The spectacular failures of 1848 thus hid some important underlying successes.

The absence of revolution in 1848 in some regions of the West was just as significant as its presence. No revolution occurred in Great Britain, the Netherlands, or Belgium, the three places where industrialization and urbanization had developed most rapidly. In Great Britain, the Chartist movement mounted several gigantic demonstrations to force Parliament into granting all adult males the right to vote. But even though Parliament refused, no uprising occurred — in part because the government had already proved its responsiveness: the middle classes in

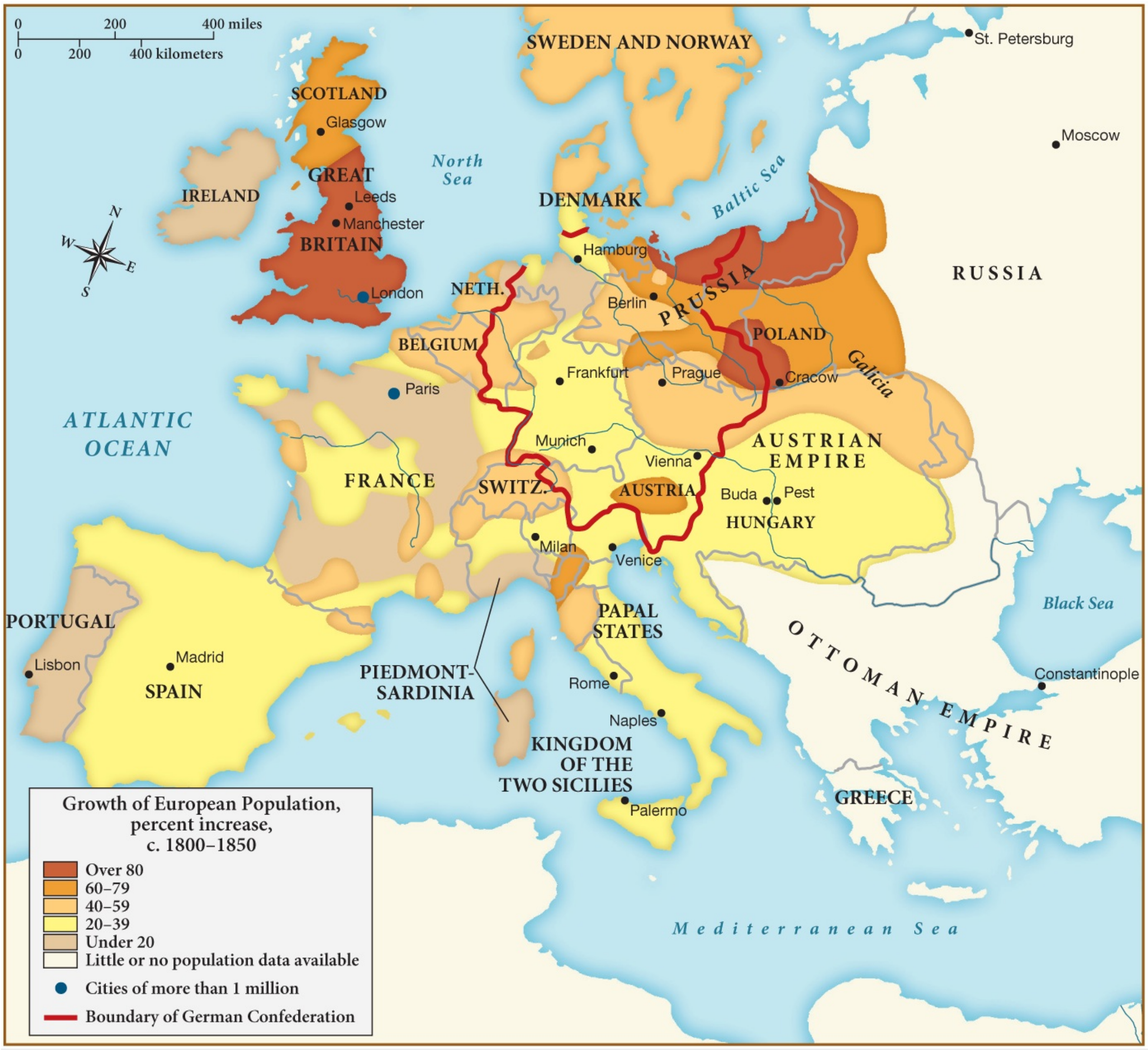
Britain had been co-opted into the established order by the Reform Bill of 1832, and the working classes had won parliamentary regulation of children's and women's work.

The other notable exception to revolution among the great powers was Russia, where Tsar Nicholas I maintained a tight grip through police surveillance and censorship. The Russian schools, limited to the upper classes, taught Nicholas's three most cherished principles: autocracy (the unlimited power of the tsar), orthodoxy (obedience to the church in religion and morality), and nationality (devotion to Russian traditions). These provided no space for political dissent.

Although much had changed, the aristocracy remained the dominant power almost everywhere. As army officers, aristocrats put down revolutionary forces. As landlords, they continued to dominate the rural scene and control parliamentary bodies. They also held many official positions in the state bureaucracies. As conservatives returned to power, all signs of women's political activism disappeared. The French feminist movement, the most advanced in Europe, fell apart when, after the June Days, the increasingly conservative republican government forbade women to form political clubs and arrested and imprisoned two of the most outspoken women leaders for their socialist activities. As rulers reimposed their authority in the years after 1848, many socialists, communists, and nationalists suffered a similar fate: if they did not fall in battle or go to prison, they fled into exile, waiting for another opportunity to voice their demands.

REVIEW QUESTION

Why did the revolutions of 1848 fail?



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MAPPING THE WEST

Europe in 1850

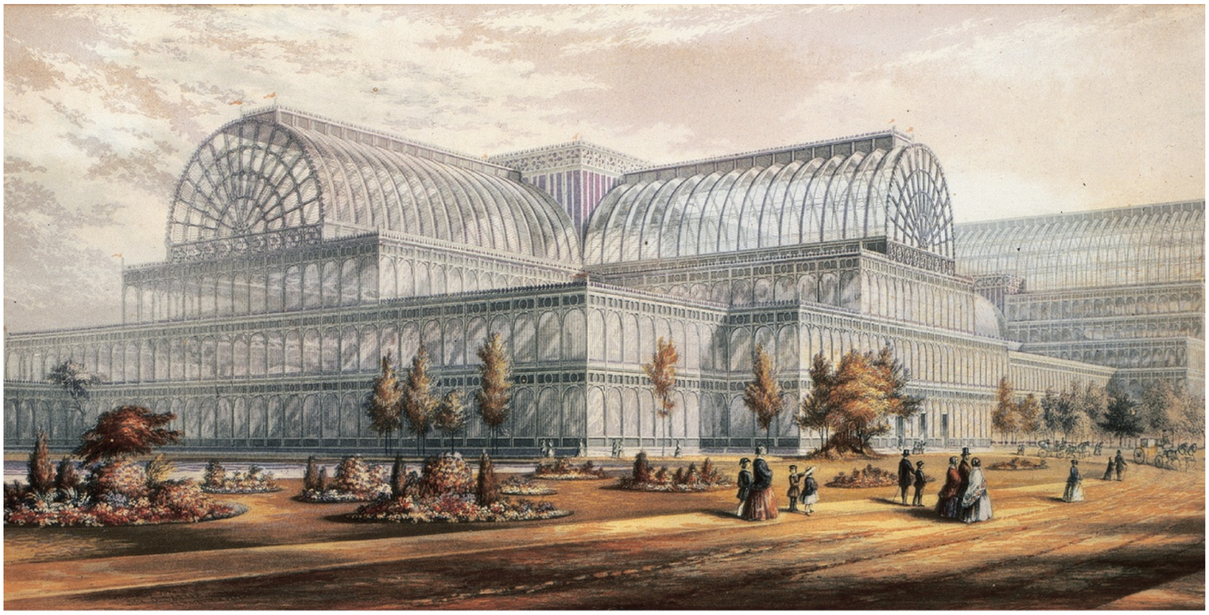
This map of population growth between 1800 and 1850 reveals important trends that would not otherwise be evident. Although population growth correlated for the most part with industrialization, population also grew in more agricultural regions such as East Prussia, Poland, and Ireland. Ireland's rapid population growth in the early nineteenth century does not appear on this map because the famine of 1846–1851 killed more than 10 percent of the population and forced many others to emigrate.

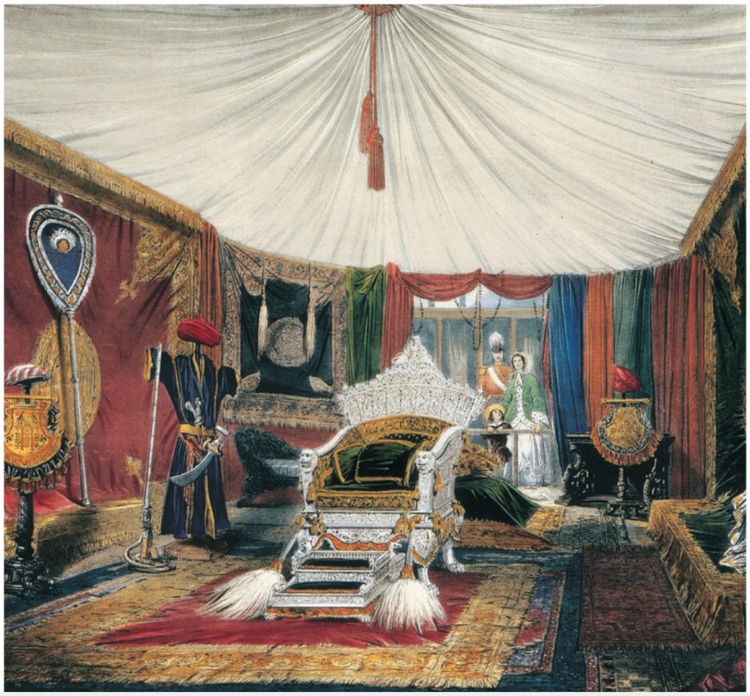
Analyzing the Map: Compare this map with Map 21.1. Which areas had the highest rate of growth in population and which the least?

Making Connections: Did population growth correlate with industrialization? What would explain the connection between the two?

Conclusion

In 1851, Europe's most important female monarch presided over a midcentury celebration of peace and industrial growth that helped dampen the still-smoldering fires of revolutionary passion. In the place of revolutionary fervor was a government-sponsored spectacle of what industry, hard work, and technological imagination could produce. Queen Victoria (r. 1837–1901), who herself promoted the notion of domesticity as women's sphere, opened the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations in London on May 1. A huge iron-and-glass building housed the display. Soon people referred to it as the Crystal Palace; its nine hundred tons of glass created an aura of fantasy, and the abundant goods from around the world inspired satisfaction and pride.





Top: Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery, Kent, UK/Bridgeman Images.
Bottom: The Stapleton Collection/Bridgeman Images.

The Crystal Palace, 1851 George Baxter's lithograph (above) shows the exterior of the main building for the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations in London. It was designed by Sir Joseph Paxton to gigantic dimensions: 1,848 feet long by 456 feet wide; 135 feet high; 772,784 square feet of ground-floor area covering no less than 18 acres. The lithograph by Peter Mabuse (right) offers a view of one of the colonial displays at the Great Exhibition. The tented room and carved ivory throne are meant to recall India, Britain's premier colony.

Many of the six million people who visited the Crystal Palace display traveled on the new railroads, the foremost symbol of the age of industrial transformation. Along with the railroads, the application of steam engines to textile manufacturing set in motion a host of economic and social changes: cities burgeoned with rapidly growing populations; factories concentrated laborers who formed a new working class; manufacturers now challenged landed elites for political leadership; and social problems galvanized reform organizations and governments alike. The Crystal Palace presented the rosy view of modern, industrial, urban life, but the housing shortages, inadequacy of water supplies, and recurrent epidemic diseases had not disappeared.

The revolutions of 1848 brought to the surface the profound tensions within a European society in transition toward industrialization and urbanization. After them, the Industrial Revolution continued and workers developed more extensive organizations. Confronted with the menace of revolution, conservative elites now sought alternatives that would be less threatening to the established order and still permit some change. This search for alternatives became immediately evident in the question of national unification in Germany and Italy. National unification would hereafter depend not on speeches and parliamentary resolutions, but rather on what the Prussian leader Otto von Bismarck would call “iron and blood.”

Chapter 21 Review

Key Terms and People

Be sure that you can identify the term or person and explain its historical significance.

ideology
Industrial Revolution
urbanization
George Sand
domesticity
imperialism
Opium War
nationalism
Giuseppe Mazzini
liberalism
Corn Laws
socialism
communists
Chartism
Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte

Review Questions

1. What dangers did the Industrial Revolution pose to both urban and rural life?
2. In which areas did reformers trying to address the social problems created by industrialization and urbanization succeed, and in which did they fail?
3. Why did ideologies have such a powerful appeal in the 1830s and 1840s?
4. Why did the revolutions of 1848 fail?

Making Connections

1. Which of the ideologies of this period had the greatest impact on political events? How can you explain this?
2. In what ways might industrialization be considered a force for peaceful change rather than a revolution? (*Hint:* Think about the situation in Great Britain.)
3. In what ways did the revolutions of 1848 repeat elements of the French revolutions in 1789 and 1830, and in what ways did they break with those precedents?
4. Neither Great Britain nor Russia had a revolution in 1848. How is the absence of revolution in those two countries related to their history in the preceding decades?

Important Events

1830–1832	Cholera epidemic sweeps across Europe
1830	France invades and begins conquest of Algeria
1832	George Sand, *Indiana*
1833	Factory Act regulates work of children in Great Britain; abolition of slavery in British Empire
1834	German *Zollverein* is established under Prussian leadership
1835	Belgium opens first continental railway built with state funds
1839	Beginning of Opium War; invention of photography
1841	Charles Dickens, *The Old Curiosity Shop*
1846	Famine strikes Ireland; Corn Laws are repealed in England; peasant insurrection in Austrian province of Galicia
1848	Revolutions of 1848 throughout Europe; last great wave of Chartist demonstrations in Britain; Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*; abolition of slavery in French colonies; end of serfdom in Austrian Empire
1851	Crystal Palace exhibition in London

Consider three events

Charles Dickens, *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1841), Revolutions of 1848 throughout Europe (1848), and Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (1848). How do these events represent different responses to the changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution?

Suggested References

The spread of industrialization has elicited much more historical interest than the process of urbanization because the analysis of industrialization occupied a central role in Marxism, as can be seen in two classic works by Hobsbawm and Thompson listed here.

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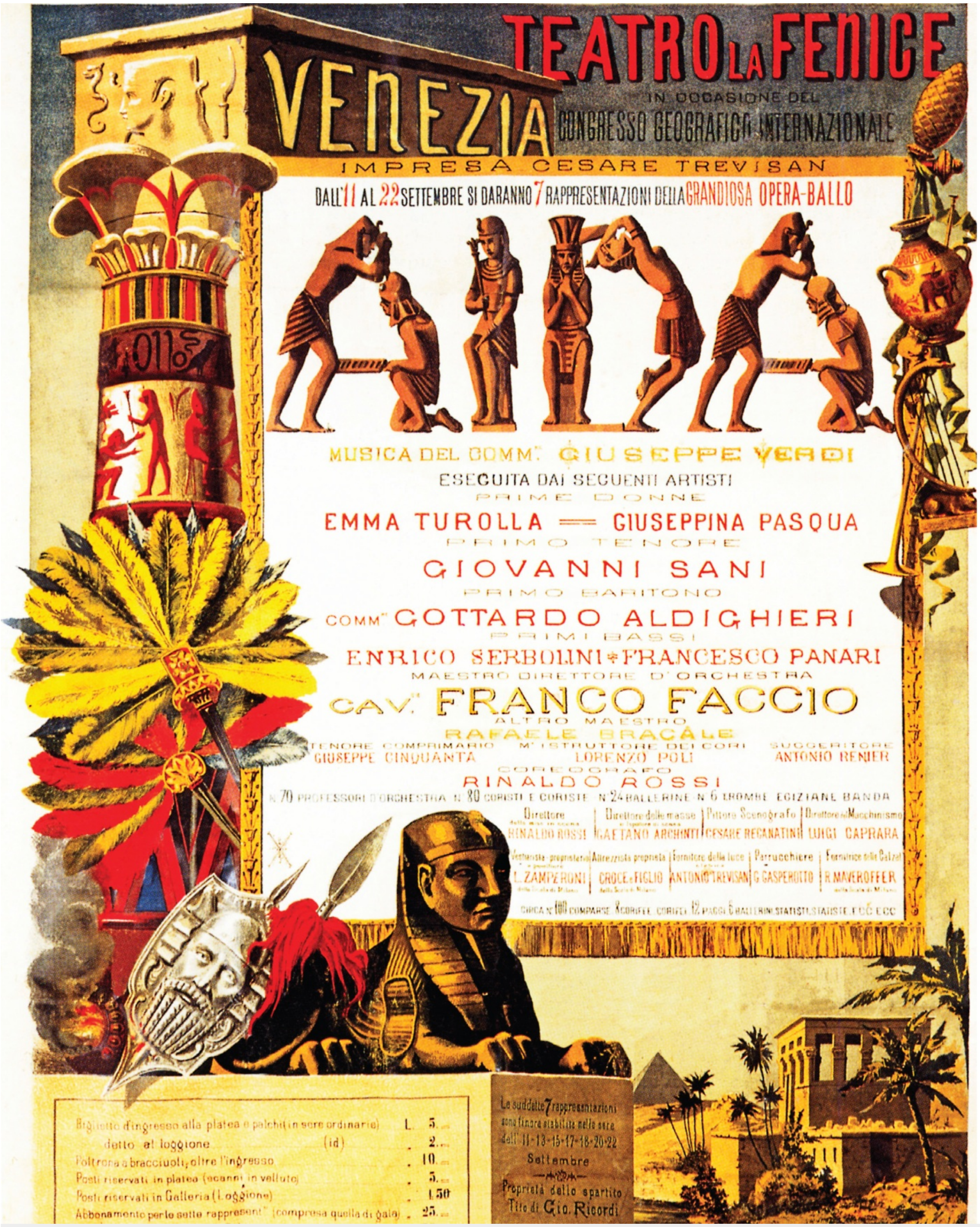
CHAPTER 22

Politics and Culture of the Nation-State

1850–1870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PRIME DONNE
EMMA TUROLLA — GIUSEPPINA PASQUA
PRIMO TENORE
GIOVANNI SANI
PRIMO BARITONO
COMM.RE GOTTARDO ALDIGHIERI
PRIMI BASSI
ENRICO SERBOLINI FRANCESCO PANARI
MAESTRO DIRETTORE D'ORCHESTRA
CAV.RE FRANCO FACCIO
ALTRO MAESTRO
RAFAELE BRACÂLE
TENORE COMPRIMARIO
GIUSEPPE CINQUANTA
M.O ISTRUTTORE DEI CORI
LORENZO POLI
SUGGERITORE
ANTONIO RENIER
COREOGRAFO
RINALDO ROSSI
N.70 PROFESSORI D'ORCHESTRA N.80 CORISTI E CORISTE N.24 BALLERINE N.6 TROMBE EGIZIANE BANDA
Direttore della mise en scena
RINALDO ROSSI
Direttore delle masse
GAETANO ARCHINTI
Pittore Scenografo
CESARE RECANATINI
Direttore del Macchinismo
LUIGI CAPRARA
Vestiarista-proprietario
L. ZAMPERONI
della Scala di Milano
Attrezzista proprietà
CROCE e FIGLIO
della Scala di Milano
Fornitore della luce elettrica
ANTONIO TREVISAN
Parrucchiere
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***Aïda* Poster** *Aïda* (1871), Giuseppe Verdi's opera of human passion and state power among people of different nations, became a staple of Western culture, bringing people across Europe into a common cultural orbit. Written to celebrate the opening of the Suez Canal, *Aïda* also celebrated the improvement of Europe's access to Asian resources provided by the new waterway. The opera was

Lordprice Collection/Alamy.

a prime example of the surge of interest in Egyptian styles and objects that followed the opening of the canal.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

The End of the Concert of Europe

What were the main results of the Crimean War?

War and Nation Building

What role did warfare play in the various nineteenth-century nation-building efforts?

Nation Building through Social Order

How did Europe’s expanding nation-states attempt to impose social order within and beyond Europe, and what resistance did they face?

The Culture of Social Order

How did cultural expression and scientific and social thought help produce the hardheaded and realistic values of the mid-nineteenth century?

In 1859, the name *VERDI* suddenly appeared scrawled on walls across the cities of the Italian peninsula. The graffiti seemed to celebrate the composer Giuseppe Verdi, whose operas thrilled crowds of Europeans. Among Italians, Verdi was a particular hero; his stories of downtrodden groups struggling against tyrannical government seemed to refer specifically to them. As his operatic choruses thundered out calls to rebellion in the name of the nation, Italian audiences were sure that Verdi was telling them to throw off Austrian and papal rule and unite as one people. *VERDI* also formed an acronym for *V*ittorio *E*mmanuele *Re d’I*talia (“Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy”), and in 1859, it summoned Italians to unite under Victor Emmanuel II, king of Sardinia and

Piedmont — the one Italian leader with a nationalist, modernizing profile. The graffiti was good publicity, for in 1861 Italian states united as a result of warfare and hard bargaining by political realists.

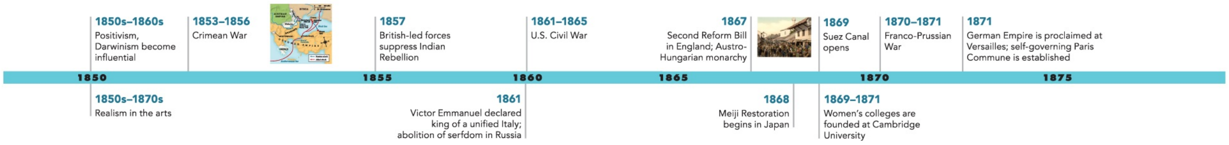
After the failed revolutions of 1848, European statesmen and the politically aware public increasingly rejected idealism in favor of **Realpolitik** — a politics of tough-minded realism aimed at strengthening the state and tightening social order. Realpolitikers disliked the romanticism of the revolutionaries. Instead, they put their faith in power politics and even the use of violence to attain their goals. Two particularly skilled practitioners of Realpolitik, the Italian Camillo di Cavour and the Prussian Otto von Bismarck, succeeded in unifying Italy and Germany not by romantic slogans but by war and diplomacy. Most leading figures of the 1850s and 1860s, enmeshed like Verdi's operatic heroes in power politics, strengthened their states by harnessing the forces of nationalism and liberalism that had led to earlier romantic revolts. Their achievements changed the face of Europe.

Making a modern nation-state was a complicated and costly task. Economic development was crucial, as was creating a sense of national identity and common purpose. Governments took vigorous steps to improve rapidly growing cities, promote public health, and boost national loyalty. State institutions such as public schools helped establish a common fund of knowledge and political beliefs. Authoritarian leaders like Bismarck and the new French emperor Napoleon III believed that a better quality of life would not only make the state more stable by calming revolutionary impulses of years past but also silence liberal critics.

Culture built a sense of belonging. Reading novels, attending operas and art exhibitions, and visiting the newly fashionable world's fairs gave ordinary people a stronger sense of being French or German or British. Like politicians, artists and writers also came to reject romanticism, featuring instead harsher, more realistic aspects of everyday life. Artists painted nudes in shockingly blunt ways, eliminating romantic hues and dreamy poses. Authors wrote about the bleak life of soldiers in wartime or about ordinary people suffering poverty or turning to crime. Alongside the tough-minded nation-building policies there arose tough-minded art, not just mirroring Realpolitik but encouraging it.

In their quest to build strong nations, Western politicians did not shy away from using violence or causing harm. They sent armies to distant areas to stamp out resistance to their continuing global expansion. At home, governments uprooted neighborhoods to construct public buildings, roads, and parks. The process of nation building was often brutal, bringing foreign wars, arrests, and even civil war — all the centerpieces of many Verdi operas. In 1871, an uprising of Parisians challenged the central government's intrusion into everyday life and its failure to count the costs. Thus, for the most part, the powerful Western nation-state did not arise spontaneously. Instead, its growth and the tighter unification of peoples depended on shrewd policy, deliberate warfare, and new inroads into societies around the world, which together formed the basis of Realpolitik.

CHAPTER TIMELINE


1850s–1860s
Positivism, Darwinism become influential
1853–1856
Crimean War
1857
British-led forces suppress Indian Rebellion
1861–1865
U.S. Civil War
1867
Second Reform Bill in England; Austro-Hungarian monarchy
1869
Suez Canal opens
1870–1871
Franco-Prussian War
1871
German Empire is proclaimed at Versailles; self-governing Paris Commune is established
1850
1855
1860
1865
1870
1875
1850s–1870s
Realism in the arts
1861
Victor Emmanuel declared king of a unified Italy; abolition of serfdom in Russia
1868
Meiji Restoration begins in Japan
1869–1871
Women's colleges are founded at Cambridge University

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CHAPTER FOCUS

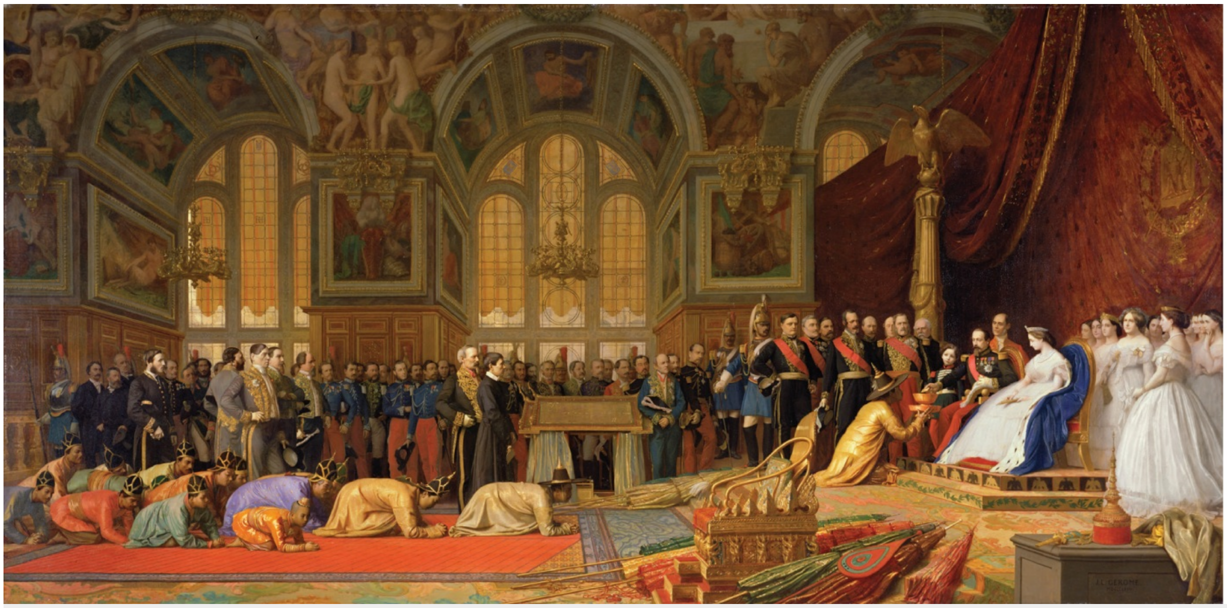
How did political, international, societal, and cultural developments in individual countries and across Europe in the mid-nineteenth century help create and strengthen nation-states?

The End of the Concert of Europe

The revolutions of 1848 had weakened the concert of Europe and thus allowed the forces of nationalism to flourish. It became more difficult for countries to control their competing ambitions and act together. In addition, the dreaded revival of Bonapartism in the person of Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte (1808–1873), the nephew of Napoleon I, added to European instability as France reasserted itself. Louis-Napoleon’s targets were Russia and Austria, formerly mainstays of the concert of Europe. To reduce their dominance, France helped engineer the Crimean War, which not only changed the distribution of European power but also resulted in the end of serfdom in Russia and the birth of new European nations.

Napoleon III and the Quest for French Glory

Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, who declared himself Napoleon III in 1852, encouraged the cult of his famous uncle as part of nation building, showing Europe’s leaders how to combine economic liberalism and nationalism with authoritarian rule. He claimed to represent people’s “families, your property — rich and poor alike,” but he closed cafés where men might discuss politics and established a rubber-stamp legislature, the Corps législatif, that made representative government a charade. Napoleon's opulent court dazzled the public, while his wife, Empress Eugénie, followed middle-class norms by playing up her domestic role as devoted mother to her only son and supporting many charities. The authoritarian, apparently old-fashioned order imposed by Napoleon showed that the radicalism of 1848 was under control.



Bridgeman Images.

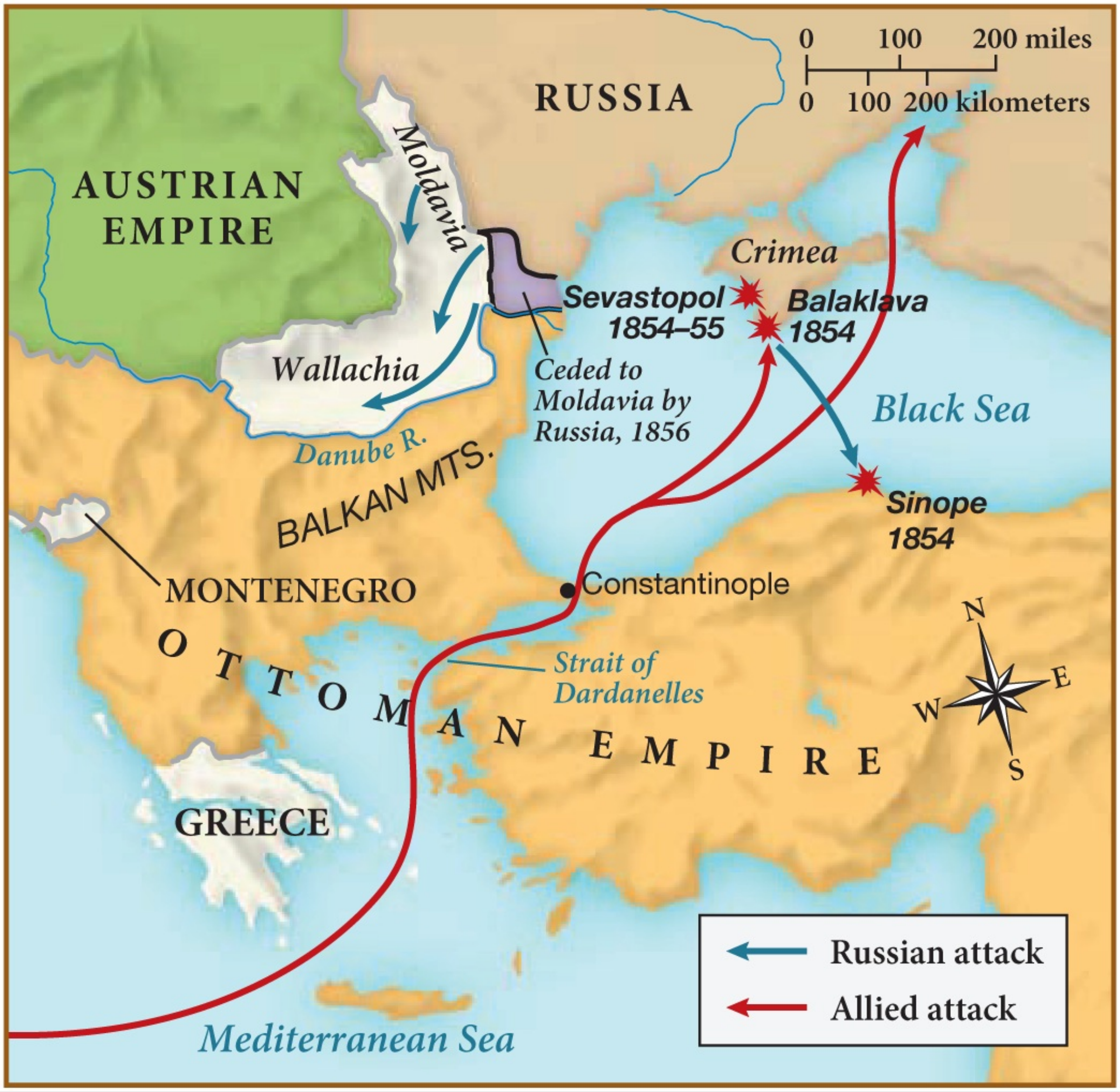
Napoleon III and Eugénie Receive the Siamese Ambassadors, 1864 At a splendid gathering of their court, the emperor Napoleon III, his consort Eugénie, and their son and heir greet ambassadors from Siam, whose exoticism and servility before the imperial family are the centerpiece of this depiction by Jean-Léon Gerome. How might a middle-class French citizen have reacted to this scene?

Napoleon III was nonetheless a modernizer. He promoted a strong economy and public works programs that provided jobs. The magnificent rebuilding of Paris made France prosper as Europe recovered from the hard times of the late 1840s. Empress Eugénie wore lavish gowns, encouraging French silk production. The regime also reached a free-trade agreement with Britain and backed the establishment of innovative investment banks. Railway mileage increased fivefold during Napoleon III's reign. During the economic downturn of the late 1850s, he wooed support by allowing working-class organizations to form and introducing features of democratic government.

On the international scene, Napoleon III's main goals were to overcome the containment of France imposed by the Congress of Vienna and to acquire international glory like a true Bonaparte. To reshape European politics in France's favor, Napoleon pitted France first against Russia in the Crimean War and then against Austria in the War of Italian Unification (1860–1861). Napoleon also looked beyond Europe. In Algeria and Southeast Asia, his army struggled to enforce French rule. In Mexico, he attempted to install Maximilian, the brother of Habsburg emperor Francis Joseph, as emperor. In Egypt, he successfully encouraged the construction of the Suez Canal to connect the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Overall, his foreign policy broke down the international order established at the Congress of Vienna.

The Crimean War, 1853–1856: Turning Point in European Affairs

Napoleon III first flexed his diplomatic muscle in the Crimean War (1853–1856), which began as a conflict between the Russian and Ottoman empires but ended as a war with long-lasting consequences for much of Europe. Russia had continued expanding into Asia and the Middle East, particularly targeting territory in the Ottoman Empire. This expansionism was a maneuver that provoked war in October 1853 between the two eastern empires (Map 22.1).



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MAP 22.1 The Crimean War, 1853–1856

The most destructive war in Europe between the Napoleonic Wars and World War I, the Crimean War drew attention to the conflicting ambitions around territories of the declining Ottoman Empire. The war fractured the alliance of conservative forces from the Congress of Vienna, allowing Italy and Germany to come into being as unified states.

The war drew in other states and upset the concert of Europe. Napoleon III convinced Austria to remain neutral during the war, thus splitting the conservative Russian-Austrian coalition that had checked French ambitions since 1815. The Austrian government was concerned that the defeat of the Ottomans would bring Russian expansion into the Balkans. To protect its Mediterranean routes to East Asia, Britain prodded the Ottomans to stand up to Russia, but in the fall of 1853, the Russians blasted the Turkish wooden ships to bits at the Ottoman port of Sinope on the Black Sea. The Russians justified their actions as a necessary defense of Christians in the Ottoman Empire. In 1854, France and Great Britain, though enemies in war for more than a century, allied to declare war on Russia and defend the Ottoman Empire.

The Crimean War was spectacularly bloody. British and French troops landed in the Crimea in September 1854 and waged a long siege of the Russian naval base at Sevastopol, which fell only after a year of savage and costly combat. Generals on both sides demonstrated their incompetence, and governments failed to provide combatants with even minimal supplies, sanitation, or medical care. Hospitals had no beds, no dishes, and no water. A million men died, more than two-thirds from disease or starvation. In failing to enable basic military functioning, the nation-state showed its far-from-complete evolution.

In the midst of this unfolding catastrophe, **Alexander II** (r. 1855–1881) ascended the Russian throne after the death of his father. With casualties mounting, the new tsar asked for peace. As a result of the Peace of Paris, signed in March 1856, Russia lost the right to base its navy in the Strait of Dardanelles and the Black Sea, which were declared neutral waters. Moldavia and Wallachia (which soon merged to form Romania) became autonomous Turkish provinces under the victors' protection, drastically reducing Russian influence in that region too.

The Crimean War was full of consequence. New technologies were introduced into warfare: the railroad, shell-firing cannons, breech-loading rifles, and steam-powered ships. The telegraph and increased press coverage brought news from the Crimean front lines to home audiences more rapidly and in more detail than ever before. Reports of incompetent leadership, poor sanitation, and the huge death toll outraged the public, inspiring some civilians, such as the British nurse **Florence Nightingale**, to head for the front lines to help. Nightingale seized the moment to escape the confines of middle-class domesticity by organizing a battlefield nursing service to care for the British sick and wounded. Through her tough-minded organization of nursing units, she pioneered nursing as a profession and made sanitary conditions for the military a new and permanent priority of nation building. (See Primary Source Analysis on page 792.)

More immediately, the war accomplished Napoleon III's goal of severing the conservative alliance between Austria and Russia. It thus ended their grip on European affairs and undermined their ability to contain the forces of liberalism and nationalism.

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

Mrs. Seacole: The *Other* Florence Nightingale

Another highly skilled medical worker besides Florence Nightingale made an impact on the battlefields in Crimea. Mary Seacole (1805–1881), daughter of a free Black Jamaican woman and a Scottish army officer, had learned about medicine from her mother and from doctors who passed through Kingston, Jamaica, staying at the family's boardinghouse. In addition to a gift for healing, Mrs. Seacole (as she was always called) had a passion for travel — to Europe, the United States, and Panama — which she supported by tending other travelers. When the Crimean War broke out, she chafed — like Nightingale herself — to be at the battlefront. Arriving in Crimea in 1855, Mrs. Seacole saved many desperately ill soldiers who lacked all medical care. The text describes the mid-nineteenth century as an age of professionalization, domesticity for women, and lack of opportunity for many colonized people. Mrs. Seacole may be the exception that proves the rule, or it may be that society was more open and fluid than commonly believed.

[Sick soldiers] could and did get at my store sick-comforts and nourishing food, which the heads of the medical staff would sometimes find it difficult to procure. These reasons, with the additional one that I was very familiar with the diseases which they suffered most from and successful in their treatment (I say this in no spirit of vanity), were quite sufficient to account for the numbers who came daily to the British Hotel for medical treatment.

That the officers were glad of me as a doctress and nurse may be easily understood. When a poor fellow lay sickening in his cheerless hut and sent down to me, he knew very well that I should not ride up in answer to his message empty-handed. And although I did not hesitate to charge him with the value of the necessaries I took him, still he was thankful enough to be able to *purchase* them. When we lie ill at home surrounded with comfort, we never think of feeling any special gratitude for the sick-room delicacies which we accept as a consequence of our illness; but the poor officer lying ill and weary in his crazy hut, dependent for the merest necessaries of existence upon a clumsy, ignorant soldier-cook, who would almost prefer eating his meat raw to having the troubles of cooking it (our English soldiers are bad campaigners), often finds his greatest troubles in the want of those little delicacies with which a weak stomach must be humoured into retaining nourishment.

Source: Mary Grant Seacole, *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands* (London: James Blackwood, 1857).

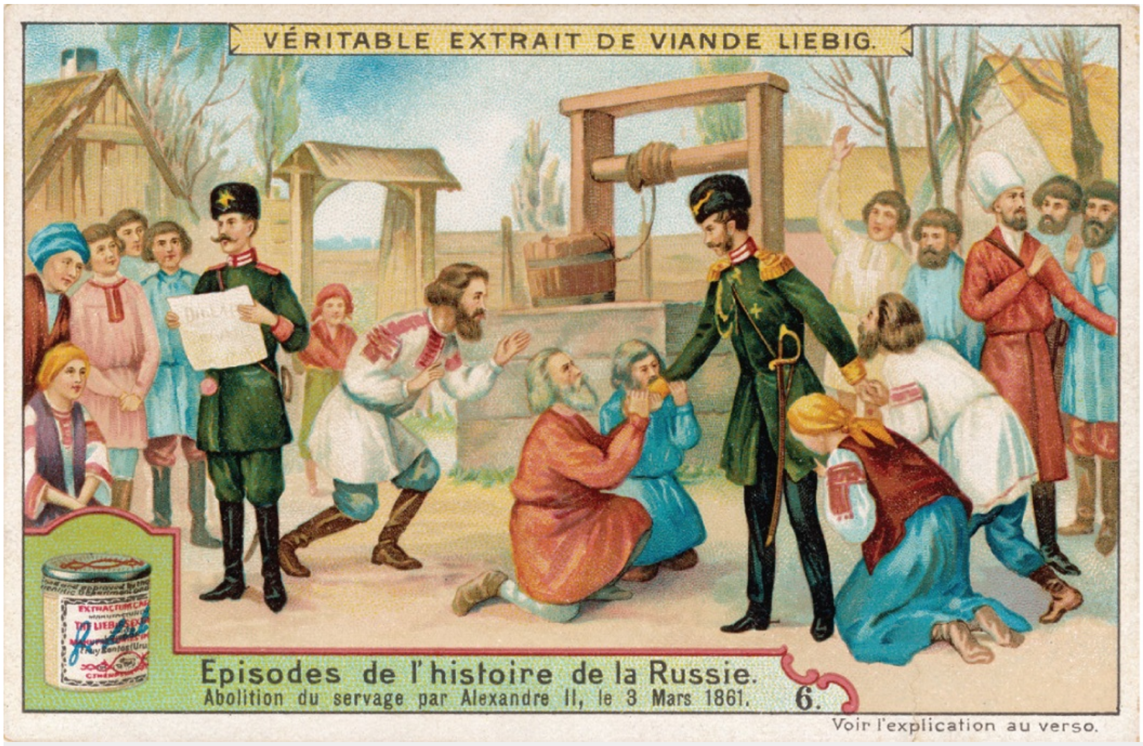
QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. By her own account, why was Seacole successful in her profession?
2. How might professionalizing medical people and city planners have viewed her?

Reform in Russia

Russia’s defeat in the Crimean War also made clear the need for meaningful reform. Hundreds of peasant insurrections had erupted in the decade before the war. “Our own and neighboring households were gripped with fear,” one aristocrat reported. The Russian economy stagnated compared with that of western Europe. Old-fashioned farming techniques depleted soil and led to food shortages, and the nobility often ignored the suffering caused by malnutrition and hard labor. When Russia lost the Crimean War, the poor performance of serf armies and the system of serf labor revealed a disgraceful weakness.

Confronted with the need for change, Tsar Alexander II acted. Well educated and more widely traveled than his father, Alexander ushered in what came to be known as the Great Reforms, which granted Russians new rights from above as a way of preventing violent action from below. The most dramatic reform was the emancipation of almost fifty million serfs beginning in 1861. By the terms of emancipation, communities of newly freed serfs, headed by male village elders, received grants of land. The community itself, traditionally called a **mir**, had full power to allocate this land among individuals and to direct their economic activity. Communal landowning and decision making meant that individual peasants could not simply sell their parcel of land and leave their rural communities to work in factories, as laborers had been doing elsewhere in Europe.


VÉRITABLE EXTRAIT DE VIANDE LIEBIG.
Episodes de l'histoire de la Russie.
Abolition du servage par Alexandre II, le 3 Mars 1861.
6.
Voir l'explication au verso.

Chronicle/Alamy Stock Photo.

Emancipation of the Russian Serfs This trading card was used as a marketing gimmick to promote canned meat. Cards like these were given away by the thousands and traded just as baseball cards are today. Historical scenes were popular subjects for the cards — this one shows the 1861 emancipation of the serfs in Russia. Note that the caption is in French, the language of the European upper classes, including those in Russia, who would have consumed this product. The emancipation is presented as a wholly beneficial act with no strings attached.

In Russia, peasants were not *given* land along with their personal freedom: they were forced to “redeem” the land they farmed by paying off long-term loans from the government, which in turn compensated the original landowners. The best land remained in the hands of the nobility, and the huge burden of debt and communal regulations slowed Russian agricultural development for decades. Even so, idealistic reformers believed that the emancipation of the serfs, once treated by the nobility virtually as livestock, had produced miraculous results. As one of them put it, “The people are without any exaggeration transfigured from head to foot.… The look, the walk, the speech, everything is changed.”

The Russian state also reformed local administration, the judiciary, and the military. The government set up *zemstvos* — regional councils — through which aristocrats could control local affairs such as education, public health, and welfare. Zemstvos became a new political force with the potential for challenging the authoritarian central government. Some aristocrats, taking advantage of newly relaxed rules on travel to see how the rest of Europe was governed, broadened their vision on solving social and economic problems. Judicial reform introduced the principle of equality of all persons before the law and gave Russians access to modern civil courts. Military reform followed in 1874, when the government reduced the twenty-five-year period of service to a six-year term and began focusing on educating troops in an effort to match the efficiency and fitness of soldiers in western Europe.

Alexander’s reforms reduced the privileges of the nobility, weakening their authority and sparking family conflict. “An epidemic seemed to seize upon [noble] children … an epidemic of fleeing from the parental roof,” one observer noted. Rejecting aristocratic leisure, youthful rebels from the upper class valued practical activity and sometimes identified with peasants and workers instead of their own class. Some formed communes in which they hoped to do humble manual labor; others turned to higher education, especially the sciences. Daughters of the nobility opposed their parents, escaping from home through phony marriages so they could study in western European universities. This rejection of traditional society led some to label these young people as nihilists (from the Latin for “nothing”) — implying a lack of belief in any values whatsoever. The so-called nihilists represented a defiant spirit percolating not just at the bottom but also at the top of Russian society.

The atmosphere of change also inspired resistance among the more than one hundred Russian-dominated ethnic groups in the Russian Empire. Aristocratic and upper-class nationalist Poles staged an uprising in 1863, demanding full national independence for their country. By 1864, however, Alexander II’s army had crushed them. The government then took up **Russification** — a tactic meant to reduce the threat of future rebellion by urging ethnic minorities within the empire to adopt Russian language and culture. Despite these measures, tsarist autocracy and continued abuse of many in the Russian population slowed the development of a common civic sensibility forming elsewhere in the West, while the urge to revolt grew.

Review Question

What were the main results of the Crimean War?

War and Nation Building

Dynamic leaders in the German and Italian states used the opportunity provided by the weakened concert of Europe to unify their fragmented countries through warfare. When national disunity threatened, the United States waged a bloody civil war, which then opened the way for further expansion and vigorous economic growth. The rise of powerful **nation-states** such as Italy, Germany, and the United States was accompanied by a sense of pride in national identity — or nationalism — among their peoples (see Terms of History). This was a complex phenomenon across the West, however. Millions of individuals maintained a regional, local, or distinct ethnic identity, often alongside loyalty to an empire or the rising nation-state.

Terms of History

Nationalism

The word *nationalism* is associated with a sense of a common identity among people within geographically defined nation-states. Nationalism simultaneously promotes the nation-state around which that common identity develops. A phenomenon of the past two to three centuries, it became increasingly important to politics from the nineteenth century on. Strongly held feelings of a common national identity grew in the years after 1750, and this sense of national identification might compete in people's minds with religious, clan, regional, and local loyalties.

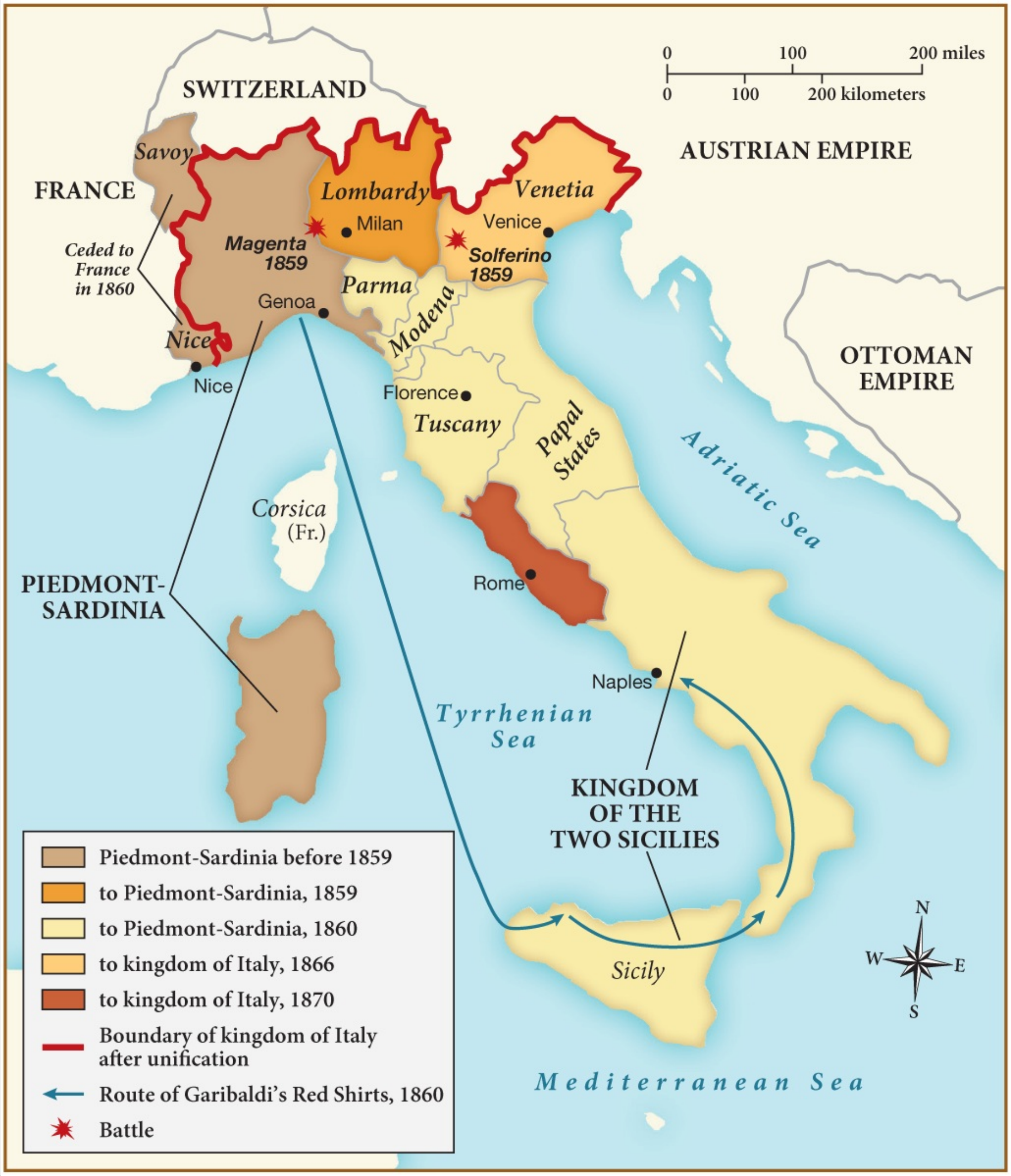
In one early version of nationalism, the eighteenth-century British took pride in the fact that as Protestants they had defeated the Catholic French king in global trade wars. At about the same time, the German author Johann Gottfried Herder concluded from his studies that a common language — along with its folktales, history, and laws — also served as the basis for a shared national identity. Herder's emphasis on past accomplishments and traditions connects this kind of nationalism to themes in the romantic movement. In 1789, French revolutionary politicians set out in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen that all men were citizens

— not subjects — and that as citizens they had rights. The Declaration thus proclaimed a common identity based on the rule of law. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, some of the major components of nationalism had developed: pride in military conquest (militaristic nationalism); pride in a common culture developed over centuries (sometimes called romantic nationalism); and belief in citizenship, the rule of law, the guarantee of civil rights (civic nationalism).

In the nineteenth century, nationalism became a force in domestic and international politics. From the 1820s on, nationalistic politicians took to the battlefield, as in the fight for Greek independence. After 1848, realists like Bismarck and Cavour promoted nationalism as the work of "iron and blood" — national strength backed by military might. Nationalism became a matter of pride in a people's toughness and realism in a competitive world. After their wars of unification, both Germany and Italy continued to promote the vision of the nation triumphant in battle. This differed from the French revolutionary ideal of being triumphant in battle in order to bring rights and constitutions to oppressed peoples — a civic nationalism. By the end of the nineteenth century, the basis of nationalism had shifted from pride in democratic institutions to pride in a nation's military power. With growing racism in the nineteenth century, there came to be a form of nationalism based on purity of blood. Today, the word *nationalism* can combine a wide array of ingredients, prompting politicians to appeal to common religion, laws, rights, customs, language, ethnicity, race, and history to build national pride.

Cavour, Garibaldi, and the Process of Italian Unification

Despite the failure of the revolutions of 1848, hope for national unification remained strong in the Italian states. The pragmatic **Camillo di Cavour** (1810–1861), prime minister of the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia from 1852 until his death, had a Realpolitiker's vision of how to unify the Italian states amid the diplomatic instability across Europe. A rebel in his youth, Cavour in his maturity organized steamship companies, played the stock market, and inhaled the heady air of modernization during his travels to Paris and London. He promoted economic development rather than idealistic uprisings as the means to achieve a united Italy. As a skilled prime minister, Cavour helped King Victor Emmanuel II (r. Piedmont-Sardinia 1849–1861, r. Italy 1861–1878) achieve a strong Piedmontese economy and a modern army as the foundation for Piedmont's claim to lead the unification process (Map 22.2).



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MAP 22.2 Unification of Italy, 1859–1870

The many states of the Italian peninsula had different languages, ways of life, and economic interests. The northern kingdom of Sardinia, which included the commercially advanced state of Piedmont, had much to gain from a unified market and a more extensive pool of labor. Although the armies of King Victor Emmanuel II and Giuseppe Garibaldi brought the Italian states together as a single country, it would take decades to construct a culturally, socially, and economically unified nation.

To unify Italy, however, Piedmont would have to confront Austria, which governed the northern provinces of Lombardy and Venetia and exerted strong influence over most of the peninsula. Cavour turned for help to Napoleon III, who promised French assistance in exchange for the city of Nice and the region of Savoy. Sure of French help, Cavour provoked the Austrians to invade northern Italy in April 1859, and thus rallied nationalist Italians everywhere. The French and Piedmontese armies used the newly built Piedmontese railroad to move troops, thereby achieving rapid victories. Napoleon, suddenly fearing the growth of Piedmont as a competing power, independently signed a peace treaty with Austria that gave Lombardy, but not Venetia, to Piedmont. The rest of Italy remained disunited.

This part of Napoleon III's plan was soon derailed as support for Piedmont continued to swell among Italians. Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807–1882), a committed republican and veteran of the revolutions of 1848, set sail from Genoa in May 1860 with a thousand red-shirted volunteers (many of them teenage boys) and liberated Sicily. In the autumn of that year, King Victor Emmanuel II's victorious forces descending from the north and Garibaldi's moving up from the south met in Naples. Garibaldi threw his support to the king, and in 1861, the kingdom of Italy was proclaimed with Victor Emmanuel as its ruler.

De Agostini Picture Library/Bridgeman Images.

Seamstresses of the Red Shirts Sewing uniforms and making battle flags, European women like these Italian volunteers saw themselves as contributors to the nation. Many nineteenth-century women participated in nation building as “republican mothers” by donating their domestic skills and raising the next generation of citizens to be patriotic.

Exhausted by a decade of overwork, Cavour died within months of leading the unification, leaving lesser men to organize the new Italy. The task ahead was enormous and complex: there was still no common Italian language; 90 percent of the peninsula’s inhabitants spoke local dialects. Admirers of Cavour, such as Verdi (who had been made a senator), quit the quarrelsome political stage. Politicians from the wealthy commercial north and the impoverished agricultural south disagreed over issues like taxation and development, as they often do even today. Finally, Italian borders did not yet seem complete because Venetia and Rome remained outside them, under Austrian and French control, respectively. Holding the new nation together amid these difficulties was the romanticized retelling of the Italian struggle for freedom from foreign and domestic tyrants under the daring leadership of Garibaldi and his Red Shirts — a legend that papered over Cavour’s economic and military Realpolitik.

Bismarck and the Realpolitik of German Unification

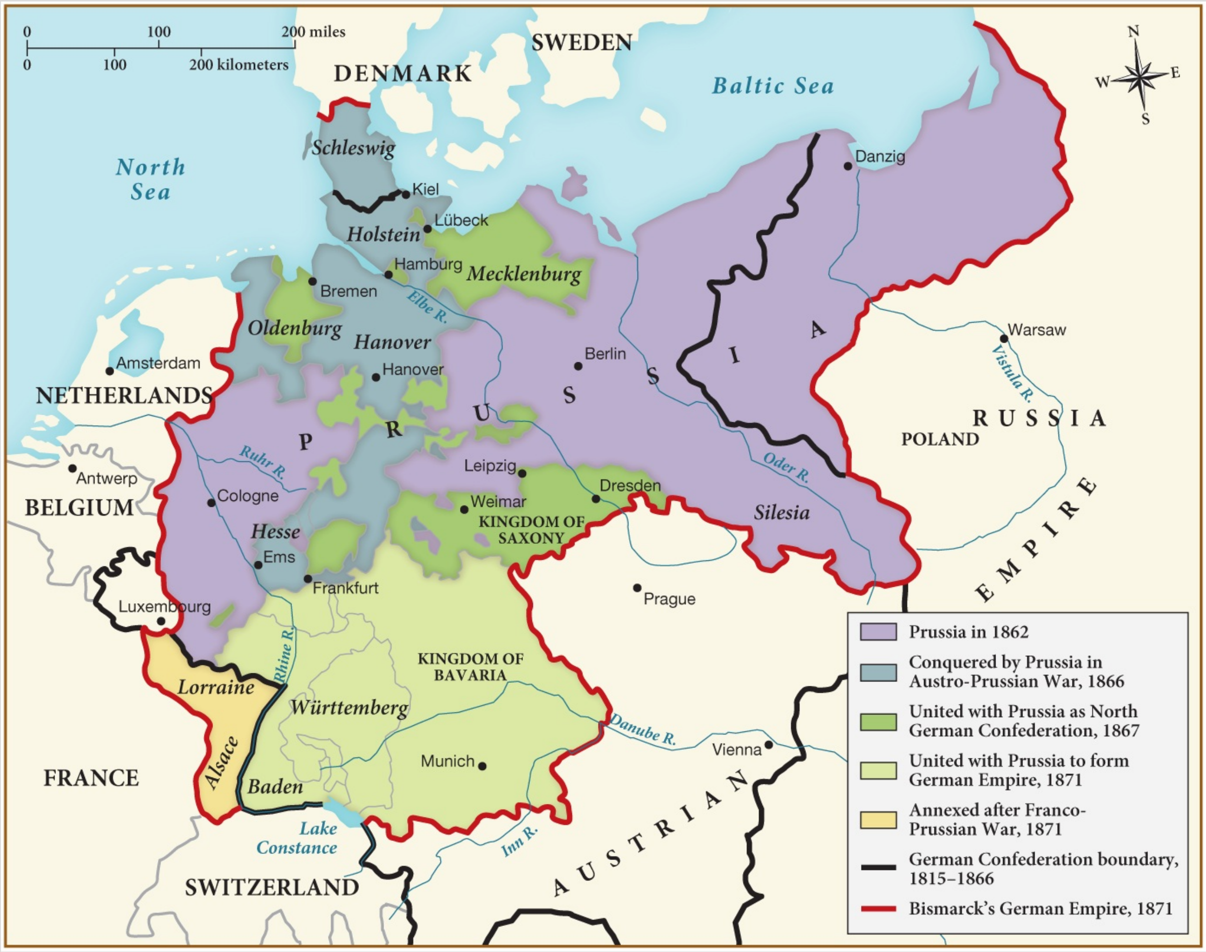
The most momentous act of nation building for Europe and the world was the creation of a united Germany in 1871 under Prussian leadership. The architect of the unified Germany was **Otto von Bismarck** (1815–1898). Bismarck came from a traditional Junker (Prussian landed nobility) family on his father’s side; his mother’s family included high-ranking bureaucrats. At university, the young Bismarck had gambled and womanized. After failing in the civil service, he worked to modernize operations on his landholdings while leading an otherwise decadent life. His marriage to a pious Lutheran woman gave him a new seriousness. In the 1850s, his diplomatic service to the Prussian state made him increasingly angry at the Habsburg grip on German affairs. Establishing Prussia as the dominant German power became Bismarck's goal.

In 1862, William I (king of Prussia, r. 1861–1888; German emperor, r. 1871–1888) appointed Bismarck prime minister in hopes that he would crush the growing power of the liberals in the Prussian parliament. The liberals, representing the prosperous professional and business classes, had gained parliamentary strength at the expense of conservative landowners during the decades of industrial expansion. Indeed, the liberals' wealth was crucial to the Prussian state's power, but liberals wanted Prussia to be like other parts of western Europe, with political rights for citizens and increased civilian control of the military. William I, along with members of the traditional Prussian elite such as Bismarck, rejected the western European model. Acting on his conservative beliefs, Bismarck simply rammed through programs to build the army and prevent civilian control. "Germany looks not to Prussia's liberalism, but to its power," he proclaimed. "The great questions of the day will not be settled by speeches and majority decisions — that was the great mistake of 1848 and 1849 — but by iron and blood."

After his triumph over the parliament, Bismarck led Prussia into a series of wars: against Denmark in 1864, Austria in 1866, and France in 1870.

Using war as a political tactic, he kept the disunited German states from choosing Austrian leadership and instead united them around Prussia. Bismarck drew Austria into the 1864 war over Denmark's proposed incorporation of the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, with their partially German population. The Prussian-Austrian victory resulted in an agreement that Prussia would administer to Schleswig, and Austria, Holstein. That arrangement stretched Austria's geographic interests far from its central European base: "We were very honorable, but very dumb," Emperor Francis Joseph later said of being drawn into the Schleswig-Holstein debacle.

Austria proved weaker than Prussia, but Bismarck so encouraged Austria's pretensions to grandeur that it disputed the administration of Schleswig and Holstein and in the summer of 1866 confidently declared war on Prussia itself. Within seven weeks, the modernized Prussian army won a decisive victory that allowed Bismarck to drive Austria from the German Confederation and create the North German Confederation, led by Prussia (Map 22.3).



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MAP 22.3 Unification of Germany, 1862–1871

In a complex series of diplomatic maneuvers, Prussian leader Otto von Bismarck welded disunited kingdoms and small states into a major continental power independent of the other dominant German dynasty, the Habsburg monarchy. That unity almost immediately unleashed the new nation's economic and industrial potential, but an aristocratic and agrarian elite remained firmly in power.

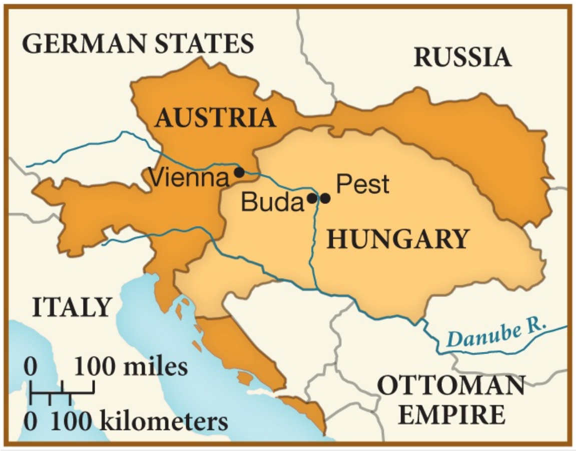
To bring the remaining German states into Prussia's expanding orbit, Bismarck next baited France when Spain proposed a Prussian prince to fill its vacant royal throne. This candidacy at once threatened France with Prussian rulers on two of its borders and inflated Prussian pride at the possibility of its princes ruling grand states. To inflame nationalist sentiments in both countries, Bismarck edited a diplomatic communication to make it look as if the king of Prussia had insulted France over the issue of the vacant throne. The revised telegram's appearance in the press goaded the French into demanding war. The parliament gladly declared it on July 19, 1870, launching the Franco-Prussian War. The Prussians captured Napoleon III with his army on September 2, 1870, and France's Second Empire fell two days later.

A new French government struggled to carry on, and as Prussian forces besieged Paris, in January 1871 in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, King William of Prussia was proclaimed kaiser ("emperor") of the new German Reich ("empire"). The peace terms ending the Franco-Prussian War required France to cede the rich industrial provinces of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany and to pay a multibillion-franc indemnity. Without French protection for the papacy, Rome became part of Italy. Germany was now poised to dominate continental politics. Prussian military might served as the foundation for German nation building, and a complex constitution for the German Empire ensured the continued political dominance of the aristocracy and monarchy — despite the growing wealth and influence of the liberal business classes. Kaiser William, who remained Prussia's king, controlled the military and appointed Bismarck to the powerful position of chancellor for the Reich. Individual German states were represented in a council called the Bundesrat, while the Reichstag was an assembly elected by universal male suffrage. The Reichstag ratified all budgets but had little power to initiate programs. In framing this political settlement, Bismarck accorded rights such as suffrage in the belief that the masses would uphold conservatism and the monarchy out of their fear of exploitative businessmen. Taking no chances, he balanced this move with an electoral system in Prussia in which the votes from the upper classes counted more than those from the lower. He had little to fear from liberals, however. Dizzy with German military success, liberals came to support the blend of economic progress, constitutional government, and militaristic nationalism that Bismarck represented.

Francis Joseph and the Creation of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy

The Austrian monarchy took a different approach to nation building, proving that there was no one blueprint for the modern nation-state. The confrontations with Cavour and Bismarck left the Habsburg Empire struggling to keep its standing in a rapidly changing Europe. The young monarch Francis Joseph (r. 1848–1916) favored absolutist rule while stiff court ceremonies played to the popular fascination with celebrity and power. Official standards of honesty and efficiency, established in the Enlightenment, improved, and the government promoted local education. The administration used the German language and the schools taught it, but the government respected the rights of national minorities — Czechs and Poles, for instance — to receive education and communicate with officials in their native tongues. Above all, the government boosted railway construction, attracted foreign capital, and helped trade to flow by abolishing most internal customs barriers. Like Paris, the capital city of Vienna underwent extensive rebuilding, and industrialization progressed, if unevenly. The empire combined centralization with concern for regional life.

In the fast-moving nineteenth century, the absolutist Austrian emperor Francis Joseph could not match Bismarck in nation building. Too much of the old regime remained as a roadblock: the Catholic church controlled education and civil institutions such as marriage, prosperous liberals lacked representation in such important policy matters as taxation and finance, and police informers swarmed around them. Wanting truly representative government and free speech, the liberals prevented measures — such as providing funds for modernizing the military — that would have strengthened the government in Austria. Unlike Bismarck in Prussia, there was no one to override the liberals to bring about change.



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The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, 1867

After Prussia's 1866 victory over Austria, the vast, wealthy kingdom of Hungary became the key to the Habsburg Empire's existence. The leaders of the Hungarian agrarian elites forced the Austrian emperor to accept a **dual monarchy** — that is, one in which the Magyars had home rule over the Hungarian kingdom within the Habsburg lands. This agreement restored the Hungarian parliament and gave it control of internal policy (including the right to decide how to treat Hungary's ethnic minorities). Although the Habsburg emperor Francis Joseph was king of Hungary and Austro-Hungarian foreign policy was coordinated from Vienna, the Hungarians mostly ruled themselves after 1867, weakening the process of nation building even as an all-imperial army bolstered it.

Designed specifically to address the Hungarian demands, the dual monarchy led to claims by some Czechs, Slovaks, and other national groups in the Habsburg Empire for a similar kind of self-rule. Czechs who had helped the empire advance industrially, for example, wanted Hungarian-style liberties. Other leaders of ethnic groups turned to **Pan-Slavism** — that is, the loyalty of all ethnic Slavs across national boundaries. Instead of looking toward Vienna, they turned to the largest Slavic country — Russia — as key to achieving the unity of all Slavs. Despite some competition among ethnicities, the Austro-Hungarian monarchy remained a dynastic state in which people showed loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty while also holding dear their region, language, and local way of life.

Library of Congress.

Mostar Marketplace Mostar was a thriving Ottoman town in Bosnia, located on the Neretva River and thus a center of trade. In the nineteenth century the Ottomans instituted a series of reforms to modernize their empire, including its territories in the Balkans. Uprisings followed its decrees concerning education, rights, and the reduction in aristocratic privileges, causing the Ottomans to turn Bosnia as a whole over to Austria-Hungary. It remained multiethnic and commercially active with a strong Muslim culture and a reputation for tolerance.

Political Stability through Gradual Reform in Great Britain

In contrast to the turmoil on the continent, Great Britain aimed to show liberal progress and unity. By the 1850s, the monarchy symbolized domestic tranquility and propriety. Queen Victoria (r. 1837–1901) and her husband, Prince Albert, portrayed themselves as models of morality, British stability, and middle-class virtues. Britain's parliamentary system steadily brought more men into the political process. Economic prosperity supported political reform, while the flexible party system based on the principle of a loyal opposition helped smooth governmental decision making: the Tories evolved into the Conservatives, who favored a more status-oriented politics but still went along with the emerging liberal consensus around economic development and representative government. The Whigs became the Liberals, so named for their commitment to progress, free trade, and an active role for industrialists as well as the aristocracy. In 1867, the Conservatives, led by Benjamin Disraeli (1804–1881), passed the Second Reform Bill, which extended voting rights to a million more men. Disraeli proposed, like Bismarck somewhat later, that the working classes would choose "the most conservative interests in the country" — not the business ones.

Both political parties supported reforms because citizens had formed pressure groups to influence national policies. Women's groups advocated the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857, which facilitated divorce, and the Married Women's Property Act of 1870, which allowed married women to own property and keep the wages they earned. The Reform League, another pressure organization, had held mass demonstrations in London to bring about passage of the Second Reform Bill. Plush royal ceremonies united citizens of different classes while masking social conflict. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, with their newly devised celebrations of royal marriages, anniversaries, and births, promoted the monarchy so successfully that the term *Victorian* came to symbolize almost the entire nineteenth century.

Historia/Shutterstock.

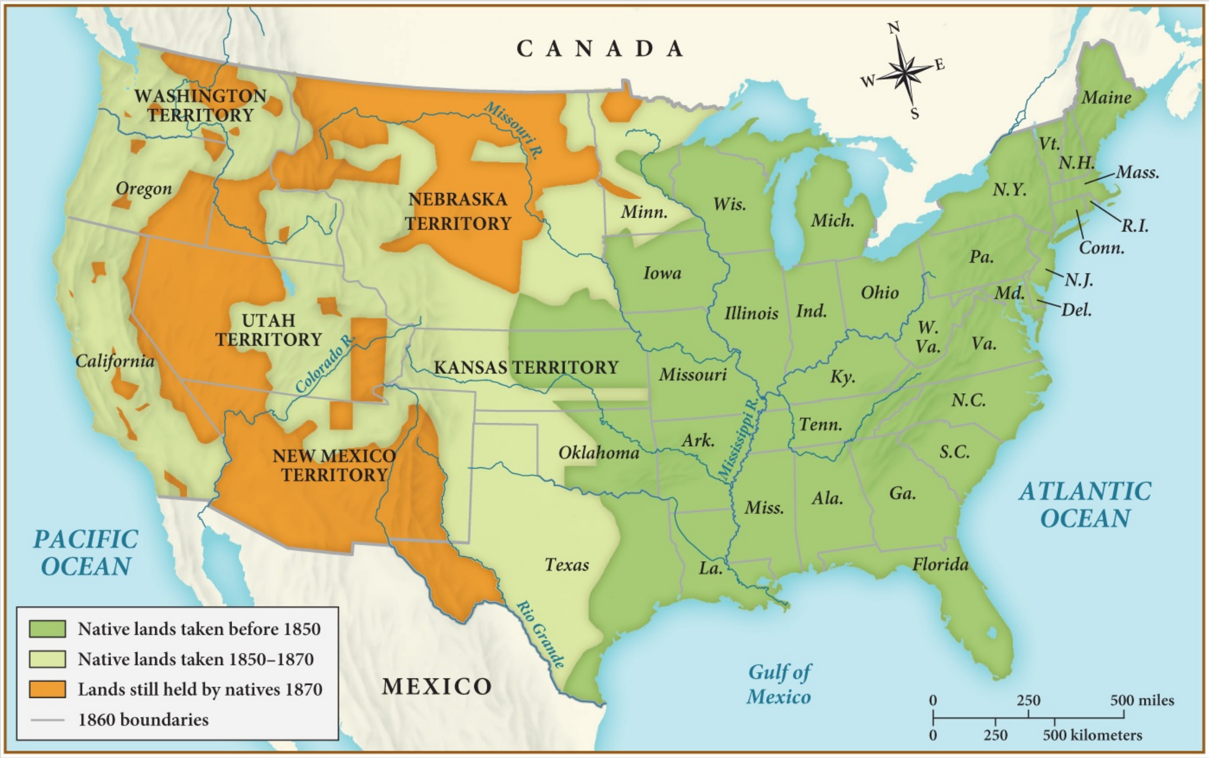
Portrait of Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, and Their Nine Children Queen Victoria and her husband Prince Albert had a large family characteristic of prosperous British families. The royal couple wisely presented themselves as an ordinary family in their official portraits, with Albert, as in this photograph, usually the authoritative figure towering above the rest and dwarfing the Queen, who was the official ruler. Excelling in the use of family rituals to draw the public together, the monarch oversaw the marriage of her children and grandchildren into royal houses across Europe.

Yet Realpolitik flourished in Britain as in Germany, Italy, and France. British policies included the use of violence to expand their overseas empire and, increasingly, to control Ireland and Irish immigrants to England whom they denigrated as gorillas, savages, and Catholics. Creating outcast groups in their midst was another element of nation building — letting the majority see themselves as advanced and united. That violence, occurring in distant colonies, consolidated a positive image of Britons and their nation as calm, peace-loving, and rational.

Nation Building in North America

Nation building in the United States involved destructive upheaval at midcentury. The young nation had a more democratic political culture than that of Europe, and nationalism was on the rise. Virtually universal white male suffrage, a rambunctiously independent press, and mass political parties promoted the belief that sovereignty derived from the people, no matter how racially- and gender-exclusive "the people" was defined. From the beginning, a combative public politics shaped America.

The United States continued to expand westward (Map 22.4). In 1848, victory in the Mexican-American War almost doubled the size of the country: the United States officially annexed Texas, and large portions of California and the Southwest extended U.S. borders into formerly Mexican land. White politicians and citizens favored banning native Americans from rights and from new western lands, confining those not slaughtered to reservations. The issue of whether slavery would be allowed in the new territories, however, polarized the country. In the North, politicians in the new Republican Party ran on a platform of "free soil, free labor, free men."



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 22.4 U.S. Expansion, 1850–1870

Like Russia, the United States expanded into adjacent regions to advance as a continental nation-state. In taking over territories, however, the United States differed from Russia first by almost annihilating native peoples and by herding native peoples into small confined spaces called reservations so that settlers could seize thousands of square miles for their own farming and other enterprises. The U.S. government granted full citizenship for all native Americans only in 1925.

After Republican Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865) was elected president in 1860, most of the slaveholding states seceded to form the Confederate States of America. Civil war broke out in 1861 when, under Lincoln's leadership, the North fought to preserve the Union. The future of nation building hung in the balance. Slaves and free people of color, European workers, and European officials helped push Lincoln to issue his Emancipation Proclamation of January 1863, which officially freed all slaves in the Confederacy and turned the war into one for both union and an end to human bondage. After the summer of 1863, the North’s superior military and industrial strength overpowered and physically destroyed much of the South. By April 1865, the North had prevailed, and a Confederate sympathizer assassinated Lincoln. Constitutional amendments ended slavery and promised full political rights to African American men.

By 1871, white men began regaining control of state politics in the South, often by organized violence and intimidation. The end of northern occupation of the South in 1877 was a setback to the rights of Blacks. Nonetheless, in ending slavery, the Union victory strengthened national government and an economy no longer tied to the old Atlantic plantation system.

The North’s triumph had profound effects elsewhere in North America. The United States threatened the annexation of Canada to punish Great Britain, whose dependence on cotton had led it to support the Confederacy. To prevent the loss of Britain’s largest territory, the British government allowed Canadians to form a united dominion — that is, a self-governing unit of the empire — in 1867. Dominion status answered Canadians’ appeal for home rule, weakened the cause of those opposing Britain’s control of Canada, and strengthened Canadian national unity.

Review Question

What role did warfare play in the various nineteenth-century nation-building efforts?

Nation Building through Social Order

Government officials and reformers hoped to offset the often violent changes of the nation-building process with new improvements. Population rose and cities grew crowded as the nineteenth century progressed, leading officials across Europe to promote public health and safety, if unevenly. Many liberals wanted a laissez-faire government that left social and economic life largely to private enterprise. In contrast, bureaucrats and reformers took direct action to improve citizens' lives and, along with missionaries and explorers, worked more actively to establish social order and to extend European power across the globe. Some of these efforts met violent resistance both within Europe and outside it (see Contrasting Views on pages 806–808).

CONTRASTING VIEWS

The Nation-State in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

The growing power of the nation-state manifested itself in increased bureaucratic activity, the rebuilding of capital cities, and overseas expansion. Simultaneously, there was debate about the meaning of the nation and state power. Commentators differed over the values and characteristics of the rising nation-state and whether it was beneficial. Even those who supported it expressed varying opinions that cited obedience to the state (Excerpts 1 and 2) and the need for national unity, as evidenced in Excerpts 3, 4, and 5.

1. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, "What Is Government," 1851

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, a French printer turned activist and essayist, had energetic reactions to the rise of the nation-state and its more active government. Proudhon also wrote about the economy and encouraged people to abandon large-scale industry for more mutual, cooperative work. He had a large following, especially among artisans.

To be GOVERNED is to be watched, inspected, spied upon, directed, law-driven, numbered, regulated, enrolled, indoctrinated, preached at, controlled, checked, estimated, valued, censured, commanded, by creatures who have neither the right nor the wisdom nor the virtue to do so. To be GOVERNED is to be at every operation, at every transaction noted, registered, counted, taxed, stamped, measured, numbered, assessed, licensed, authorized, admonished, prevented, forbidden, reformed, corrected, punished. It is, under pretext of public utility, and in the name of the general interest, to be placed under contribution, drilled, fleeced, exploited, monopolized, extorted from, squeezed, hoaxed, robbed; then, at the slightest resistance, the first word of complaint, to be repressed, fined, vilified, harassed, hunted down, abused, clubbed, disarmed, bound, choked, imprisoned, judged, condemned, shot, deported, sacrificed, sold, betrayed; and to crown all, mocked, ridiculed, derided, outraged, dishonored. That is government; that is its justice; that is its morality.

Source: Pierre Joseph Proudhon, "What Is Government," in *General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century*, translated by John Beverly Robinson (London: Freedom Press, 1923), 293–94.

2. Giuseppe Mazzini, "On Nationality" (1852)

Mazzini founded the movement Young Italy in 1831 and advocated the unification of Italian states in the Revolution of 1848 on the peninsula. From the 1820s and into the 1860s, he agitated for a democratic type of unification and even after the founding of the united Italian kingdom sought the incorporation of Rome into the new nation. Here is an essay written after the failure of the 1848 revolutions and before the success of unification efforts.

It was not for a material interest that the people of Vienna fought in 1848; in weakening the empire they could only lose power. It was not for an increase of wealth that the people of Lombardy fought in the same year; the Austrian Government had endeavored in the year preceding to excite the peasants against the landed proprietors, as they had done in Gallicia; but everywhere they had failed. They struggled, they still struggle, as do Poland, Germany, and Hungary, for country and liberty; for a word inscribed upon a banner, proclaiming to the world that they also live, think, love, and labor for the benefit of all. They speak the same language, they bear about them the impress of consanguinity, they kneel beside the same tombs, they glory in the same tradition; and they demand to associate freely, without obstacles, without foreign domination, in order to elaborate and express their idea; to contribute their stone also to the great pyramid of history. It is something moral which they are seeking; and this moral something is in fact, even politically speaking, the most important question in the present state of things. It is the organization of the European task. It is no longer the savage, hostile, quarrelsome nationality of two hundred years ago which is invoked by these peoples. The nationality … founded upon the following principle*: — Whichever people, by its superiority of* *strength, and by* its *geographical position, can do us an injury, is our natural enemy; whichever cannot do us an injury, but can by the amount of its force and by its position injure our enemy, is our natural ally,* — is the princely nationality of aristocracies or royal races. The nationality of the peoples has not these dangers; it can only be founded by a common effort and a common movement; sympathy and alliance will be its result. In principle, as in the ideas formerly laid down by the men influencing every national party, nationality ought only to be to humanity that which the division of labor is in a workshop — the recognized symbol of association; the assertion of the individuality of a human group called by its geographical position, its traditions, and its language, to fulfil a special function in the European work of civilization.

Source: Giuseppe Mazzini, "Europe: Its Condition and Prospects," *Essays: Selected from the Writings, Literary, Political and Religious of Joseph Mazzini*, ed. William Clark (London: Walter Scott, 1880), 266, 277–78, 291–92, as found in Fordham Modern History Sourcebook, http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1852mazzini.asp. Accessed September 30, October 6, 2014.

3. Abraham Lincoln, Speech, 1858

As a candidate for the Republican nomination for the presidency, Abraham Lincoln made the following speech about conditions in the rising U.S. nation-state. It was said to be radical but at the same time credited with Lincoln's victory in the 1860 election. Partly as a result of that victory, the South voted to secede from the Union.

"A house divided against itself cannot stand."

I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half *slave* and half *free*.

I do not expect the Union to be *dissolved — I* do not expect the house to *fall—but* I *do* expect it will cease to be divided.

It will become *all* one thing or *all* the other.

Either the *opponents* of slavery, will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its *advocates* will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in *all* the States, *old* as well as *new — North* as well as *South*.

Source: Abraham Lincoln Online.
http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/house.htm

4. Proclamation of the German Empire, January 18, 1871

The Proclamation of the German Empire provides a statement not only bringing the individual German states into being as a single nation but also expressing the values and goals of the newly unified nation-state.

We, Wilhelm, by the grace of God King of Prussia, do herewith declare that we have considered it a duty to our common fatherland to answer the summons of the united German princes and cities and to accept the German imperial title. In consequence, we and our successors on the throne of Prussia will henceforth bear the imperial title in all our relations and in all the business of the German Empire, and we hope to God that the German nation will be granted the ability to fashion a propitious future for the fatherland under the symbol of its ancient glory. We assume the imperial title, conscious of the duty of protecting, with German loyalty, the rights of the Empire and of its members, of keeping the peace, and of protecting the independence of Germany, which depends in its turn upon the united strength of the people. We assume the title in the hope that the German people will be granted the ability to enjoy the reward of its ardent and self-sacrificing wars in lasting peace, within boundaries which afford the fatherland a security against renewed French aggression which has been lost for centuries. And may God grant that We and our successors on the imperial throne may at all times increase the wealth of the German Empire, not by military conquests, but by the blessings and the gifts of peace, in the realm of national prosperity, liberty, and morality. Wilhelm I, Kaiser und König.

Source: James Harvey Robinson, ed., *Readings in European History,* 2 vols. (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1904–1905), II:571–75; Otto von Bismarck, *The Man and Statesman* (New York, 1899), II:48–51. In http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/germanunification.asp, “Fordham Modern History Sourcebook online.” Scanned by J. S. Arkenberg, Dept. of History, Cal. State Fullerton. Prof. Arkenberg has modernized the text. Accessed September 29, 2014.

5. Ernst Renan, “What Is a Nation,” 1882

Ernst Renan was a French scholar and essayist who engaged the issue of the consolidating nation-state head on, writing one of the most complete considerations of its attributes. Though a decade after the other writers, he sums up sentiments so thoroughly that writers of our own day take his essay as capturing the nation-state moment.

A nation is therefore a great solidarity constituted by the feeling of sacrifices made and those that one is still disposed to make. It presupposes a past but is consolidated in the present by a tangible fact: consent, the clearly expressed desire to continue a common life. A nation’s existence is a daily plebiscite, just as an individual’s existence is a perpetual affirmation of life. I well know, that is less metaphysical than divine right and less brutal than the alleged historical right…. We have driven metaphysical and theological abstractions from politics. What remains? Man remains, his desires and his needs. The secession and eventual collapse of nations are the consequence of a system which places these old organisms at the mercy of frequently unenlightened wills. Clearly in matters like these, no principle should be carried to excess…. Nations are nothing eternal. They had a beginning they will have an end. A European confederation will probably replace them…. At present, the existence of nations is a good and even necessary. Their existence is the guarantee of liberty, a liberty that would be lost if the world had only one law and one master.

Source: Ernest Renan, *Discours et Conferences* (Paris: Calman-Lévy, 1887), 277–310, in Hans Kohn, ed., *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History* (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1955), 139–40, with my edits and retranslations.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. Describe and analyze the range of issues that shaped discussions of the nation-state in the nineteenth century.
2. What other types of political organization are referenced in the discussions of the nation-state, and how do the political thinkers assess them?
3. What issues are missing from these discussions of the nation-state, and why do you think they are missing?

Bringing Order to the Cities

European cities became the backdrop for displays of state power and accomplishment. Governments focused on improving capital cities such as Vienna and Rome with handsome parks, widened streets, stately museums, and massive city halls. In 1857, Austrian emperor Francis Joseph ordered that the old Viennese city walls be replaced with boulevards lined with major public buildings such as the opera house and government offices. These buildings were visible evidence of national wealth and power, and the broad boulevards allowed crowds to observe royal pageantry. The wide roads were also easier for troops to navigate than the twisted, narrow medieval streets that in 1848 had concealed insurrectionists in cities like Paris and Vienna. Impressive parks and public gardens showed the state's control of nature, ordered people's leisure time, and inspired respect for the nation-state's achievements.

Construction first required destruction: buildings and entire neighborhoods that had intermingled rich and poor disappeared; thousands of city dwellers were dislocated and endured precarious lives. Expensive newly built housing was separated from the poor sections of the city. In Paris, the process of urban change was called Haussmannization, named for the prefect Georges-Eugène Haussmann, who implemented a grand design that included eighty-five miles of new streets, many lined with showy dwellings for the wealthy. In London, the many new banks and insurance companies, one architect believed, "help[ed] the impression of stability." There was an expectation that the civic pride resulting from urban rebuilding would replace rebelliousness and disunity. (See Environment Matters on page 810.)

Still, serious problems menaced the urban population. Repeated epidemics of diseases such as cholera killed alarming numbers of city dwellers and gave the strong impression of social decay, not national power. Poor sanitation allowed typhoid bacteria to spread through sewage and into water supplies, infecting rich and poor alike. In 1861, Britain's Prince Albert — the beloved husband of Queen Victoria — reputedly died of typhoid fever, commonly known as a "filth disease." Heaps of animal excrement in chicken coops, pigpens, and stables; unregulated urban slaughterhouses; and piles of human waste were breeding grounds for disease, making sanitation a top priority.

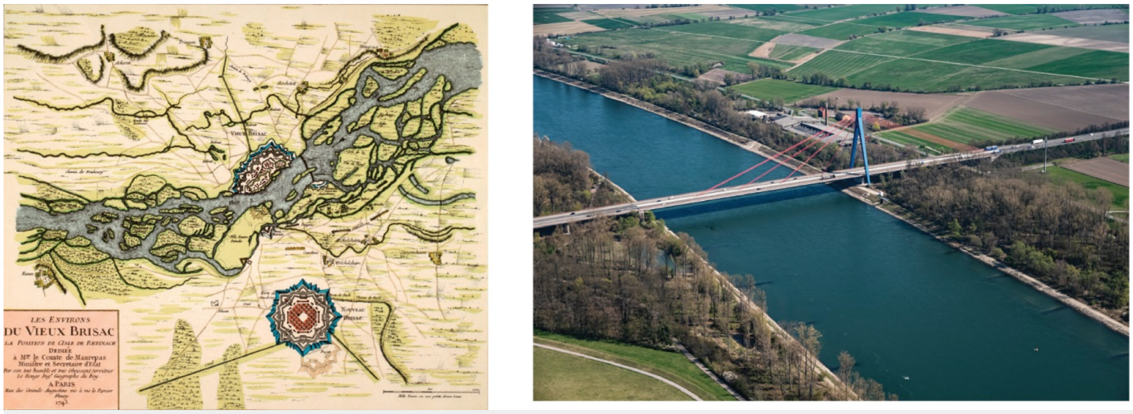
Scientific research, increasingly undertaken in publicly financed laboratories and hospitals, provided the means to promote public health and control disease. France's Louis Pasteur, three of whose young daughters had also died of typhoid, advanced the germ theory of disease. He suggested that bacteria and parasites might be responsible for human and animal diseases. Pasteur demonstrated that heating foods such as wine and milk to a certain temperature, a process that soon became known as pasteurization, killed these organisms and made food safe. English surgeon Joseph Lister applied Pasteur's germ theory of disease to infection and developed antiseptics for treating wounds and preventing puerperal fever, a condition caused by the dirty hands of physicians and midwives that killed innumerable women after childbirth.

Governments undertook projects to modernize sewer and other sanitary systems and to straighten rivers. Citizens often prized such improvements as signs of national superiority. In Paris, sewage flowed into newly built, watertight underground collectors. In addition, Haussmann piped in water from uncontaminated sources in the countryside to provide each household with a secure supply. To prevent devastating floods and to eliminate disease-ridden marshlands, governments rerouted and straightened rivers such as the Rhine and built canals. Improved sanitation testified to the activist state's ability to bring about progress.

Many citizens responded positively to improvements in everyday life. When sanitary public toilets for men became a feature of modern cities, women petitioned governments for similar facilities. More aware of dirt, disease, and smells, the middle classes bathed more regularly, sometimes even once a week. People’s concerns for refinement and health mirrored governments’ pursuit of order.

ENVIRONMENT MATTERS

Straightening the Rhine


LES ENVIRONS
DU VIEUX BRISAC
LA POSITION DE L'ISLE DE RHEINACH
DEDIÉE
à Mr le Comte de Maurepas
Ministre et Secretaire d'Etat
A PARIS
1743

Left: akg-images/Newscom; right: picture alliance/Getty Images

Beautification and modernization of cities for urbanites were not the only aims of politicians. Control of rivers was high on their agenda to prevent flooding of cities on the Rhine’s banks, leading to the straightening of the Rhine and the construction of dams and canals across German lands in the nineteenth century. Environmental change was extensive, as was the damage to livelihoods. Nooks and crannies where people pursued an array of small occupations disappeared as did varieties of fish and plants, which lost their breeding grounds. Though straightening rivers was supposed to stop cities from flooding, in fact flood waters simply harmed alternative urban areas.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. What advantages can you see to altering nature in so dramatic a fashion? What arguments support leaving nature alone?
2. How would you describe the relationship between nature and modernization, such as industrial and urban development in the nineteenth century?

Expanding Government Bureaucracy

Bureaucracies expanded in these years as governments sought authority, national wealth, order, and power. Reaching further into everyday life, states undertook routine censuses. These yielded personal details of citizens' lives such as age, occupation, residence, marital status, and number of children. Governments then used these data for everything from setting quotas for military conscription to predicting the need for new prisons. Reformers like Florence Nightingale, who gathered medical and other statistics to support well-being in the military and across the nation, believed that such quantitative information would help a government base decisions on facts rather than on ill-informed hunches or corrupt deal making.

To bring about their vision of social order, many governments also expanded the regulation of prostitution. Venereal disease, especially syphilis, was common, and like typhoid fever, it infected individuals and whole families. Officials blamed prostitutes, not their clients, for its spread. The police picked up suspect women, examined them for syphilis, and confined infected ones for treatment. As states began monitoring prostitution and other social matters like public health, they added departments and agencies. In 1867, Hungary's bureaucracy handled fewer than 250,000 individual cases ranging from health to poverty issues; twenty years later, it handled more than 1 million. Paperwork signaled order.

Schooling and Professionalizing Society

Emphasis on empirical knowledge and objective standards changed the professions and raised their status. Growing numbers of middle-class doctors, lawyers, professors, and journalists employed solid information in their work. The middle classes argued that jobs in government should be awarded according to expertise rather than aristocratic birth or political connections. In Britain, a civil service law passed in 1870 required competitive examinations to ensure competency in government posts — a system long used in China. Governments began to allow professionals to determine qualifications for admission to their fields. Such legislation had both positive and negative effects: the medical profession, for example, gained the authority to license physicians but worked to block experienced midwives from attending childbirths.

Nation building required the education of all citizens, professional or not. “We have made Italy,” one Italian official announced. “Now we have to make Italians.” Education was one way of bringing citizens to hold common beliefs and values. Governments introduced compulsory schooling to reduce illiteracy rates, which were more than 65 percent in Italy and Spain in the 1870s and even higher in eastern Europe. As ordinary people were allowed to vote, books taught them about the responsibilities of citizenship and provided the practical knowledge necessary for building national wealth.

Educational reform was not easy. At midcentury, religious authorities supervised schools and charged tuition, making primary education an option only for prosperous or religious parents. After the 1850s, critics questioned the relevance of religion in the curricula of modern schools.

In 1861, an English commission on education concluded that instead of knowledge of the Bible, “the knowledge most important to a labouring man is that of the causes which regulate the amount of his wages, the hours of his work, the regularity of his employment, and the prices of what he consumes.” To feel part of a nation, the young had to learn its language, literature, and history. Tsarist bureaucrats however, working with local imams to Russify the growing Muslim population, often compromised with local leaders.

Enforcing school attendance was another challenge. Although the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland had functioning primary-school systems before midcentury, rural parents in many countries resisted sending their children to school. Farm families depended on children to perform chores and believed that work in the fields or the household provided the best and most useful education. Urban homemakers from the lower classes needed their children to fetch water, tend younger children, and scavenge for household necessities such as stale bread from bakers or soup from local missions. Yet some of the working poor, alongside struggling to survive, developed a craze for learning, which made traveling lecturers, reading groups, and debating societies popular.

Secondary education also expanded through the creation of more lycées (high schools) and technical schools, yet it remained even more of a luxury. In authoritarian countries such as Russia, advanced knowledge, including education in science and technology, was considered suspect because it empowered the young with information and taught them to think for themselves. Reformers pushed for advanced courses for young women to make them more interesting wives and better mothers of future citizens. In Britain, the founders of two women's colleges — Girton (1869) and Newnham (1871) — at Cambridge University believed, and were later proved right, that exacting standards and a modern curriculum in women's higher education would inspire improvements in the lax men's colleges of Cambridge and Oxford.

Education also opened professional doors to women, who came to attend universities — in particular, medical schools — in Zurich and Paris in the 1860s. Women doctors argued that they could not only bring feminine values to health care but also get better results because women patients would be more open with them than with male doctors. The need for educated citizens also offered opportunities for large numbers of women to enter teaching, a field once dominated by men. Thousands of women founded nursery schools and kindergartens based on the Enlightenment idea that developmental processes start at an early age. Yet many men opposed the idea of women studying or teaching. "I shudder at philosophic women," wrote one critic of female education.

Spreading National Power and Order beyond the West

In an age of nation building, colonies took on new importance because they seemed to add to the power and fill the treasuries of the nation-state. This urgency led Great Britain, France, Russia, and others to expand their political control of colonies. Sometimes the imperial powers offered social and cultural services, such as schools. For instance, in the 1850s and 1860s, provincial governors and local officials promoted the intensification of Russian control over nomadic tribes in central and eastern Asia. Among Muslims, they partly depended on women as the conduit of that control. It was hoped that mothers would instruct the young in loyalty to the tsar and to Russian ways of life as a means to social order.

Great Britain, the era's mightiest imperial power, imposed political rule abroad as part of nation building. Before the 1850s, British liberals desired commercial profits from colonies, but, believing in laissez-faire, they kept political involvement in colonial affairs minimal. Since the eighteenth century, the East India Company had overseen various kingdoms' trading and tax collection and the building of railroads throughout the Indian countryside. As commerce with Britain grew, some Indian businessmen became wealthy. Other local men served in the colonial army, which became one of the largest standing armies in the world.

This arrangement changed in 1857, when a contingent of Indian troops, both Muslim and Hindu, rebelled on the rumor that Britain would force them to use cartridges of ammunition greased with cow and pig fat, which violated the Hindu ban on beef and the Muslim prohibition of pork. Their main grievance, however, was the widening British control, causing them to take the old Mughal capital at Delhi and declare the independence of the Indian nation — an uprising known as the Indian Rebellion of 1857.

Simultaneously, local people and their rulers rebelled, condemning "the tyranny and oppression of the infidel and treacherous English." Lakshmibai, the *rani* ("queen") of the state of Jhansi in central India, led a separate military revolt when the East India Company tried to take over her lands after her husband died. The British brutally crushed the rebels, giving birth to Indian nationalism. Victorious, the British government took direct control of India in 1858, and the British Parliament declared Queen Victoria the empress of India in 1876.

A system of rule took shape in which close to half a million South Asians, supervised by a few thousand British men, governed a region now named India. Colonial rule meant both outright domination and subtle intervention in everyday life. For example, British taxes on high-quality Indian textiles led many to buy cheaper British cottons. Artisans were directed instead to farm raw materials such as wheat, cotton, and jute to supply Britain's industry and feed its workers. Some Indians chose to accept British arguments against Indian customs such as child marriage and *sati* — the self-immolation of a widow on her husband's funeral pyre. Others found Europe's scientific values and the bureaucratic emphasis on paperwork attractive, offering a kind of unity to India's many separate princedoms and ironically laying the foundation for an Indian nation.

French political expansion was similarly complex. The French government pushed to establish its dominion over Cochin China (modern southern Vietnam) in the 1860s. Missionaries in the area, ambitious French naval officers, and even some local peoples — much like Indian merchants and financiers — pulled the French government farther into the region. Like the British, the French brought improvements, but sanitation and public health programs led to a rise in population that strained resources. Furthermore, landowners and French imperialists siphoned off most of the profits from economic improvement. The French also undertook a cultural mission to transform cities like Saigon by adding tree-lined boulevards similar to those of Paris. French literature, theater, and art were popular with both colonial officials and upper-class local people.

In this expansion of Realpolitik, the importance of the Mediterranean basin grew. Napoleon III, remembering his uncle's campaign in Egypt, supported building the Suez Canal, which would connect the Mediterranean with the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean and thus dramatically shorten the route from Europe to Asia. Following the canal's completion in 1869, "canal fever" spread: Verdi composed the opera *Aïda* (set in ancient Egypt), and people across the West applied Egyptian designs to textiles, furniture, art, and even public monuments in cities. The French army had occupied all of Algeria by 1870, when the number of European immigrants to the region reached one-quarter million. French rule in Algeria, as elsewhere, was aided by some local people's attraction to European goods and technology and by the opportunity to make money.

Its vastness allowed China to escape complete takeover, even as its administration weakened. Traders and Christian missionaries from Europe made inroads, while defeat in the Opium War caused an economic slump and helped generate the mass movement known as the Taiping ("Heavenly Kingdom"). Headed by a leader who claimed to be the brother of Jesus, the Taiping's millions of adherents wanted an end to the ruling Qing dynasty, the expulsion of foreigners, more equal treatment of women, and land reform. By the mid-1850s, the Taiping controlled half of China. The threatened Qing regime promised the British and French greater influence in exchange for aid in defeating the Taiping. More than twenty million Chinese died in the resulting civil war. When peace finally came in 1864, Western governments controlled much of the Chinese customs service and had virtually unlimited access to the country.

Japan escaped Western domination because it was keenly aware of the innovations taking place in the West. In 1854, the Japanese agreed to open the country to foreign trade in part to gain Western goods, including the West's superior weaponry. Japanese reformers in 1867 overthrew a government that resisted such change and in 1868 enacted the Meiji Restoration. The word *Meiji* pointed to the "enlightened rule" of the new emperor, whose power reformers had restored. The goal was to combine "Western science and Eastern values" as a way of "making new" — hence, a nation-building combination of restoration and innovation. While crushing ongoing opposition, the new regime pushed Japan to become a modern, technologically powerful state free from Western control.

Contesting the Nation-State's Order at Home

Europeans did not simply sit by as rising nation-states evolved and often disrupted their lives. A better-informed urban working class protested the upheavals in everyday life caused when cities were ripped apart for improvements and when the growth of factories destroyed artisans' livelihoods. Increasingly educated by public schools, urban workers frequented cafés and pubs to hear news and discuss current events. After the post-1848 repression of worker organizations, unions started to take shape, sometimes in secret because of continuing opposition from governments.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

Had you lived in Germany, Italy, or France during this era, would you have rebelled against nation building or would you have supported it? What acts would you have objected to, provoking you to rebellion? Or what would have persuaded you to be a supportive citizen? How would you have thought about those people who did not get full rights as citizens such as slaves, the poor, women, people of color, or disenfranchised others?

Many labor activists were artisans struggling to survive in the new industrializing climate. They were attracted at first by the ideas of former printer Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865). In the 1840s, Proudhon proclaimed, "Property is theft," suggesting that property ownership robbed people of their rightful share of the earth's benefits. He opposed the centralized state and proposed that society be organized instead around natural groupings of men in artisans' workshops. Women, he believed, should work in seclusion at home for their husbands' comfort. These all-male workshops and a central bank crediting each worker for his labor would replace government.

As the nation-state expanded its power, workers were also drawn to **anarchism**, which maintained that the existence of the state was the root of social injustice. According to Russian nobleman and anarchist leader Mikhail Bakunin (1814–1876), the slightest infringement on freedom, especially by the central state and its laws, was unacceptable. Anarchism thus advocated the destruction of all state power. Its appeal increased as government grew in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Political theorist and labor organizer Karl Marx (1818–1883) opposed both doctrines as lacking the sound, scientific basis of his own theory, subsequently called **Marxism**. Marx's analysis, appearing in these years in *Das Kapital* (*Capital*), adopted the liberal idea, dating back to John Locke in the seventeenth century, that human existence was defined by the necessity to work to fulfill basic needs such as food, clothing, and shelter. Using mathematical calculations of production and profit that would justify Realpolitik for the working classes, Marx held that the fundamental organization of any society derived from the relationships arising from work or production. This idea, known as *materialism*, meant that society rested on class relationships — such as those between serf and medieval lord, slave and master, or worker and capitalist. Marx called the class relationships that developed around work the *mode of production* — for instance, feudalism, slavery, or capitalism. He rejected the liberal focus on individual rights and instead saw as pivotal the unequal class relations caused by those who controlled the means of production — that is, the capital, land, tools, or factories that allowed basic human needs to be met.

Marx, like the politicians around him, took a tough-minded, realistic look at the economy, discarding the romantic views of the utopian socialists. He saw struggle, not warmhearted cooperation, as the means for bringing about change. Workers' awareness of their oppression would produce class-consciousness, he argued, leading them to overthrow their exploiters. Society was not basically harmonious; instead social progress would occur only through conflict.

The Franco-Prussian War ended, leading to revolution and civil war not only in Paris but also in other French cities — catching the attention of Marx as a sign that his predictions were coming true. As the Prussians laid siege to Paris in the winter of 1870–1871, causing many deaths from starvation and bitter cold, Parisians rose up and demanded new liberties, just systems of work, and a more balanced distribution of power between the central government and localities. On March 28, 1871, to counter what they saw as the despotism of the centralized government, they declared themselves a self-governing commune. One issue behind the unrest was the nation-state's destruction of city life through urban renovation.

In the Paris Commune's two months of existence, and while trying to maintain "communal" instead of "national" values, Parisians quickly developed a wide array of political clubs, local ceremonies, and self-managed workshops. Women workers, for example, banded together to make National Guard uniforms on a cooperative rather than a for-profit basis. The Commune proposed to liberate the worker and ensure "the absolute equality of women laborers." Thus, a *commune* — in contrast to a nation or *republic* — was meant to bring about social revolution. Communards, however, often disagreed on how to change society. Anticlericalism, feminism, socialism, and anarchism were but a few of the proposed routes to social justice.

In the meantime, the provisional government that succeeded the defeated Napoleon III stamped out uprisings across France. In late May, the well-supplied national army crushed the Commune and shot tens of thousands of citizens on the streets. Parisian rebels, one citizen commented, “deserved no better judge than a soldier’s bullet.” The Communards had promoted a kind of antistate in an age of rising state power. Others saw the Commune as the work of the *pétroleuse* (“woman incendiary”) — a case of frenzied women running amok through the streets. While revolutionary men became heroes in the history books, writers were soon blaming the burning of Paris on women — “shameless slatterns, half-naked women, who kindled courage and breathed life into arson.”

Defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, the rise of the Paris Commune, and the civil war were all horrendous blows to French nation building. Yet in the struggle against the Commune, the nation-state once again showed its strengthening muscle. Executions and deportations by the thousands followed, and fear of workers spread across Europe.

REVIEW QUESTION

How did Europe’s expanding nation-states attempt to impose social order within and beyond Europe, and what resistance did they face?

The Culture of Social Order

Artists and writers of the mid-nineteenth century had complex reactions to the state's expanding reach and the economic growth that sustained it. They saw daily life as filled with commercial values and organized by mindless officials. Ordinary people no longer appeared heroic, as they had during the revolutionary years. "How tired I am of the ignoble workman, the inept bourgeois, the stupid peasant, and the odious priest," wrote French novelist Gustave Flaubert. Rejecting romanticism, he described ordinary people in a harsh new style called **realism**. Intellectuals of the time proposed scientific theories that also took a cold, hard look at human life in society and challenged both idealism and fervent religious belief. Their point of view resembled that applied by statesmen to politics.

The Arts Confront Social Reality

Culture helped the cause of national unity. A hungry reading public devoured biographies of political leaders, past and present, and credited daring heroes with creating the rising nation-state. A national museum in Bohemia, like clubs and reading groups across Hungary or Poland, was said to show the progress of each "nation" under the umbrella of the centralizing Habsburg Empire. As schooling spread literacy and a craving for realism — that is, true-to-life portrayals of society without romantic or idealistic overtones — commercially minded publishers produced an age of best sellers. Newspapers published the novels of Charles Dickens in serial form, and each installment attracted buyers eager for the latest plot twist. Drawn from English society, Dickens's characters included starving orphans, grasping lawyers, greedy bankers, and ruthless opportunists. *Hard Times* (1854) depicts the grinding poverty and ill health of workers alongside the heartlessness of businessmen. Novelist **George Eliot** (the pen name of Mary Ann Evans) probed real-life dilemmas in *The Mill on the Floss* (1860) and *Middlemarch* (1871–1872). Describing rural society, Eliot allowed her readers to see one another's predicaments, wherever they lived. She knew the pain of ordinary life from her own experience: despite her fame, she was a social outcast because she lived with a married man. Popular novels that showed a hard reality helped form a shared culture much as state institutions did.

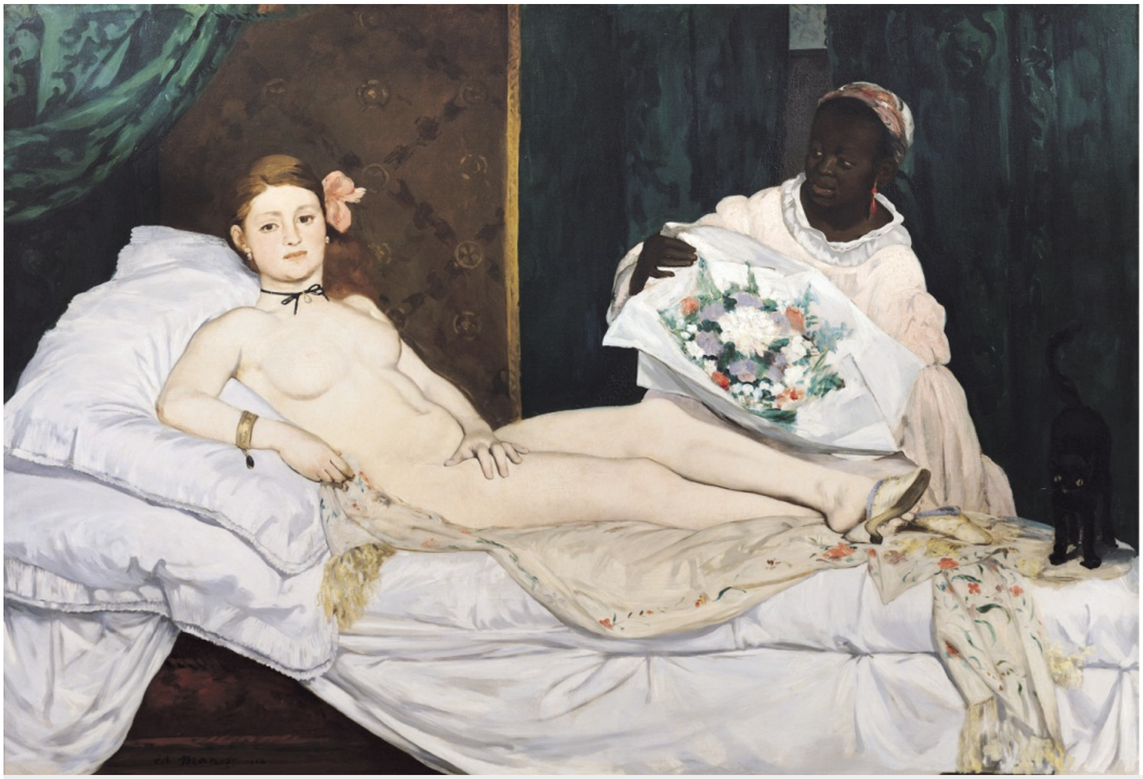
French writers also scorned dreams of utopian, trouble-free societies and ideal beauty. Gustave Flaubert's novel *Madame Bovary* (1857) tells the story of a doctor's wife who longs to escape her provincial surroundings. Filled with romantic fantasies, she has two love affairs to escape her boredom, becomes hopelessly indebted buying gifts for her lovers, and commits suicide by swallowing arsenic. *Madame Bovary* scandalized French society with its frank picture of women's sexuality, but it attracted a wide readership. Poet Charles-Pierre Baudelaire wrote explicitly about sex; in his 1857 collection, *Les Fleurs du mal (Flowers of Evil*), he expressed drug- and alcohol-induced passions — some focused on the brown body of his African mistress — and spun out visions that critics condemned as perverse. French authorities brought charges of obscenity against both Flaubert and Baudelaire. At issue was social and artistic order: "Art without rules is no longer art," maintained the prosecutor.

During the era of Alexander II's Great Reforms, Russian writers debated whether western European values were harming Russian culture. Adopting one viewpoint, Ivan Turgenev created a powerful novel of Russian life, *Fathers and Sons* (1862), a story of nihilistic children rejecting both parental authority and their parents' spiritual values in favor of science and facts. Fyodor Dostoevsky, in contrast, portrayed nihilists as dark, ridiculous, and neurotic. The highly intelligent characters in Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* (1866) are personally tormented and condemned to lead absurd, even criminal lives. Dostoevsky used antiheroes to emphasize spirituality and traditional Russian values but added a realistic spin by planting such values in ordinary, often seedy people. The Russian public was drawn together by these debates about Russian identity.

While writers of realism depended on sales to thousands of readers, painters usually depended on government support. Leaders such as Prince Albert of Great Britain actively patronized the arts and purchased works for official collections and for themselves. Having their artwork chosen for display at government-sponsored exhibitions also helped artists to earn a living. Hundreds of thousands from all social classes attended these exhibitions, though not all could afford to buy the art.

After the revolutions of 1848, artists also began rejecting the romantic idealizing of ordinary folk or grand historic events. Instead, painters like Gustave Courbet portrayed groaning laborers at backbreaking work because, as he stated, an artist should "never permit sentiment to overthrow logic." The renovated city, artists found, had become a visual spectacle; its wide new boulevards served as a stage for urban residents.

Universal Exhibition (1867) by Edouard Manet shows figures from all social classes gazing at the Paris scene and observing one another to learn correct modern behavior. Manet also broke with romantic conventions of the nude. His *Olympia* (1865) depicts a white courtesan lying on her bed, attended by a Black woman (see the illustration below). This disregard for depicting women in mythical or idealized settings was too much for the critics: “A sort of female gorilla,” one wrote of *Olympia* as debate raged over realism.



Bridgeman Images.

A Realist View of the Nude Manet’s *Olympia* (1865) was one of the most shocking works of art of its day. The central woman is not glamorously dressed or posed erotically; rather, she stares candidly and boldly at the viewer. The Black maid offers the white woman, obviously a courtesan, flowers from an admirer. This scene was far too modern in its style and subject matter for most critics.

Unlike most of the visual arts, opera was commercially profitable and an effective means of reaching the nineteenth-century public. Verdi used musical theater to contrast noble ideals with the deadly effects of power and the lure of passion with the need for social order. The German composer Richard Wagner hoped to revolutionize opera by fusing music and drama to arouse the audience's fear and awe. A gigantic cycle of four operas, Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (*Ring of the Nibelung*) reshaped ancient German myths into a modern, nightmarish story of a world doomed by its obsessive pursuit of money and power and saved only through unselfish love. His opera *The Master-singers of Nuremberg* was said to be implicitly anti-Semitic because of its rejection of influences other than German ones in the arts. Wagner's musical innovation made him a major force in politics and the arts across Europe. To his fellow citizens, however, his operas stood for Germany. Artists both implicitly (like George Eliot) and more explicitly (like Richard Wagner) promoted nation building in their creations.

Religion and National Order

The expansion of state power set the stage for clashes over the role of organized religion in the nation-state. In the 1850s, many politicians supported religious institutions and attended public church rituals because they were another source of order. Simultaneously, some nation builders, intellectuals, and economic liberals came to reject the religious worldview of established churches, particularly Roman Catholicism, because it was based in faith, not reason, and slowed the growth of nationalist sentiment. In England, as we have seen, violent anti-Catholicism helped build national unity around hatred for an out-group — Irish Catholics.

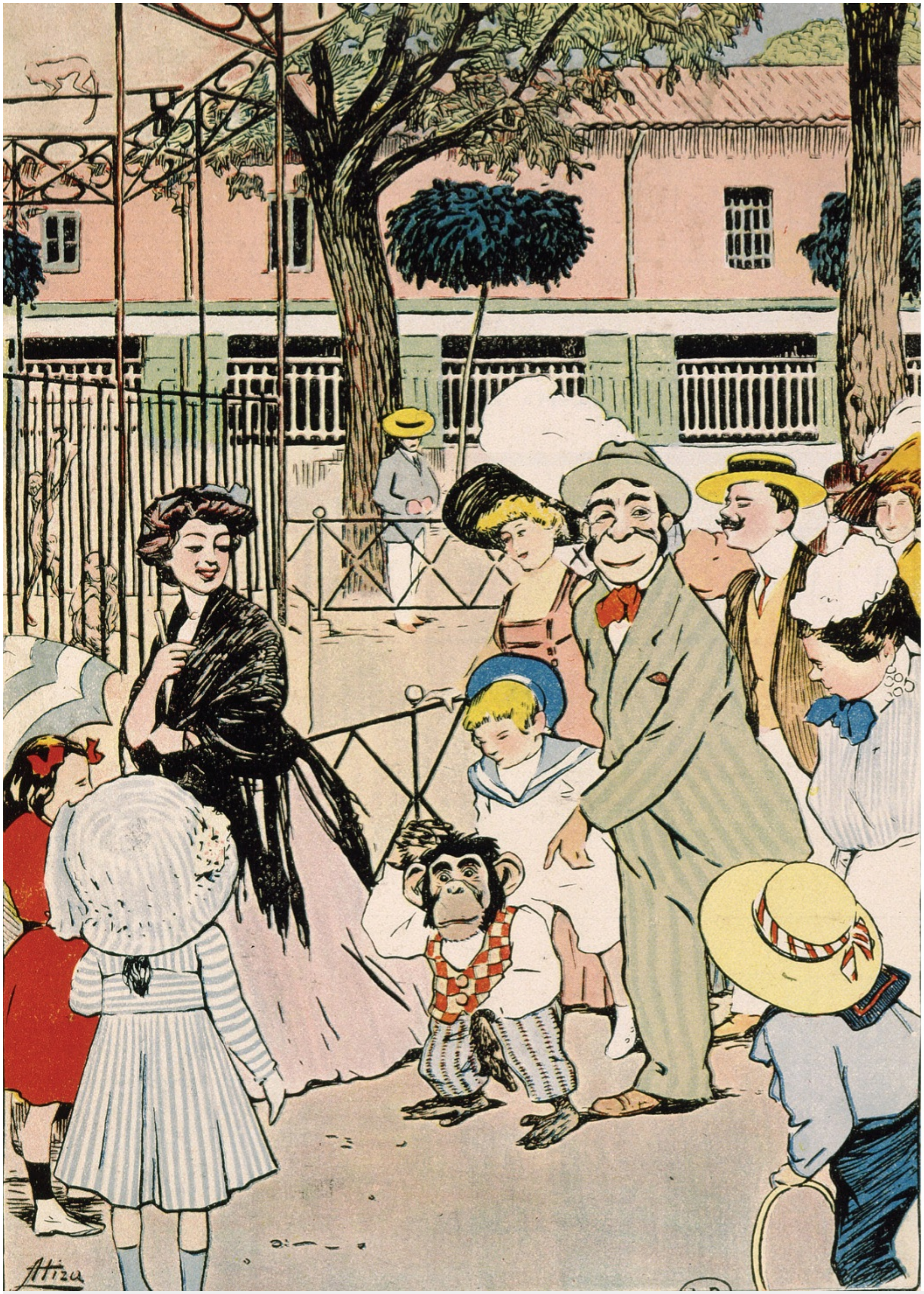
Bismarck mounted a full-blown **Kulturkampf** (“culture war”) against religion. The German government expelled the Jesuits from Germany in 1872, increased state power over the clergy in Prussia in 1873, and introduced a civil ceremony as an obligatory part of marriage in 1875. Bismarck had bragged, “I am the master of Germany in all but name,” but he miscalculated his ability to manipulate politics. The pope fought back: “One must obey God more than men,” he ordered. Even conservative Protestants thought Bismarck wrongheaded in attacking religion. Competition between church and state for power and influence heated up in the age of Realpolitik.

Nation builders had also extended liberal rights to Jews, whom many Christians considered enemies. Despite his fervent support for Catholicism, Habsburg Emperor Francis Joseph visited congregations of many faiths, including the Jews of Cracow, who gave him a warm greeting. Attacking such changing values, Pope Pius IX issued *The Syllabus of Errors* (1864), which found fault “with progress, with liberalism, and with modern civilization.” Becoming pope in 1878, Leo XIII began reconciling the church to modern politics by encouraging up-to-date scholarship in Catholic institutes and universities and by accepting aspects of representative democracy. As the Kulturkampf ended, it became easier for the faithful to be both Catholic and patriotic.

The place of organized religion in society was, in fact, changing. While many in the upper and middle classes and peasantry remained faithful, church attendance declined among workers and artisans. There was a religious gender gap too. Women’s spiritual beliefs became more intense, with both Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox women’s religious orders increasing in size and number; men, by contrast, were falling away from religious orders. Many urban Jews abandoned religious practices and assimilated instead to secular, national cultures. Religion no longer included everyone.

In 1854, the pope's announcement of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception (stating that Mary, alone among all humans, had been born without original sin) provoked an outburst of popular religious fervor, especially among women. In 1858, a young peasant girl, Bernadette Soubirous, began having visions of the Virgin Mary at Lourdes in southern France. Crowds, mostly of women, flocked to Lourdes, believing that its waters could cure their ailments. In 1867, less than ten years later, a new railroad line to Lourdes enabled millions of pilgrims to visit the shrine on church-organized trips. The Catholic church thus showed that it, too, could use such modern means as railroads, shopping centers, and medical verifications of miraculous cures to make the religious experience more up-to-date. Traditional institutions refreshed their effectiveness by incorporating up-to-date elements of order, including science and technology.

At about the time of Soubirous's vision, the English naturalist **Charles Darwin** (1809–1882) published *On the Origin of Species* (1859). In his writings, Darwin argued that life on Earth had taken shape over countless millions of years before humans existed and that human life was the result of this slow development, called *evolution*. This theory directly challenged the Judeo-Christian dogma that God miraculously brought the universe and all life into being in six days. Instead Darwin held that life developed from lower forms through a primal battle for survival and through the sexual selection of mates. For Darwin the Bible gave a “manifestly false history of the world.” Darwin’s theories also undermined Enlightenment principles that glorified nature as tranquil and noble, and human beings as essentially rational. The theory of natural selection, in which the fittest survive, suggested a different kind of human society, one composed of warlike individuals constantly fighting one another to triumph over hostile surroundings.



Alfredo Dagli Orti/Shutterstock.

“Gentlemen, We Are Descended from Monkeys,” Spain, Late Nineteenth Century Darwin’s scientific ideas aroused anger, admiration, and even mirth, as shown in this engraving some decades after the publication of his major works. As you consider this image, what message would you say the artist is trying to convey about evolution?

Other innovative biological research placed religious views of reproduction under attack. Working with pea plants in his monastery garden in the 1860s, the Austrian monk Gregor Mendel (1822–1884) discovered the principles of heredity, from which the science of genetics later developed. Investigation into the female reproductive cycle led German scientists to discover the principle of spontaneous ovulation — the automatic release of the egg by the ovary independent of sexual intercourse. Theorists concluded that men had strong sexual drives because reproduction depended on their sexual arousal. In contrast, the automatic release of the egg each month indicated to them that women were passive and lacked sexual feeling.

Many other ideas disturbed the status quo. Even before Darwin, the writer Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) had written that the “unfit” should be allowed to perish in the name of progress. On these grounds Spencer opposed public education and any other attempt to soften the struggle for existence. Darwin continued this line of argument when he claimed that white European men in the nineteenth century were wealthier and better because they were more highly evolved than white women or people of color. A school of thought known as Social Darwinism grew out of Darwin’s and Spencer’s ideas; it promoted racist, sexist, and other discriminatory policies in order to strengthen the nation-state.

From the Natural Sciences to Social

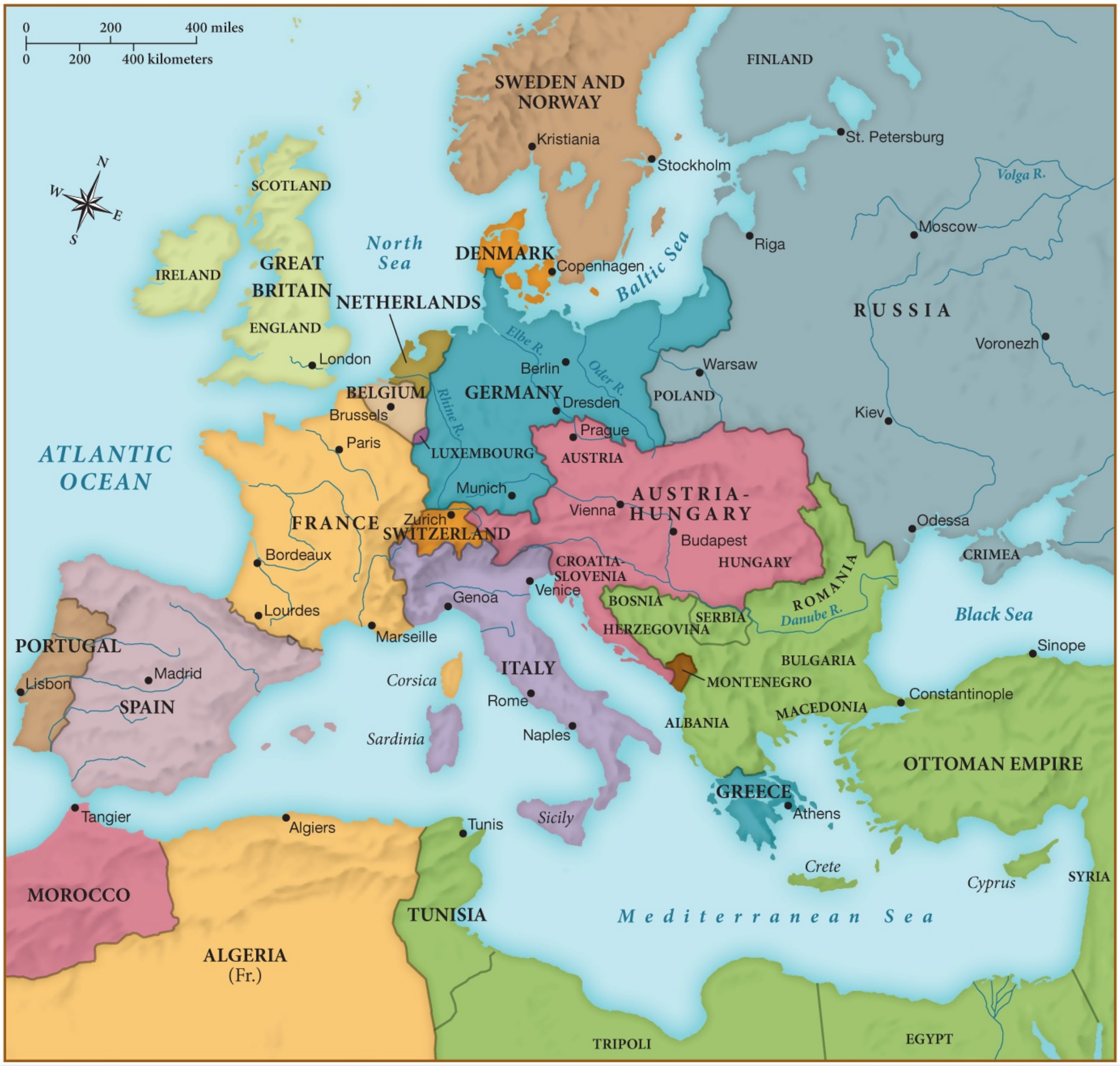
Science

In an age influenced by Realpolitik, Darwin’s revolutionary thought discredited the idea that the social order was created by God. French thinker Auguste Comte (1798–1857) developed an alternative: **positivism** — a theory claiming that careful study of facts would generate accurate, useful, or “positive,” laws of society. Comte’s “sociology” inspired people to believe they could solve the problems resulting from economic and social changes, leading tough-minded reformers to found scientifically oriented associations to dig up statistics on poverty or the conditions of working-class life for example. Comte encouraged women’s participation in reform because he deemed “womanly” compassion and love as fundamental to social harmony as scientific public policy was. Positivism led not only to women’s increased public activism but also to the development of more fact-based social sciences and policy.

Celebrated English philosopher John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) used Comte’s theories to advocate widespread reform and mass education. In his political treatise *On Liberty* (1859), Mill championed the improvement of society generally, but he also worried that superior people would be brought down by the will of the masses. Influenced by his wife, Harriet Taylor Mill, as well as by Comte, he argued for women’s rights and introduced a woman suffrage bill into the House of Commons. The bill’s defeat led Mill to publish *The Subjection of Women* (1869), an influential work around the world. *The Subjection of Women* showed the family as a despotic institution, lacking modern values such as rights and freedom. To make a woman appear “not a forced slave, but a willing one," he said, she was trained from childhood not to value her own talent and independence but to welcome her "submission" to men. Mill's advocacy of rights and education confronted the flood of Social Darwinist theories. Still, policymaking based on statistics and facts gained ground as building blocks of strong, unified nations.

REVIEW QUESTION

How did cultural expression and scientific and social thought help produce the hardheaded and realistic values of the mid-nineteenth century?



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAPPING THE WEST

Europe and the Mediterranean, 1871

European nation-states consolidated their power by building unified state structures and by developing the means for the diverse peoples within their borders to become somewhat more socially and culturally integrated. Nation-states were also rapidly expanding outside their boundaries, extending their economic and political reach. North Africa and the Middle East — parts of the declining Ottoman Empire — particularly appealed to European governments because of their resources and their potential for further European settlement. They offered a gateway to the rest of the world and its wealth.

Analyzing the Map: What aspects of nation building appear on this map? Which important aspects do not appear on it?

Making Connections: Compare this map of Europe with that from two decades earlier (Mapping the West for Chapter 21 on page 783) to explain the progress of nation building.

Conclusion

Throughout modern history, the development of nation-states has been neither inevitable nor uniform nor peaceful. In the nineteenth century, ambitious politicians, shrewd monarchs, and determined bureaucrats used a variety of methods and policies to transform very different countries into effective nation-states. This political form overlapped and coexisted with others: chieftaincies, tribes, empires — to name a few. Nation building was most dramatic in Germany and Italy, where smaller states unified through military force and where opposition leaders ultimately agreed that national unity should be the primary goal. Military defeat compelled the Russian monarchy to institute reforms as a way of fending off rebellion while keeping authoritarianism intact. The Habsburg Empire became a dual monarchy, an arrangement that coexisted with the exercise of local loyalties and demands.

After decades of romantic fervor, no-nonsense realism in politics — Realpolitik — became a much touted principle. Realist thinkers such as Darwin and Marx developed theories disturbing to those who maintained an Enlightenment faith in social and political harmony. Realist novels and artworks jarred polite society, and, like the operas of Verdi, portrayed dilemmas of the times. Growing government administrations set policies that were meant to bring order but often brought disorder by destroying entire neighborhoods and assaulting people in far-off lands. In the long term, schooling fostered the practices of orderly citizenship, and urban renewal ultimately improved public health and thus national strength.

Objections arose to the expanding power of the nation-state. The Indian Rebellion of 1857 against Britain and the Paris Commune of 1871 against the French state were but two examples where violent actions raised questions about nation-building methods. How far should the power of the state extend in both domestic and international affairs? Would nationalism be a force for war or for peace? In the face of state power, would ordinary people have any say in their destiny? As these issues ripened, the next decades saw extraordinary economic advances and a surge in Europe’s global power — often the result of successes in nation building.

Chapter 22 Review

Key Terms and People

Be sure you can identify the term or person and explain its historical significance.

Realpolitik
Alexander II
Florence Nightingale
mir
Russification
nation-states
Camillo di Cavour
Otto von Bismarck
dual monarchy
Pan-Slavism
anarchism
Marxism
realism
George Eliot
Kulturkampf
Charles Darwin
positivism

Review Questions

1. What were the main results of the Crimean War?
2. What role did warfare play in the various nineteenth-century nation-building efforts?
3. How did Europe's expanding nation-states attempt to impose social order within and beyond Europe, and what resistance did they face?
4. How did cultural expression and scientific and social thought help produce the hardheaded and realistic values of the mid-nineteenth century?

Making Connections

1. What were the main methods of nation building in the mid-nineteenth century, and how did they differ from those of state building in the early modern period?
2. How did realism in social thought break with Enlightenment values?
3. In what ways did religion emerge as an issue (both within and outside Europe) during the course of nation building?
4. How was the Paris Commune related to earlier revolutions in

France? How did it differ from them? How was it related to nation building?

Important Events

1850s–1860s	Positivism, Darwinism become influential
1850s–1870s	Realism in the arts
1853–1856	Crimean War
1857	British-led forces suppress Indian Rebellion
1861	Victor Emmanuel declared king of a unified Italy; abolition of serfdom in Russia
1861–1865	U.S. Civil War
1867	Second Reform Bill in England; Austro-Hungarian monarchy
1868	Meiji Restoration begins in Japan
1869	Suez Canal opens
1869–1871	Women’s colleges are founded at Cambridge University
1870–1871	Franco-Prussian War
1871	German Empire is proclaimed at Versailles; self-governing Paris Commune is established

Consider three events

Positivism, Darwinism become influential (1850s–1860s), Realism in the arts (1850s–1870s), and German Empire is proclaimed at Versailles (1871). How is this era’s quest for practicality, order, and stability shown in each of these events?

Suggested References

Nation building took many forms in the nineteenth century, including wars, urban improvement, myth making, and the development of scientific and realistic attitudes — all of these themes are found in the following books.

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[i] Primary source.

CHAPTER 23

Empire, Industry, and Everyday Life

1870–1890

Henry Guttman/Getty Images.

European Migrants aboard Ship The tide of migration was overwhelming in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Often migrants had little idea of their destination, and in the case of the *SS Gallia*, a ship along the coast of Ireland, we aren't sure of it either. Unusually, in 1895, the passengers and crew — a diverse group — arranged themselves for a photograph thanks to this rising technology. They appear just to be starting their voyage, most likely to the Americas, where they might possibly have a relative waiting or even a job for them. Whether in North America or South America, empire and its institutions are still unfolding.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

The New Imperialism

What were the goals of the new imperialism, and how did Europeans accomplish those goals?

The Industry of Empire

What were the major changes in Western industry and business by the end of the nineteenth century?

Imperial Society and Culture

How did empire and industry influence art and everyday life?

The Birth of Mass Politics

What were the major changes in political life from the 1870s to the 1890s, and which areas of Europe did they most affect?

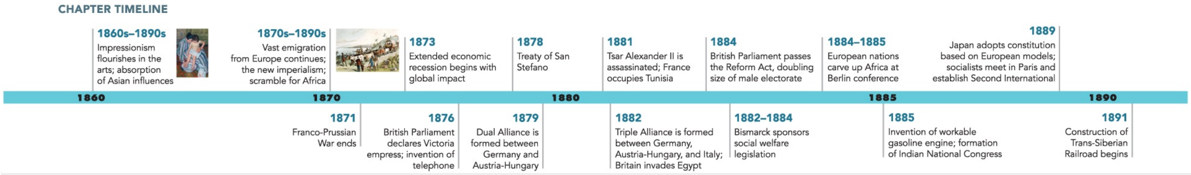
In the mid-1880s, Frieda von Bülow, a young German woman of aristocratic birth, joined several activist groups interested in promoting German colonial expansion in Africa. Like other women in these pro-imperial organizations, von Bülow was eager to help German settlers — and even some Africans — in East Africa, which Germany was in the process of colonizing. She also met adventurous men such as Carl Peters, a fanatical nationalist and leading figure in imperialist circles. As Europeans competed to take over the African continent, von Bülow and Peters headed for Zanzibar and other distant cities not only to conquer them but also to carry on a passionate romance. Once in Africa, von Bülow basked in the freedom from her society's restrictions on women and in her belief in German superiority over local African peoples. For his part, Peters followed his usual pattern of tricking Africans into giving up their lands and using guns, rape, and other violence to get his way. Peters seduced one African woman and then had her executed because of her relationship with another man. Though Peters's womanizing caused von Bülow to break up with him, she maintained both her racism and her German nationalism, learning to shoot a gun on behalf of colonial conquest, writing popular novels about empire and white superiority, and setting up a plantation in Southeast Africa.

Von Bülow and Peters were just two of the tens of thousands of Europeans pursuing imperial adventure as the search for lands to colonize reached a feverish pitch after the 1870s. Those involved in imperialism had a variety of motives and, like Peters, were often swaggering and violent. The rapid expansion of Western takeovers was called the “new imperialism” because the race for empire now aimed at political rather than merely economic power.

Europeans had been acquiring global territory since the late fifteenth century; the new imperialism intensified this process. In their rush for empire, Europeans like Frieda von Bülow and Carl Peters worked to control whole societies instead of dominating coastal trade until, by the beginning of the twentieth century, Western nations claimed jurisdiction over vast stretches of the world's surface. Beyond political control, Europeans tried to eradicate local culture by stamping other continents with European-style place names, architecture, clothing, languages, and domestic customs. They used their own culture to secure their empires just as they used it to forge the nation-state.

Millions of people traveled vast distances in the nineteenth century — a time of greatly increased mobility and migration, much of which was made possible by an expansion of industry and colonization. Some migrated temporarily to serve in colonial governments or to find business opportunities. Others relocated permanently within Europe or outside it. Such migration uprooted tens of millions of people, disrupted social and family networks, and often inflicted terrible violence on native peoples dislocated by European migrants' greed, ambition, or desperation.

The decades from 1870 to 1890 were also an era of expanding industry in the West. Empire and industry fed on each other as raw materials from conquered areas supplied Western factories and as innovations in weaponry, transportation, medicine, and communication allowed imperialism to thrive. Industrialization spread from Britain to central and eastern Europe and brought a continuous new supply of products to the market. A growing appetite for these products, many of them for household consumption, changed the fabric of everyday life and built pride in a nation's conquests. Urban workers began demanding greater participation in the political process. Proud Europeans brimmed with confidence and hope, while the grimmer aspects of empire and industrialization played themselves out in distant colonies, urban slums, and declining rural areas of Europe.


CHAPTER TIMELINE
1860s–1890s Impressionism flourishes in the arts; absorption of Asian influences
1870s–1890s Vast emigration from Europe continues; the new imperialism; scramble for Africa
1873 Extended economic recession begins with global impact
1878 Treaty of San Stefano
1881 Tsar Alexander II is assassinated; France occupies Tunisia
1884 British Parliament passes the Reform Act, doubling size of male electorate
1884–1885 European nations carve up Africa at Berlin conference
1889 Japan adopts constitution based on European models; socialists meet in Paris and establish Second International
1860
1870
1880
1885
1890
1871 Franco-Prussian War ends
1876 British Parliament declares Victoria empress; invention of telephone
1879 Dual Alliance is formed between Germany and Austria-Hungary
1882 Triple Alliance is formed between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy; Britain invades Egypt
1882–1884 Bismarck sponsors social welfare legislation
1885 Invention of workable gasoline engine; formation of Indian National Congress
1891 Construction of Trans-Siberian Railroad begins

Fine Art/Contributor/Getty Images; Universal History Archive/UIG/Bridgeman Images

CHAPTER FOCUS

How did imperial conquest and industrial advances affect Western society, culture, and politics in the late nineteenth century?

The New Imperialism

Imperialism surged in the last third of the nineteenth century. Industrial demand for raw materials and business rivalry for new markets fueled competition for territory in Africa and Asia, and European nations, the United States, and Japan now aimed to rule sizable portions of the world directly. “Nations are not great except for the activities they undertake,” declared a French advocate of imperialism in 1885. Conquering foreign territory and developing wealth through industry appeared to heap glory on the nation-state. Although some missionaries and reformers aimed to spread Western religions and culture as a supposed benefit to colonized peoples, the expansion of the West increased the subjugation of those peoples, inflicted violence on them, and altered their lives.

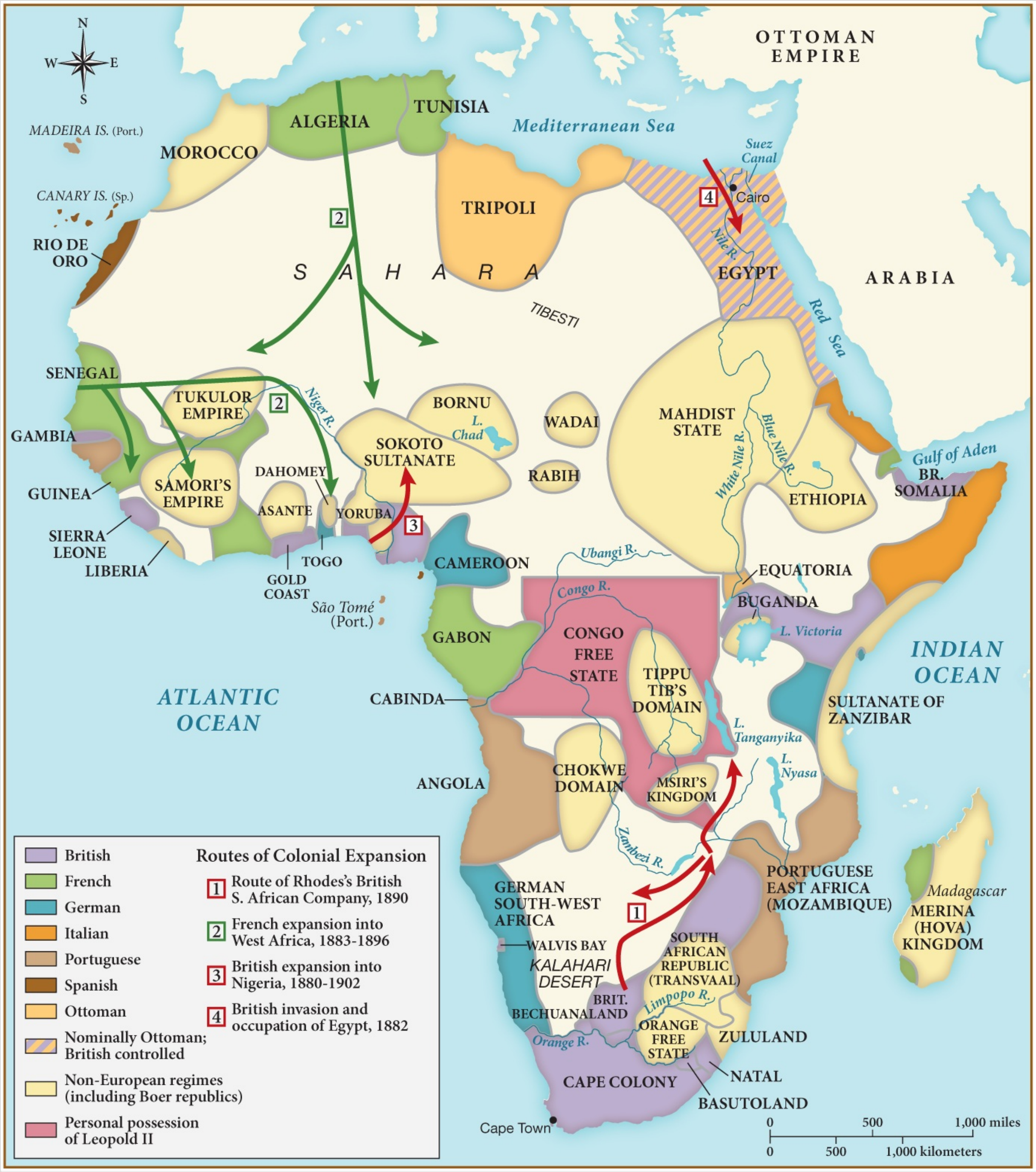
The Scramble for Africa — North and South

European countries had long viewed Africa — North and South — as a vast region for profit through trade and deal-making. In the late nineteenth century, they aimed for political control, with Egypt, a convenient stop on the way to Asia an early target. Modernizing rulers had made Cairo into a bustling metropolis with lively commercial and manufacturing enterprises. Production of raw materials, such as cotton for European textile mills, was booming. Europeans invested heavily in the region, first in ventures such as building the Suez Canal in the 1860s, then in laying thousands of miles of railroad track, improving harbors, creating telegraph systems, and finally — and most important — loaning money at exorbitant rates of interest to finance these massively costly projects. Tens of thousands of local people actually did much of the physical and brain work to create this infrastructure.

In 1879, the British and the French took over the Egyptian treasury, allegedly to guarantee the repayment of loans. In 1882, they invaded the country with the excuse of squashing Egyptian nationalists who protested the takeover of the treasury. The British next seized control of the government as a whole and forcibly reshaped the Egyptian economy from a system based on multiple crops that maintained the country's self-sufficiency to one that emphasized the production of a few crops — mainly cotton, raw silk, wheat, and rice — that cheaply fed both European manufacturing and the European working classes. Businessmen from the colonial powers, Egyptian landowners, and local merchants profited from these agricultural changes, while the bulk of the rural population barely eked out an existence.

Alongside the takeover of the Egyptian government, France occupied neighboring Tunisia in 1881. Europeans also turned their attention to sub-Saharan Africa. In the past, contact between Europe and Africa had principally involved the trade of African slaves for a variety of goods, but by this time Europeans targeted Africa's raw materials, such as palm oil, cotton, metals, diamonds, cocoa, and rubber. Additionally, Britain needed the southern and eastern coasts of Africa for stopover ports on the route to Asia and its empire in India.

In the 1880s, European military forces conquered one sub-Saharan African territory after another (Map 23.1) to devour “the magnificent cake of Africa,” as King **Leopold II** of Belgium (r. 1865–1909) put it. Insatiable greed drove Leopold to claim the Congo region of central Africa, inflicting on its peoples unparalleled acts of cruelty (see Environment Matters). German chancellor Otto von Bismarck, who valued colonies mostly as political bargaining chips, established German control over Cameroon and a section of East Africa, where Frieda von Bülow and Carl Peters headed. Faced with competition, the British poured millions of pounds into conquering the continent “from Cairo to Cape Town,” as the slogan went, and the French cemented their hold on large portions of western Africa.



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MAP 23.1 Africa, c. 1890

The scramble for Africa entailed a change in European trading practices, which generally had been limited to the coastline. Trying to penetrate economically and rule the interior ultimately resulted in a map of the continent that made sense only to the imperial powers, for it divided ethnic groups and made territorial unities that had nothing to do with Africans' sense of geography or patterns of settlement. This map shows the unfolding of that process and the political and ethnic groupings to be conquered.

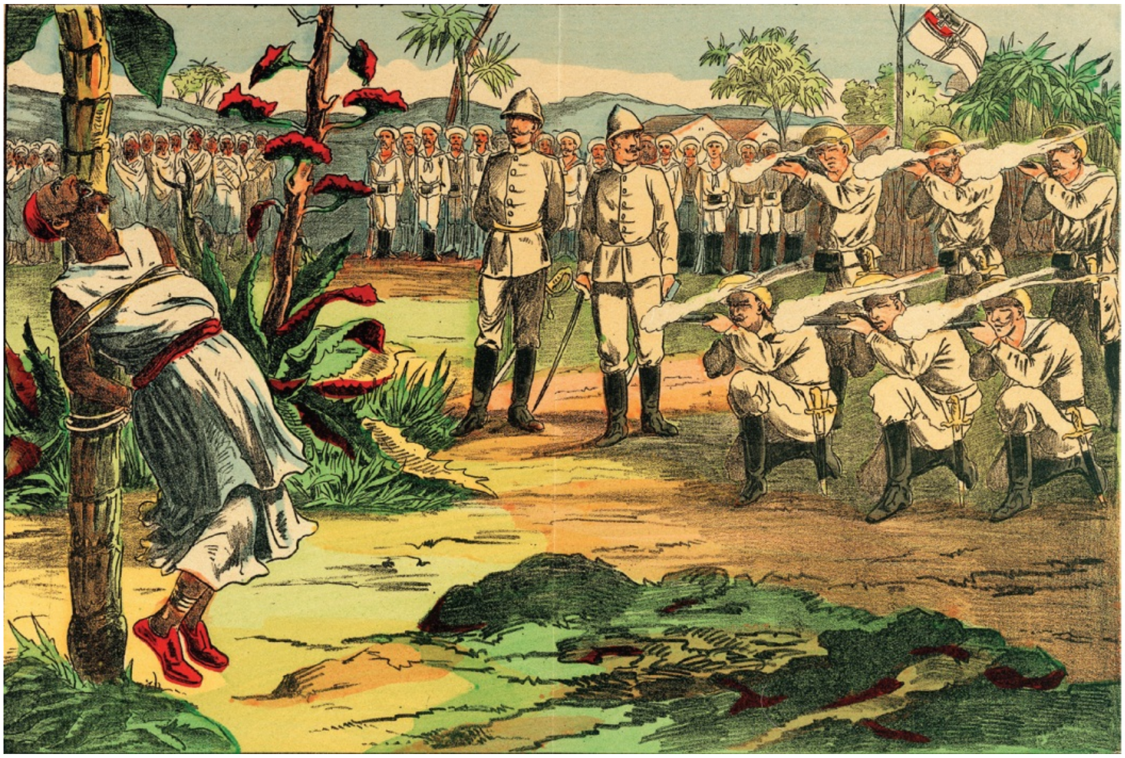
The scramble for Africa escalated tensions in Europe and prompted Bismarck to call a conference at Berlin. The European nations represented at the conference, held in a series of meetings in 1884 and 1885, decided that control of settlements along the African coast guaranteed rights to interior territory. This agreement led to the strictly linear dissection of the continent — a dissection that cut across boundaries of African culture and ethnic life. The Berlin conference also banned the sale of alcohol and controlled the flow of arms to African peoples. In theory, the meeting was supposed to reduce bloodshed and ambitions for territory in Africa. In reality, the agreement accelerated the use of violence to conquer the continent, though simultaneously Europeans followed African trade routes and relied on the far more sophisticated knowledge of local peoples to survive and prosper. Newspaper accounts whetted the popular appetite for further, supposedly easy takeovers. Music hall audiences rose to their feet and cheered at the sound of popular songs about imperial heroes of the day.

The lust for conquest had perhaps its greatest effect in southern Africa. The Dutch had moved into the area in the seventeenth century, but by 1815, the British had gained control. Thereafter, descendants of the Dutch, called Boers (Dutch for “farmers”), and British immigrants joined together in their fight to wrest farmland and mineral resources from the Xhosa, Zulu, and other African kingdoms and chieftaincies. British businessman and politician Cecil Rhodes, sent to South Africa for his health just as diamonds were being discovered in 1870, cornered the diamond market and claimed a huge amount of African territory hundreds of miles into the interior. His ambition for Britain and for himself was boundless: “I contend that we are the finest race in the world,” he explained in white supremacist fashion, “and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is.” Social Darwinism strengthened racism to justify the conquest of African lands as the right of superior people.

Wherever necessary to ensure domination, Europeans either destroyed African economic and political systems or transformed these systems into instruments of their rule. A British governor of the West African region known as the Gold Coast put the matter succinctly in 1886: the British would “rule the country as if there were no inhabitants.” Indeed, most Europeans considered Africans barely civilized, despite the wealth local rulers and merchants accumulated in their international trade and despite individual Africans’ accomplishments in everything from fabric dyeing to road building and architecture. African inferiority, they charged, justified the confiscation of their land (see Primary Source Analysis on page 833). Then these landless people were forced to work for whites to pay European-imposed taxes. Agriculture to support families declined in favor of mining and farming cash crops to obtain tax money, forcing men to leave their homes to work in the mining, construction, or plantation economy. Family and community networks, though menaced by the new arrangements, helped support Africans during this upheaval in everyday life.

ENVIRONMENT MATTERS

The Violence of Colonization



akg-images/Newscom

Violence in the cause of empire was a regular occurrence. Bushiri was an East African Muslim notable who interacted with European interlopers, sometimes capturing and then ransoming them, and at other times appearing the most generous of hosts. His resistance to German colonization was in the cause of control of the African environment — specifically forests and their treasures such as copal, or tree resin. In 1888 Bushiri led an uprising against German inroads and, in 1889, he was captured and hanged, despite the postcard showing an execution by firing squad. Exploitation of forests, ivory, and other natural resources in the region has remained a fraught issue down to the present.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. Where does the environment fit into the competition between local Africans and invading Europeans? Does it seem to matter as a cause?
2. What is the message of this postcard? What is its place in environmental history?

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

An African King Describes His Government

The British engaged in bloody warfare against the king of Zulu society, Cetshwayo, on the grounds that they were freeing the Zulu from a cruel tyrant who kept them enslaved. Ultimately, the British won and sent Cetshwayo into exile, but they then subjected him to official questioning as to the nature of his tyranny — implicitly stating that chieftaincies and African kingdoms were more savage than European nations, even those massacring non-European peoples. They were supposedly completely ignorant of representative government or the rule of law. In this passage Cetshwayo responds to the questions of the judge, Sir J. D. Barry, at an official hearing in 1881 as the judge sought proof of Zulu barbarism.

144. As king of the Zulus, was all power invested in you, as king, over your subjects? — In conjunction with the chiefs of the land.

145. How did the chiefs derive their power from you as king? — The king calls together the chiefs of the land when he wants to elect a new chief, and asks their advice as to whether it is fit to make such a man a large chief, and if they say “yes” the chief is made.

146. If you had consulted the chiefs, and found they did not agree with you, could you appoint a chief by virtue of your kingship? — In some cases, if the chiefs don’t approve of it, the king requires their reasons, and when they have stated them he often gives it up. In other cases he tries the man to see whether he can perform the duties required of him or not.

147. In fact, you have the power to act independently of the chiefs in making an appointment, although you always consult them? — No, the king has not the power of electing an official as chief without the approval of the other chiefs. They are the most important men. But the smaller chiefs he can elect at his discretion….

168. If you want to make a new law, to be applicable to all Zululand, how do you set about it? — The king has a discussion with the chiefs about it, and they give out the law, but he cannot make a law without their consent. He consults the chiefs and gives his reasons, and if they conclude to agree to it, it is the law, but he cannot make a law against the wishes of his chiefs….

180. What are the duties of the petty [lower] chiefs? — They principally superintend work for their superior chiefs, and for the king. The larger chiefs send them out to look after men who are doing work for the king….

183. The people are never consulted about either big or little matters? The only consultation is between you and your big chiefs in big matters, and between you and your small chiefs in smaller matters? — Yes, he has a voice in that; he can go to a chief and say it should be done in this or that way.

Source: *Report and Proceedings with Appendices of the Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs, Cape of Good Hope Parliamentary Paper*, G4, 1883, Part 1, 523–30. (Cape Town: W. A. Richards and Sons, Government Printers, 1883.)

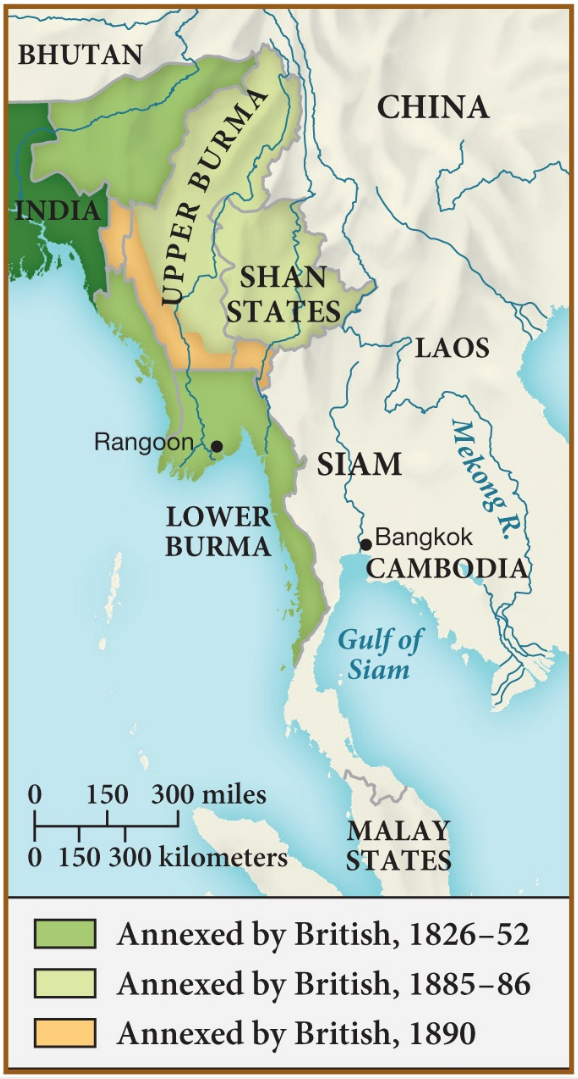
QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. What kinds of answers does the judge try to elicit from former king Cetshwayo, and what kinds of responses does Cetshwayo provide him?
2. To what extent does Cetshwayo prove that he is different from European monarchs?

Imperializing Asia

The expansion of imperial power from the 1870s on occurred around the world, not just in Africa. Much of Asia, with India as the centerpiece, experienced imperial violence and invasions. At the same time, resistance to outside domination was also growing: the educated Indian elite in 1885 founded the Indian National Congress. Some of its members welcomed opportunities for trade, education, and social advancement. Others, however, challenged Britain's right to rule India at all. In the next century, the Indian National Congress would develop into a mass movement.

To the east, British military forces took control of the Malay peninsula in 1874 and of the interior of Burma in 1885. The British depended on the region's tin, oil, rice, teak, and rubber as well as on its access to the numerous interior trade routes of China. British troops guaranteed the order necessary to expand railroads for more efficient pillage of raw materials and the development of Western systems of communication.



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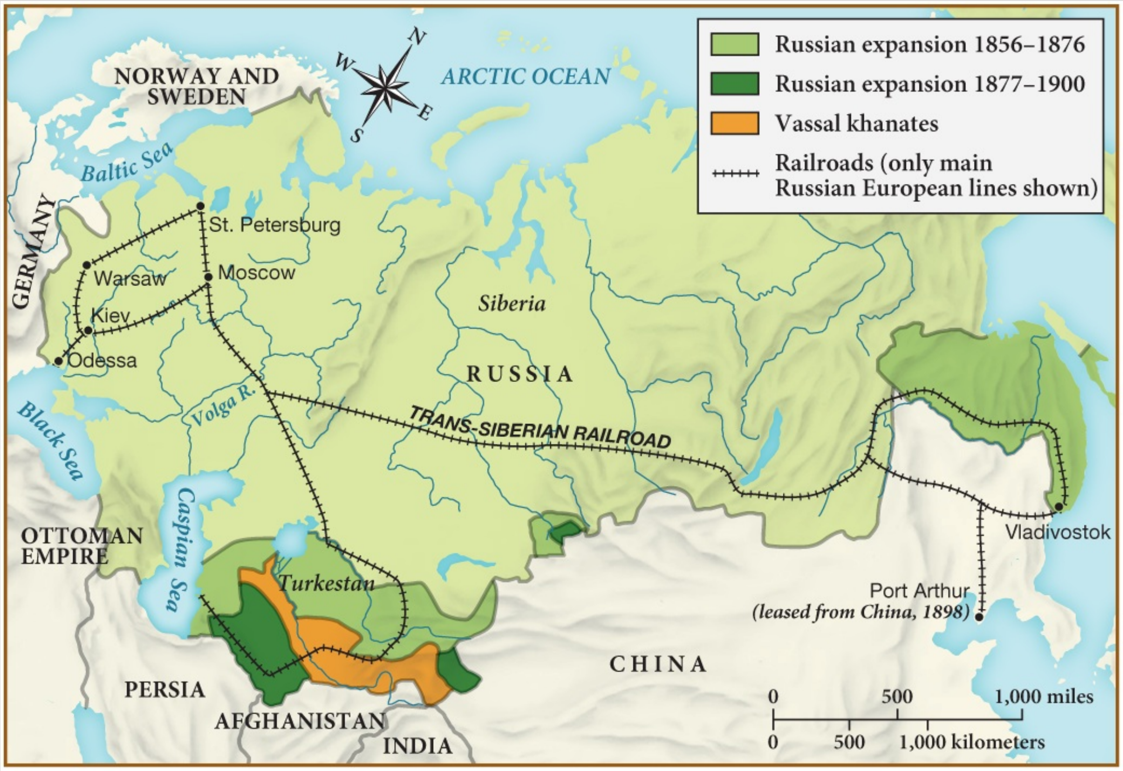
British Colonialism in the Malay Peninsula and Burma, 1826–1890

The British added to their holdings in Asia partly to counter Russian and French annexations. For years, Russia had been absorbing the small Muslim states of central Asia, including provinces of Afghanistan (Map 23.2). Besides extending into the Ottoman Empire, Russian tentacles reached Persia, India, and China, often encountering British competition. Land-hungry Russian peasants by the thousands moved to these regions, with the Trans-Siberian Railroad (1891–1916) later feeding hundreds of thousands more into Siberia. France meanwhile threatened military action to achieve favorable treaties with Indochinese rulers, creating the Union of Indochina from the ancient states of Cambodia, as well as Tonkin, Annam, and Cochin China (now Vietnam) in 1887. Laos was added to Indochina in 1893.



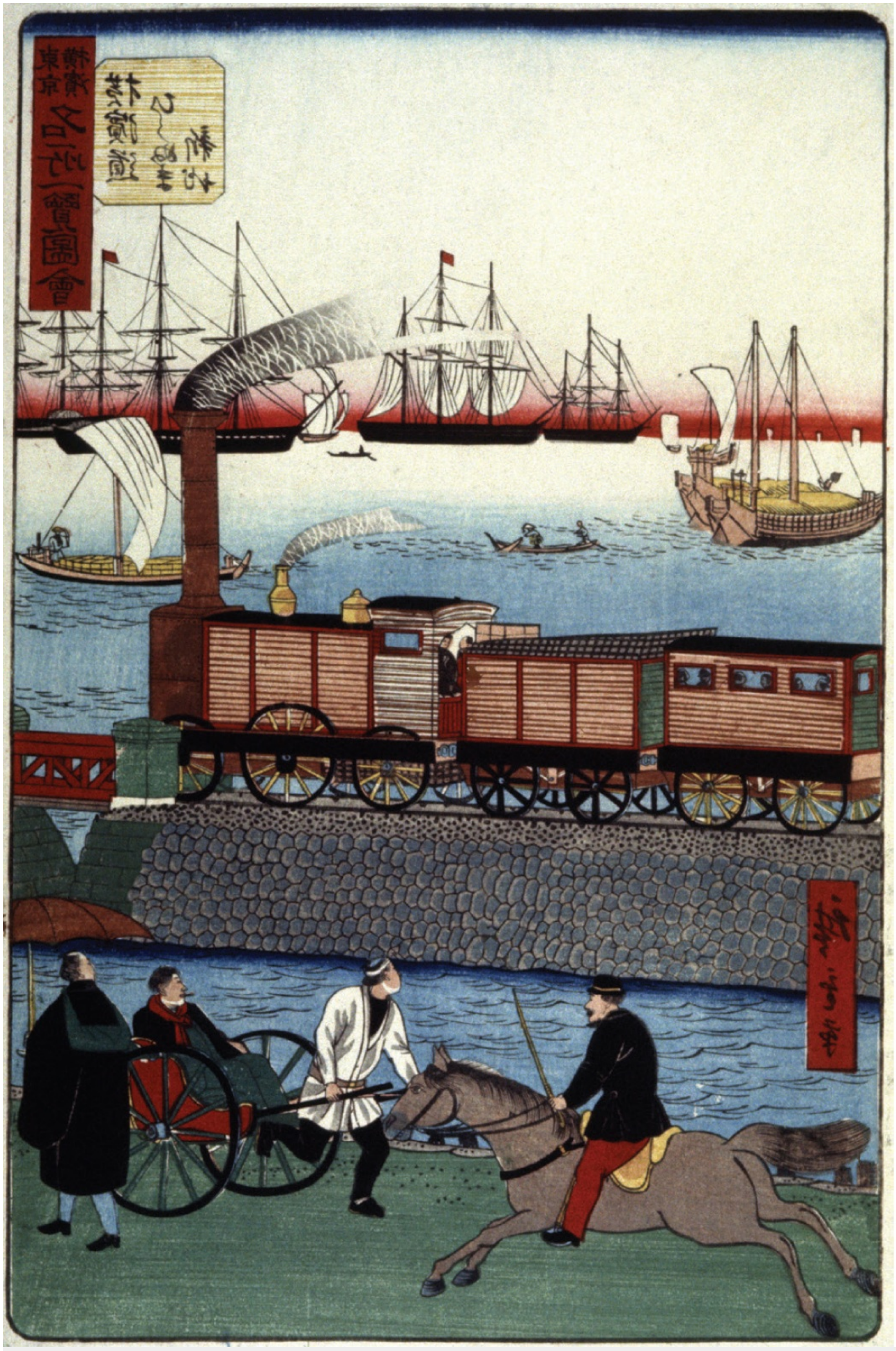
Hunt et al., *The Making of the West, 7e*, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 23.2 Expansion of Russia in Asia, 1865–1895

Russian administrators and military men continued enlarging Russia, bringing in Asians of many different ethnicities, ways of life, and religions. Land-hungry peasants in western Russia followed the path of expansion into Siberia and Muslim territories to the south. In some cases they drove native peoples from lands necessary for their nomadic livelihoods, but in others they settled less-populated frontier areas. As in all cases of imperial expansion, local peoples resisted any incursions on their lands, while the central government tried various policies for integration.

Japan’s Imperial Agenda

Japan escaped European rule by transforming itself into a modern industrial nation with its own imperial agenda. The Japanese embraced foreign trade and industry. “All classes high and low shall unite in vigorously promoting the economy and welfare of the nation,” ran one of the first pronouncements of the Meiji regime that had come to power in 1868. Unlike China, the Japanese government directed the country’s turn toward modern industry, and state support led daring innovators like Iwasaki Yataro, founder of the Mitsubishi firm, to develop heavy industries such as mining and shipping. The Japanese sent students, entrepreneurs, and government officials to the West to bring back as much new knowledge as they could.


横濱東京 名所一覧圖會

Rue des Archives/Granger.

Modernization in Japan Like the West, Japan bustled with commerce and industry thanks to improved and expanding transportation. Railroads, ships, and a range of new inventions such as the rickshaw sped goods and individuals within cities, across the country, and ultimately to new, foreign destinations. The Japanese traveled widely to learn about ongoing technological innovation.

Change was the order of the day in Japan. Japanese legal scholars, following German models, helped draft a constitution in 1889 that emphasized state power rather than individual rights. Western dress became the rule at the imperial court, and when fire destroyed Tokyo in 1872, a European planner directed the rebuilding in Western architectural style. The Japanese adapted samurai traditions such as spiritual discipline to create a large and technologically modern military. In the 1870s, Japan purchased naval ships from Britain and began conquering adjacent islands, including Okinawa.

The Paradoxes of Imperialism

Imperialism ignited constant debate because of its many paradoxes. Although it was meant to make European nations more economically secure, imperialism intensified distrust in international politics as countries vied with one another for a share of world influence. In securing India's borders, for example, the British faced Russian expansion in Afghanistan and along the borders of China, raising the costs of empire. Britain spent enormous amounts of tax revenue to maintain its empire even as its industrial lead began to slip. Yet for certain businesses, colonies provided crucial markets and large profits: late in the century, French colonies bought 65 percent of France's exports of soap and 41 percent of its metallurgical exports. Imperialism provided huge numbers of jobs to people in European port cities, but unseen by workers in Europe were the vast number of forced laborers in the colonies and of indentured workers shipped to work on plantations around the world because the imperial powers had so impoverished their homelands. Finally, taxpayers in all parts of an imperial nation — whether they benefited or not — paid for colonial armies, increasingly costly weaponry, and administrators to keep subject people in line.

Advocates of imperialism claimed that whites had a “civilizing mission.” The French thus taught some of their colonial subjects French language, literature, and history. In Germany’s African colonies, an exam for students in a school run by missionaries asked them to write about “Germany’s most important mountains” and “the reign of William I and the wars he waged.” The deeds of Africa’s great rulers and the accomplishments of its kingdoms were missing from the curriculum. While Europeans believed in instructing colonial subjects, they denied that Africans and Asians were as capable as Europeans of great achievements.

Imperialism’s goal of “civilizing” was further conflicted. French advocates argued that their nation “must keep its role as the soldier of civilization.” Yet imperialists wobbled between emphasizing soldiering (that is, the conquest and murder of local peoples) or civilizing (the education of local peoples in the European tradition). Western scholars and travelers had long studied Asian and African languages, art, and literature, and had appropriated their botanical and other scientific knowledge. Appreciation of foreign cultures, however, was tinged with bias and error. European scholars of Islam characterized Muhammad as an inferior imitation of Jesus, for example. Many Europeans stereotyped Asians and Africans as lying, lazy, or irrational while copying their habits, technology, and cultural achievements. One English official pontificated that “accuracy is abhorrent to the Oriental mind.” Such beliefs offered still another justification for conquest: that inferior colonized peoples would ultimately be grateful for what Europe had brought them.

European missionaries ventured to newly secured areas of Africa and Asia with attitudes similarly full of contradictions. A missionary woman reflected a common view when she remarked that the Tibetans with whom she worked were “going down, down into hell, and there is no one but me … to witness for Jesus amongst them.” Many people under colonial rule did accept Christianity, often blending their local religious practices with Christian ones. Christianizing entire populations proved impossible, especially when some imperial adventurers and soldiers became addicted to drugs and alcohol, went mad, or wantonly murdered. When native people resisted, missionaries often supported slaughtering them in the name of upholding Christian values and Western order.

Universal History Archive/UIG/Bridgeman Images.

Scottish Explorer David Livingstone David Livingstone was a Scottish missionary and explorer who arrived in southern Africa in 1841 and spent the next thirty-two years of his life investigating rivers and lakes. This image depicts his expedition to locate Lake Ngami. A later quest took him to Victoria Falls. In both instances, he was most likely the first European to view them. Livingstone advocated that trade along waterways could replace slavery on the continent, a development that would also benefit the English sponsors of his expeditions. Livingstone traveled with a relatively small retinue, though one can catch glimpses of the rest of his supply train in the distance. Hundreds of porters, guards, cooks, and guides were some of those necessary to an expedition's success, while leaders such as Livingstone were mythologized as solitary and heroic figures braving all obstacles alone.

The paradoxes of imperialism are clear in hindsight, but at the time European racism and sense of superiority hid many of them. There was the belief that through imperialist ventures “a country exhibits before the world its strength or weakness as a nation,” as one French politician announced. Some in government, however, worried that imperialism — because of its expense and the constant possibility of war — might weaken rather than strengthen the nation-state. The most glaring paradox of all was that Western peoples who believed in national independence invaded the territory of others thousands of miles away and refused them the right to rule themselves.

REVIEW QUESTION

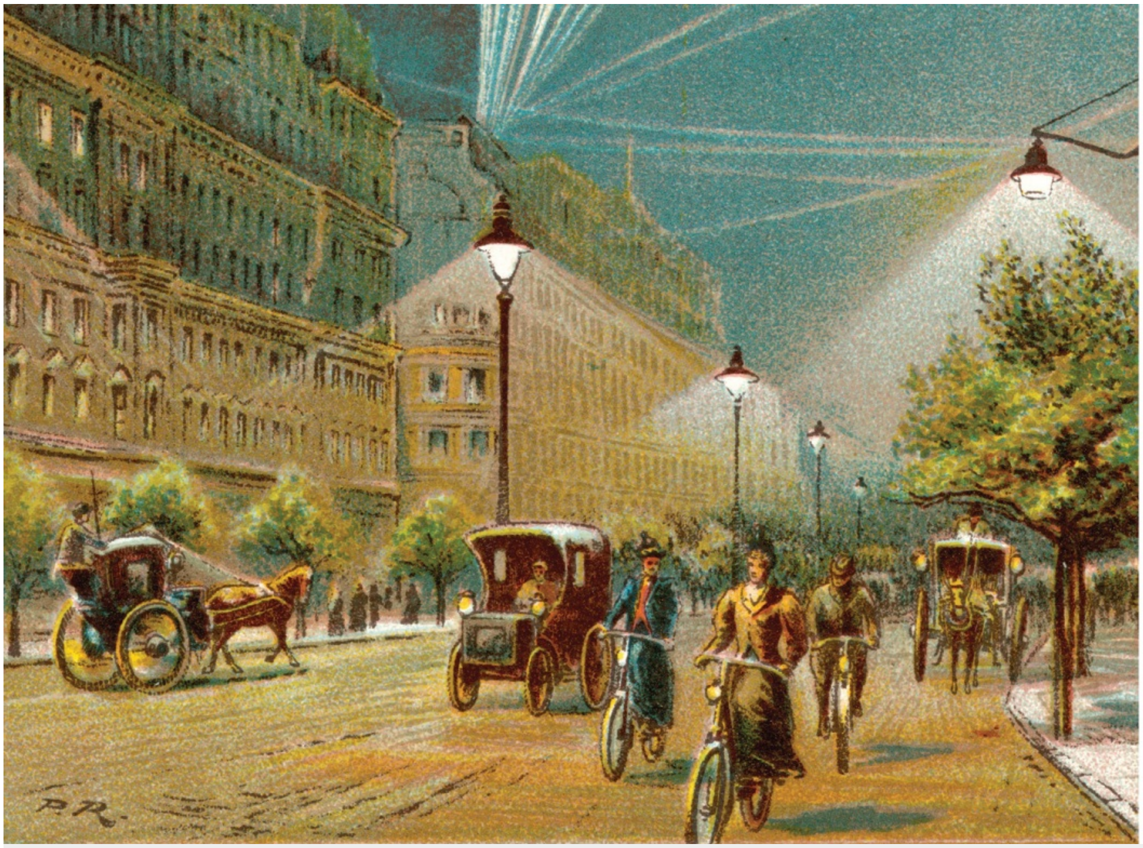
What were the goals of the new imperialism, and how did Europeans accomplish those goals?

The Industry of Empire

Behind the expansion of Western empires lay dramatic developments in economic and technological power. Fed by raw materials from around the world, industry turned out a flood of new products, including the increasingly powerful guns that enabled imperial conquest. Beginning in 1873, however, downturns in business threatened both entrepreneurs and the working class. Business people sought remedies in new technology, managerial techniques, and a revolutionary marketing institution — the department store. Governments played their part by changing business law and supporting the drive for raw materials and global profits. The steady advance of industry, global trade, and the consumer economy further transformed people's daily lives.

Industrial Innovation

Abundant industrial, technological, and commercial innovation backed the ambitions of the nation-state and the drive for empire. The last third of the nineteenth century saw new products ranging from the bicycle to the typewriter to the telephone. In 1885, sophisticated German engineer Karl Benz devised a workable gasoline engine; six years later, France's Armand Peugeot constructed a functioning automobile. Electricity became more widely used after 1880, providing power to light everything from parlors to government office buildings. The Eiffel Tower, constructed in Paris for the Universal Exposition of 1889, stood as a monument to the age's engineering wizardry. Visitors rode to the Eiffel Tower's summit in electric elevators, while to fuel the West's explosive industrial growth, the leading industrial nations mined and produced massive quantities of coal, iron, and steel in the 1870s and 1880s. Manufacturers used the metal to build the more than 100,000 locomotives that pulled trains — trains that transported two billion people a year.



Chronicle/Alamy Stock Photo.

The Invention of Electric Lighting By the 1890s, residents of major European cities could see many fresh inventions in a single walk down the newly widened boulevards. In this illustration of Piccadilly in London, electric lighting illuminates the way for modern bicycles and automobiles as well as horse-drawn carriages. By the turn of the century, streets had also become crowded with electric trams.

The factory system spread across Europe and around the world, while agriculture continued to be modernized. Historians used to contrast a “second” Industrial Revolution of the late nineteenth century, in which manufacturers concentrated on heavy industrial products like iron and steel, to the “first” one of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in which innovations in the manufacture of textiles and the use of steam energy predominated. Many historians now believe this distinction mainly applies to Britain, where industrialization did rise in two stages. In countries that industrialized later, developments occurred simultaneously. Numerous and increasingly advanced textile mills were installed on the European continent later than in Britain, for instance, at the same time that blast furnaces were being constructed. Although industrialization led to the decline of traditional crafts like weaving, home industry — or **outwork**, the process of having some aspects of industrial work done outside factories in individual homes — persisted in tasks such as garment making, metalwork, and porcelain painting. Production occurring simultaneously in homes, small workshops, and factories has continued to the present day.

Industrial innovations also changed agriculture. Chemical fertilizers boosted crop yields, and reapers and threshers mechanized harvesting. In the 1870s, Sweden produced a cream separator, a first step toward mechanizing dairy farming, while wire fencing and barbed wire replaced wooden fencing and stone walls. Refrigeration, developed during this period, allowed fruits, vegetables, and meat to be transported without spoiling, thus diversifying and securing the urban food supply. Tin from colonies facilitated large-scale commercial canning, which made many foods available year-round to people in the cities and thus improved their health.

Imperial expansion accelerated because new, more powerful guns, railroads, steamships, and medicines advanced Western penetration of

Asia and Africa. Improvements in steamboat technology helped in the conquest of the African interior, but the scientific development of quinine was especially crucial. Before the development of medicinal quinine in the 1840s and 1850s, the deadly tropical disease malaria decimated European invaders, giving Africa the nickname “White Man’s Grave.” The processing of quinine from Andean cinchona bark, long known by local people as preventing or relieving malaria, radically cut deaths from the disease among soldiers, missionaries, adventurers, traders, and bureaucrats.

As Europeans profited from these advances, drought and famine plagued large stretches of both Africa and Asia in these decades, thus weakening local peoples’ ability to fight off European attacks. Under those circumstances European weapons did the work of conquest despite stout resistance. Improvements to the breech-loading rifle and the development of the machine gun, or “repeater,” between 1862 and the 1880s dramatically increased firepower. Europeans sold outmoded guns to peoples needing protection both from their internal enemies and from the Europeans themselves. In contrast, Europeans crushed African resistance with rapid, accurate, and blazing gunfire: “The whites did not seize their enemy as we do by the body, but thundered from afar,” claimed one local African resister. “Death raged everywhere — like the death vomited forth from the tempest.”

Despite global expansion, Britain’s rate of industrial growth slowed as its entrepreneurs remained wedded to older technologies. Neglecting innovation, Great Britain profited from its investments worldwide and consolidated its global power in the later nineteenth century.

Meanwhile, Germany and the United States began surpassing Britain in research, technical education, and innovation — and ultimately in overall rates of economic growth.

Following the Franco-Prussian War, Germany annexed Alsace and Lorraine, territories with both textile industries and rich iron deposits. Investing heavily in research, German businesses devised new industrial processes and began to mass-produce goods. Germany also spent as much money on education as on its military in the 1870s and 1880s, sending German industrial productivity soaring. The United States began intensive exploitation of its vast natural resources, including coal, metal ores, gold, and oil. Whereas German productivity rested more on state promotion of industrial efforts, U.S. growth often involved innovative entrepreneurs, such as Andrew Carnegie in iron and steel and John D. Rockefeller in oil. Most other countries trailed the three leaders — Britain, Germany, and the United States — in economic development.

French industry grew steadily, but French businesses remained smaller than those in Germany and the United States. In Spain, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, industrial development was primarily a local phenomenon. Austria-Hungary, for example, had densely industrialized areas around Vienna and in Styria and Bohemia, but the rest of the country relied on traditional, nonmechanized agriculture. The Italian government spent more on building Rome into a grand capital than it invested in economic growth. A mere 1.4 percent of Italy’s 1872 budget went to education and science, compared with 10.8 percent in Germany. Scandinavian countries eventually made commercial use of electricity to industrialize in the last third of the nineteenth century and became leaders in hydroelectric power.

Russia's road to industrialization was tortuous. The terms of serf emancipation bound many Russian peasants to the mir, or landed community. Some villages sent men and women to industrializing cities, but on the condition that they return for plowing and harvesting. Nevertheless, by the 1890s, Moscow, St. Petersburg, and a few other cities had substantial working-class populations, and the Russian government constructed railroads, including the Trans-Siberian Railroad (1891–1916), which upon completion stretched 5,787 miles from Moscow to Vladivostok. Even as Russia's industrial and military power increased, it exemplified the uneven benefits of industrialization: neither Russian peasants nor underpaid urban workers could afford to buy the goods their country produced.

Facing Economic Crisis

Economic conditions were far from rosy throughout the 1870s and 1880s, despite industrial innovation. In 1873, prosperity abruptly gave way to a severe economic depression, followed by almost three decades of economic downturns. People of all classes lost their jobs or businesses and faced long stretches of unemployment or bankruptcy. Because economic ties bound industrialized western Europe to international markets, the downturns affected economies around the world: Australia, South Africa, California, Newfoundland, and the West Indies, for example.

By the 1870s, as industry gained in influence, industrial and financial setbacks — not agricultural ones as in the past — sent the economy into a long tailspin. Innovation created new or modernized industries on an unprecedented scale, but economic uncertainty accompanied the forward march of Western industrial development, and business people faced real problems. First, the start-up costs of new enterprises skyrocketed. The early textile mills had required relatively small amounts of capital in comparison to the new factories producing steel and iron. **Capital-intensive industry**, which required huge financial investment for the purchase of expensive machinery, replaced labor-intensive production, which relied on the hiring of more workers. Second, the distribution and consumption of goods failed to keep pace with industrial growth, in part because business people kept wages so low that workers could afford little besides food. For them, purchasing the new industrial goods was impossible. Consumption thus lagged production. The series of slumps turned industrialists' attention to finding ways to enhance sales and to control markets.

Governments took steps to address the economic crisis. New laws allowed the development of the **limited liability corporation**, which protected investors from personal responsibility for a firm's debt and thus encouraged investment. Before limited liability, owners or investors were personally responsible for the debts of a bankrupt business. In one case in England, a former partner who had failed to have his name removed from a legal document after leaving the business remained responsible to creditors when the company went bankrupt. He lost everything he owned except a watch and the equivalent of one hundred dollars. By reducing personal risk, limited liability made investors more confident about financing business ventures, which led to the growth of stock markets. These stock markets raised money from a larger pool of private capital than before, providing funds for innovation and surviving downturns.

Businesses also met the crisis that began in 1873 by banding together in cartels and trusts. Cartels were combinations of industries formed to control prices and competition. A single German coal cartel, founded in the 1880s, eventually dominated more than 95 percent of coal production in Germany and could therefore restrict output and set prices. Trusts — similar to cartels in their power to control prices but different in structure — appeared first in the United States in 1882, when John D. Rockefeller created the Standard Oil Trust by acquiring stock from many different oil companies and placing it under the direction of trustees. The trustees then controlled so much of the companies' stock that they could set prices for the entire industry and even dictate to the railroads the rates for transporting the oil. While expressing their belief in free trade, those who set up cartels and trusts actually kept markets from operating freely in order to produce soaring profits for themselves.

Much of Europe had adopted free trade after midcentury, but during the downturn of the 1870s and 1880s, the resulting huge trade deficits — caused when imports exceeded exports — soured many Europeans on the concept. Countries with trade deficits had less capital available to invest internally, slowing job growth. Farmers in many European countries suffered when improvements in transportation brought in cheap grain from the United States and Ukraine to undercut local prices. With broad popular support, governments approved tariffs to make foreign goods, including grain, more expensive.

Revolution in Business Practices

Industrialists also tried to minimize the damage of economic downturns by revolutionizing the everyday conduct of their businesses. Instead of running their firms on their own in the late 1800s, industrialists began to hire managers specializing in a particular aspect of a business — such as sales and distribution, finance, or the purchase of raw materials. A white-collar service sector, composed of workers with mathematical skills and literacy acquired in the new public primary schools, emerged as part of the development of management. Businesses employed armies of secretaries, file clerks, and typists to guide the flow of business information.

Women, responding to the availability of clean, respectable work, formed the bulk of service employees. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, middle-class women still tended businesses with their husbands, but the new ideology of domesticity became so strong that male employers were unwilling to hire married women, and women in the lower-middle and middle classes were themselves ashamed to work outside the home. By the late nineteenth century, the costs of middle-class family life had increased, especially because school-attendance laws meant that children were no longer contributing to family resources by working. Whether to help pay family expenses or to support themselves, both unmarried and married women of the respectable middle class increasingly took new “white-collar” jobs despite the ideal of domesticity. Since society had come to believe that women were not meant to work or were even not fit to work, businesses increased profits by consistently paying women in the service sector much less than they would have paid men for doing the same tasks — a practice that continues.

Buyenlarge/Getty Images.

Hampton Institute, 1890s Beginning in the early 1860s, U.S. Protestant mission societies organized classes and eventually higher education at Hampton, Virginia, for former slaves, their descendants, and native Americans. Middle-class women needing jobs embraced the opportunities offered by the growing service sector in telephone, telegraph, office work, teaching, and other respectable employment. This class in mathematical geography shows a co-educational classroom, a female teacher, and diverse student body.

The drive to boost consumption led to the development of the department store. Founded after midcentury in the largest cities, department stores such as Le Bon Marché in Paris and Wanamaker's in

Philadelphia gathered an impressive variety of goods in one place in imitation of the Middle Eastern bazaar. Unlike stores that sold single lines of goods such as dishware or fabrics, department stores were modern shopping palaces built of marble and filled with lights and mirrors. In the department store, luxurious silks and intricate tapestries spilled over railings and counters to stimulate consumer desire. Frenzied shoppers no longer limited their purchases to necessities. Department stores became the domain of women, who came out of their domestic sphere into a new public role as “consumers.” Stores hired attractive salesgirls, another variety of service or white-collar workers, to inspire customers to buy. Department-store shopping also took place outside of cities: glossy mail-order catalogs from Le Bon Marché or Sears, Roebuck in Chicago arrived regularly in rural areas, with both necessities and exotic items from the faraway dream world of the city.

Consumerism was shaped by empire. Travelers like Frieda von Bülow and Carl Peters journeyed on speedier ocean liners, carrying quinine, antiseptics, and other medicines as well as cameras, revolvers, and the latest in rubber goods and apparel. Colonial products such as coffee, tea, sugar, tobacco, and cocoa became more widespread for the stimulation they offered hardworking Westerners. Tons of palm oil from Africa were turned into both margarine and soap, allowing even ordinary people in the West to see themselves as cleaner and more civilized than those in other parts of the world, including areas from which those raw materials in fact came. Empire and industry jointly shaped everyday life by exciting the desire for things — whether industrial goods, products from the colonies, or fantasies of traveling to those colonies.

REVIEW QUESTION

What were the major changes in Western industry and business by the end of the nineteenth century?

Imperial Society and Culture

The spread of empire not only made the world an interconnected marketplace but also transformed everyday culture and society. Success in manufacturing and foreign ventures both created millionaires and expanded the professional middle class and the service sector. Many Europeans grew healthier, partly because of improved diet and partly because of government-sponsored programs aimed at promoting the fitness necessary for citizens of imperial powers. At the same time, millions of poor Europeans migrated in search of opportunities around the world — even in the colonies — while artists found new subject matter in the industrial and imperial changes around them.

The "Best Circles" and the Expanding Middle Class

Profits from empire and industrial growth added new members to the upper class, or "best circles," so-called at the time because of their members' wealth, education, and social status. Aristocrats had to share their social position with new millionaires from the ranks of the upper middle class, or bourgeoisie. Monarchs bestowed aristocratic titles on wealthy business people, and poorer aristocrats approved marriages between their children and those of the newly rich. Such arrangements brought much-needed money to old, established families and the glamour of an aristocratic title to newly wealthy families. Thus, Jeanette Jerome, daughter of a wealthy New York financier, married England's Lord Randolph Churchill (their son Winston later became Britain's prime minister). The wealthy often quoted Social Darwinist principles, maintaining that their prosperity resulted from their natural superiority over the poor.

Empire reshaped leisure time of the “best” people. Upper-class men bonded over big-game hunting in Asia and Africa, which replaced age-old traditions of fox and bird hunting. European hunters forced native Africans, who had depended on hunting for income, food, and group unity, to work as guides, porters, and domestics on hunts. Wealthy Europeans added empire to natural history museums and their homes with displays of stags’ heads, elephant tusks, and animal skins. Many became conservationists to preserve the stock of species for hunting. Theft of religious and artistic treasure from the colonies abounded.

As an imperial elite, upper-class women devoted themselves to maintaining standards of social conduct. Members of the upper class did their best to exclude inferiors by controlling their children’s social lives, especially by arranging marriages themselves. Instead of working for pay, upper-class women focused on raising children and directing staffs of servants. They kept detailed accounts of their expenditures and monitored their children’s religious and intellectual development. Active consumers of Oriental carpets, bamboo furniture, Chinese porcelains, and fashionable clothing, upper-class women wore elaborate costumes — featuring constricting corsets, voluminous skirts, and bustles — that made them symbols of elite leisure. Women offset the grim side of imperial and industrial society with the rigorous practice of art and music. With keys made of ivory from Africa, the piano symbolized the imperial elite’s accomplishments and imperial superiority.

Below the “best” circles, the solid middle class of business people and professionals such as lawyers was expanding, most notably in western and central Europe. In eastern Europe, this expansion did not happen naturally, and the Russian government often sought out foreigners to build its professional and business classes. Although middle-ranked businessmen and professionals occasionally mingled with those at the apex of society, their lives remained more modest. They did generally, however, employ at least one servant, which might give the appearance of leisure to the middle-class woman in the home even though she did many household chores herself. Professional men working at home did so from a well-appointed, if not lavish, room. Overall, middle-class domesticity celebrated the imperial value of cleanliness.

Working People’s Strategies

For centuries, working people had migrated from countryside to city and from country to country to make a living. After the middle of the nineteenth century, the land in some areas simply could not produce enough crops to support a rapidly expanding population. Because of eroded soil, hundreds of thousands of Sicilians left, often temporarily, to find work in the industrial cities of North America and South America. One-third of all European immigrants came from the British Isles, especially Ireland between 1840 and 1920, first because of the potato famine and then because English landlords drove them from their farms to get higher rents from new tenants. Between 1886 and 1900, half a million Swedes out of a population of 4.75 million quit their country.

Millions of rural Jews from eastern Europe fled vicious anti-Semitism. Russian mobs brutally attacked Jewish communities, destroying homes and businesses and even murdering some Jews. These ritualized attacks, called pogroms, were scenes of horror. (See the illustration on page 863.) “People who saw such things never smiled anymore, no matter how long they lived,” recalled one Russian Jewish woman who migrated to the United States in the early 1890s.

Most migrants who left Europe went to North America, South America, Australia, and New Zealand as news of opportunity reached Europe (see Contrasting Views). The railroad and steamship made journeys across and out of Europe faster, though most workers traveled in steerage with few comforts. Once established elsewhere, migrants frequently sent money back home; European farm families often received a good deal of their income from husbands or grown sons and daughters who had left. Cash-starved peasants in eastern and central Europe welcomed the arrival of “magic dollars” from their kin. Even though they formed the cheapest pool of labor, often in factories or sweatshops, migrants often appreciated the chance to begin anew. One settler in the United States was relieved to escape the meager peasant fare of rye bread and herring: “God save us from … all that is Swedish,” he wrote home sourly.

More common than international migration was internal migration from rural areas to European cities, accelerating the urbanization of Europe. The most urbanized countries were Great Britain and Belgium, followed by Germany, France, and the Netherlands; established port cities offered opportunities for work and were usually ethnically diverse because of global trade. Many who moved to the cities were seasonal migrants who worked as masons, cabdrivers, or factory hands to supplement declining income from agriculture. When they returned to the countryside, they provided hands for the harvest. In villages across Europe, independent artisans such as hand-loom weavers supported their unprofitable livelihoods by sending their wives and daughters to work in industrial cities. For the many suffering intense poverty, including homelessness, starvation, and disease in this age of intensely uneven development, their only hope lay in migration.

Changes in technology and management practices resulted in more stressful factory work. Workers complained that new machinery sped up the pace of work to an unrealistic level. For example, employers at a foundry in suburban Paris required workers using new furnaces to turn out 50 percent more metal per day than they had produced using the old furnaces. Despite greater productivity, workers received no additional pay. Workers grumbled about the increased number of foremen, engineers, and other supervisors interfering with their work. Some women kept their jobs only in return for granting sexual favors to these male managers.

Many in the urban and rural labor force continued to do outwork at home. In Russia, workers made bricks, sieves, shawls, lace, and locks during the slow winter season. Every branch of industry, from metallurgy to toy manufacturing to food processing, additionally employed urban women at home — and their work was essential to the family economy. Women painted tin soldiers, wrapped chocolate, made cheese boxes, and polished metal. Factory owners liked the system because low piece rates made outworkers willing to work extremely long days. A German seamstress at her new sewing machine reported that she "pedaled at a stretch from six o'clock in the morning until midnight.… At four o'clock I got up and did the housework and prepared meals." Owners could lay off women at home during slack times and rehire them whenever needed with little fear of organized protest, as the threat of joblessness meant destitution. By and large, however, urban workers were better informed and more connected to the progress of industry and empire than their rural counterparts.

CONTRASTING VIEWS

Experiences of Migration

In the nineteenth century, millions of migrants moved thousands of miles from their homelands. The vast distances traveled and the permanent relocation of these migrants were among the issues generating a wide range of responses. Among observers, government officials, migrants themselves, and those they left behind, reactions varied from acceptance and enthusiasm to opposition and anger. The conflicting reactions appeared in official reports, local newspapers, poems, and personal letters. While officials pointed to the benefits of emigration (Excerpt 1), others in the home country had mixed views and opinions (Excerpt 2). Migrants themselves had vastly differing experiences, adding to the debate over migration (Excerpts 3, 4, and 5).

1. The Government View

The preamble to the Hungarian census for 1890 was blunt and unambiguous on the subject of migration at a time when population growth was said to be a good thing. It offered a clear assessment of emigration from the government's point of view.

Emigration has proved to be a veritable boom. The impoverished populace has been drawn off to where it has found lucrative employment; the position of those left behind, their work opportunities and standard of living, have undoubtedly improved thanks to the rise in wages, and thanks to the substantial financial aid coming into the country: sums of from 300,000 to 1,500,000 florints.

Source: Quoted in Julianna Puskas, "Consequences of Overseas Migration for the Country of

Origin: The Case of Hungary," in Dirk Hoerder and Inge Blank, eds., *Roots of the Transplanted: Late 19th Century East Central and Southeastern Europe* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1994), 1:397.

2. Those Left Behind

Teofila Borkowska, from Warsaw, Poland, reacted to her husband's resettlement in the United States in two letters from 1893 and 1894. Stripped of a family group, Borkowska struggled to survive, and her husband, Wladyslaw Borkowski, never did return or send for her.

1893. Dear Husband: Up to the present I live with the Rybickis. I am not very well satisfied, perhaps because I was accustomed to live for so many years quietly, with you alone. And today you are at one end of the world and I at the other, so when I look at strange corners [surroundings], I don't know what to do from longing and regret. I comfort myself only that you won't forget me, that you will remain noble as you have been…. I have only the sort of friends who think that I own thousands and from time to time someone comes to me, asking me to lend her a dozen roubles.

1894. Up to the present I thought and rejoiced that you would still come back to Warsaw, but since you write that you won't come I comply with the will of God and with your will. I shall now count the days and weeks [until you take me to America]…. Such a sad life! I go almost to nobody, for as long as you were in Warsaw everything was different. Formerly we had friends, and everybody was glad to see us, while now, if I go to anybody, they are afraid I need something from them and they show me beforehand an indifferent face.

Source: Letters from Teofila Borkowska to Wladyslaw Borkowski, July 21, 1893, and April 12, 1894, in William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America,* Vol. 2, Primary-Group Organization (Boston: Gorham Press, 1920), 348–49.

3. Migration Defended

In some cases, emigrants were said to be unpatriotic and cowardly for leaving their homeland just to avoid hard economic times. To charges against Swedish emigrants, journalist Isador Kjelberg responded with the following explanation.

Patriotism? Let us not misuse so fine a word! Does patriotism consist of withholding the truth from the workingman by claiming that "things are bad in America"? I want nothing to do with such patriotism! If patriotism consists of seeking, through lies, to persuade the poorest classes to remain under the yoke, like mindless beasts, so that we others should be so much better off, then I am lacking in patriotism. I love my country, as such, but even more I love and sympathize with the human being, the worker…. Among those who most sternly condemn emigration are those who least value the human and civic value of the workingman…. They demand that he remain here. What are they prepared to give him to compensate the deprivations this requires? … It is only cowardly, unmanly, heartless, to let oneself become a slave under deplorable circumstances which one *can* overcome.

Source: Quoted in H. Arnold Barton, *A Folk Divided: Homeland Swedes and Swedish Americans, 1840–1940* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994), 72–73.

This anonymous Swedish poem combined a political explanation of migration with an economic one.

I'm bound for young America,
Farewell old Scandinavia.
I've had my fill of cold and toil,
All for the love of mother soil.
You poets with your rocks and rills
Can stay and starve — on words, no frills.
There, out west, a man breathes free,
While here one slaves, a tired bee,
Gathering honey to fill the hive
Of wise old rulers, on us they thrive.
In toil we hover before their thrones,
While they take to slumber, like lazy drones.
Drunk with our nectar they've set us afright,
But opportunity has knocked, and we'll take our flight.

Source: Quoted in H. Arnold Barton, A *Folk Divided: Homeland Swedes and Swedish Americans, 1840–1940* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994), 137.

4. The Perils of Migration

A contrasting view of emigration to the United States appeared in the following Slovak song.

My fellow countryman, Rendek from Senica, the son of poor parents
Went out into the wide world. In Pittsburgh he began to toil.
From early morning till late at night he filled the furnaces with coal.
Faster, faster, roared the foreman, every day….
Rendek toiled harder
So as to see his wife.
But alas! He was careless

And on Saturday evening late
He received his injuries. At home his widow waited
For the card which would never come.
I, his friend, write this song
To let you know
What a hard life we have here.

Source: Quoted in Frantisek Bielik, Horst Hogh, and Anna Stvrtecka, “Slovak Images of the New World: ‘We Could Pay Off Our Debts,’” in Dirk Hoerder and Inge Blank, eds., *Roots of the Transplanted: Late 19th Century East Central and Southeastern Europe* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1994), 1:388.

5. The Lure of Latin America

The following letter, written in 1883 by an English migrant to his family, shows why, despite hardship, Europeans fled their homelands for places such as Argentina, where this immigrant settled. Original spelling has been preserved.

SAUCE GRANDE, SOUTH AMERICA, MARCH 28, 1883
MY DR BROTHER AND SISTERS

I received your kind and welcome letters and was glad to hear from you after so long a time. Since I last wrote you I have left my situation where I was for three years past and have sold my share of sheep which counted 300 at 34$ pr head I have also got my Wool and sheepskins for sale in Buenos Aires for which I expect to get about 8.000$. Last year I made about 13.000$ clear money.

I suppose you know that one thousand dollars amount to about 8£ in English money. Sheep are very cheap and plentiful in this country. Thousands are sold at 30$ pr head. I have the pleasure to inform you that I have got 1.500 sheep on thirds from Messrs Samuel & Bo. I am now living in a house alone with my flock of sheep and it is rather lonesome but as soon as I receive my wool money I intend to get married. My intended wife is a Miss Victoria Smith, who is born in this country but of English parents and speaks very good English….

Hoping this will find you all well as, I am happy to say, it leaves me at presant I remain your Effectionate Brother

Willie X

Source: Fordham Modern History Sourcebook: Immigration.

http://web.archive.org/web/19981203161408/www.signature.pair.com/letters/archive/argentina.html

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. What are the different views of migration represented in these documents?
2. What interests and points of view do these contrasting opinions represent?
3. How do we draw an accurate view of migration from such contrasting views and experiences?
4. Given these differing views, why would people consider leaving Europe and why would governments promote it?

National Fitness: Reform, Sports, and Leisure

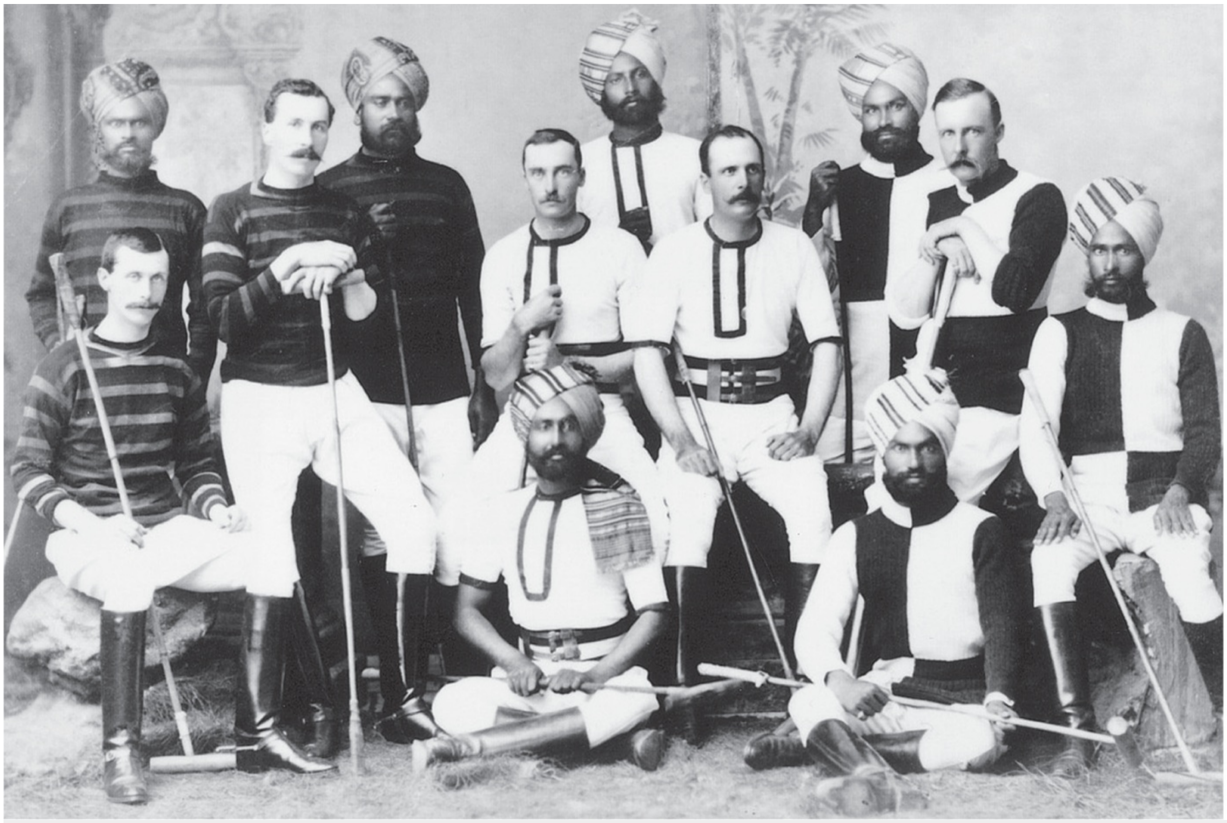
In an age of Social Darwinist concerns about national fitness in the international struggle to survive, middle- and upper-class reformers founded organizations for social improvement. Settlement houses, clinics, and maternal and child health centers sprang up in cities. Young middle- and upper-class men and women, often from universities, eagerly took up residence in poor neighborhoods to study and help the people there. Believing in the scientific approach to solving social problems, the Fabian Society, a small organization established in London in 1884, undertook studies to devise reforms based on planning rather than socialist revolution. In 1893, the Fabians helped found the Labour Party to make social improvement a political cause. Religious faith also shaped these efforts: the Catholic church in Hungary, for example, ministered to those experiencing rural poverty as agriculture faced global competition.

Philanthropists and government officials intervened in the lives of working-class families as a way to “quicken evolution.” The worry was that the poor, as one reformer put it, “were permanently stranded on lower levels of evolution.” Reformers sponsored centers to provide good medical care and food for children and instructed mothers in child-care techniques, including breast-feeding to promote infant health. Some schools distributed free lunches, medicine, and clothing and inspected the health and appearance of their students. Yet the poor were also pressured to follow new standards they could ill afford, such as finding children respectable shoes. Reformers believed they had the right to enter working-class apartments whenever they chose to inspect them and some drew pleasure from such “slumming.”

A few professionals began to distribute birth-control information in the belief that smaller families could better survive the challenges of urban life. In the 1880s, Aletta Jacobs (1851–1929), a Dutch physician, opened the first birth-control clinic, which specialized in promoting the new, German-invented diaphragm. Jacobs wanted to help Amsterdam’s poor women who were worn out by numerous pregnancies. Working-class women used these clinics and spread knowledge of birth-control techniques by word of mouth among neighbors. The churches adamantly opposed this trend, and even reformers wondered whether birth control would increase sexual exploitation.

Another government reform effort consisted of legislation barring women from night work and from “dangerous” professions such as florist and bartender — allegedly for health reasons. Even though medical statistics demonstrated that women in even the most strenuous jobs became sick less often than men, lawmakers and workingmen claimed that women were not producing healthy enough children and were stealing jobs from men. Women who had worked in trades newly defined as dangerous were forced to find other, lower-paying jobs or work at home. The new laws did not prevent women from holding jobs, but they made earning a living harder.

As nations competed for territory and global trade, male athletes created sports teams. Soccer, rugby, and cricket matches drew mass audiences that welded the lower and higher classes into an imperial culture. Competitive sports began to be seen as signs of national strength and spirit, as newspapers reported all sorts of new contests, whether they concerned nations vying for colonies or bicyclists participating in cross-country races such as the Tour de France. “The Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton,” ran the wisdom of the day, suggesting that the games played in school could mold the strength of an army — an army that competed for empire.



Hulton Archive/Getty Images.

Anglo-Indian Polo Team Polo is a sport derived from the South Asian practice of exercising horses, which were central both to the military conquerors of vast stretches of Asia and to the everyday lives of nomads in the region. The sport helped young people train for the rigors of adulthood, during which expertise in horsemanship was valued. As Europeans made contact with Asians after the fifteenth century, European military men learned to play polo from local soldiers illustrated by this photograph of a nineteenth-century polo team in India. Polo had long been called the “sport of kings,” and by the twentieth century, polo became associated with British aristocratic traditions and far less with those of South Asians.

Team sports for men — like civilian military service — helped differentiate male and female spheres and thus promoted a social order based on distinction between the sexes. Reformers introduced exercise classes and gymnastics into schools for girls, often with the idea that these would strengthen them for motherhood and thus help build the nation-state. As knowledge of the world developed, some women began to practice yoga, which originated in India, while wealthy men crossed the empire to challenge themselves with mountain climbing.

Working-class people joined clubs for such pursuits as bicycling, touring, and hiking. Clubs that sponsored trips often had names like the Patriots or the Nationals, making a clear association between physical fitness and national strength. The emphasis on healthy recreation gave people a greater sense of individual might and promoted an imperial citizenship based less on constitutions and rights than on an individual nation's exercise of raw power. A farmer's son in the 1890s boasted that with a bicycle, "I was king of the road, since I was faster than a horse."

Artistic Responses to Empire and Industry

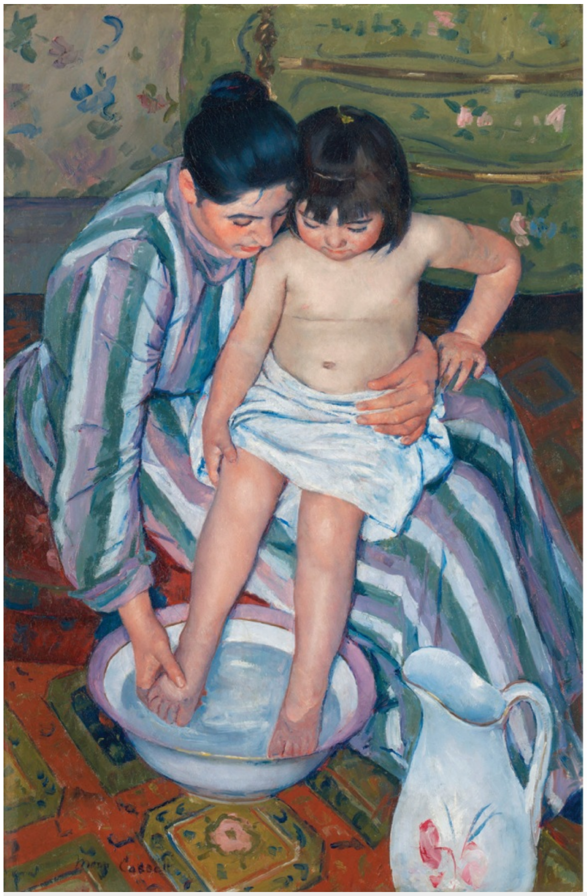
In the 1870s and 1880s, the arts explored the process of global expansion and economic innovation, often in the same gloomy Darwinistic terms that made reformers anxious. Darwin's theory held that failure to adapt would cause strong civilizations to collapse. French writer Émile Zola, influenced by theories of social and inherited personal decay, produced a series of novels set in industrializing France about a family plagued by alcoholism and madness. His characters led violent strikes and in one case even castrated an oppressive grocer. Zola's novel *Women's Paradise* (1883) depicts the upper-class shopper who abandons rational decision-making as a consumer for the frenzy of the new department stores. Other fictional heroines were equally upsetting because they violated other long-standing rules. The character Nora in the drama *A Doll's House* (1879), by Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen, undermines the health of society by leaving an unsatisfying marriage.

Some decorative arts of this period featured a countertrend that celebrated a healthy and heroic rural life. Yet country people used mass-produced textiles to create traditional-looking costumes and invented customs, romanticized as old and authentic, that brought tourists from the cities to villages. Urban architects and industrial designers copied rustic styles when creating household goods and decorative objects. The influence of empire is apparent in the traditional Persian and Indian motifs used by English designers William Morris (1834–1896) and his daughter May Morris (1862–1938) in their designs of fabrics, wallpaper, and household items based on such natural imagery as the silhouettes of plants. Their work gave birth to the arts and crafts style, whose "traditional" features paradoxically attracted consumers living in the modern industrial age.

Industrial developments directly influenced the work of painters, who by the 1870s felt intense competition from a popular industrial invention — the camera. Photographers could produce cheap copies of paintings and create more realistic portraits than painters could, at affordable prices. In response, painters altered their style to distinguish their art from the photographic realism of the camera. Claude Monet, for example, was fascinated by the way light transformed an object, and he often portrayed the same place — a bridge or a railroad station — at different times of day.

This daring style of art generally came to be called **impressionism**. It emphasizes the artist's attempt to capture a single moment by focusing on the ever-changing light and color found in ordinary scenes. Using splotches and dots, impressionists moved away from the precise realism of earlier painters. Vincent Van Gogh used vibrant colors in great swirls to capture sunflowers, haystacks, and the starry evening sky. Closely following the impressionists, French painter Georges Seurat depicted with thousands of dots and dabs the Parisian suburbs' newly created parks, with their Sunday bicyclists and office workers in their store-bought clothing, carrying books or newspapers. Industry contributed to the new styles of painting, as factories produced a wider range of pigments that allowed experimentation.

An increasingly global vision also influenced painting in the age of empire. In both composition and style, impressionists borrowed heavily from Asian art and architecture. The impressionist goal of portraying the fleetingness of light or human situations came from an ancient Japanese concept — *mono no aware* ("sensitivity to the fleetingness of life"). The color, line, and delicacy of Japanese art (which many impressionists collected) is evident, for example, in Monet's later paintings of water lilies and even his re-creation of a Japanese garden at his home in France as the subject for artistic study. Similarly, the American expatriate Mary Cassatt used the two-dimensionality of Japanese art in *The Letter* (1890–1891) and other paintings. Van Gogh sometimes filled the background of portraits with copies of intensely colored Japanese prints, and in some paintings he imitated classic Japanese woodcuts. Both artists had massive collections of Japanese art.


Fine Art/Contributor/Getty Images.

Mary Cassatt, *The Child's Bath*, 1893 Mary Cassatt, an American artist who spent much of her time in Europe, was one of the many Western artists smitten by Japanese prints. Like many other Western artists of her day, she learned Japanese techniques for printmaking, but she also reshaped her painting style to follow Japanese conventions in composition, perspective, and the use of color. Cassatt is known for her many depictions of Western mothers and children, derived from her study of eighteenth-century Japanese prints.

REVIEW QUESTION

How did empire and industry influence art and everyday life?

The Birth of Mass Politics

Ordinary people struggled for political voice, especially through the vote, as they watched the wealth and influence of industry and empire increase. By bringing more people into closer contact with one another in cities, the growth of industries helped develop networks of political communication and awareness, leading western European governments to allow more men to vote. Although only men profited from electoral reform in these nations, the era's expanding franchise marked the beginning of mass politics. Women could not vote, but they participated in public life by forming auxiliary groups to support political parties. Among the authoritarian monarchies, Germany had male suffrage, but in more autocratic states to the east — for instance, Russia — violence and ethnic conflict shaped political systems. In such places, the harsh rule from above often resembled the control imposed on colonized peoples.

Workers, Politics, and Protest

As the nineteenth century entered its final decades, workers organized formal unions that attracted the allegiance of millions. Unions reacted to workplace hardships, demanding a say in working conditions and aiming, as one union's rule book put it, "to ensure that wages never suffer illegitimate reductions and that they always follow the rises in the price of basic commodities." Businessmen and governments viewed striking workers as insubordinate, threatening political unrest and destructive violence. Even so, strong unions appealed to some industrialists because a union could make strikes more predictable (or even prevent them) and present worker demands coherently instead of piecemeal by groups of angry workers.

From the 1880s on, the pace of collective action for better pay, lower prices, and better working conditions accelerated. In 1888, for example, hundreds of young women who made matches, the so-called London matchgirls, went on strike to end the fining system, under which they could be penalized an entire day's wage for being a minute or two late to work. The fines, the matchgirls maintained, helped companies reap profits of more than 20 percent. In 1890, sixty thousand workers took to the streets of Budapest to agitate for safer working conditions and the vote; the next year, day laborers on Hungarian farms struck too. Across Europe between 1888 and 1890, the number of major strikes and demonstrations rose by more than 50 percent, from 188 to 289.

Mary Evans Picture Library/Alamy.

Match Makers' Union The matchgirls' strike of 1888 was part of a new mass activism on the part of so-called unskilled workers. Writers for the increasingly abundant newspapers circulating across the West picked up on the matchgirls' situation, spreading both exaggerated and true stories of their lives, which at a minimum were full of danger from phosphorous, machinery, and generally bad conditions, including malnutrition because of fines and low wages. The drama around the matchgirls helped sell newspapers. The idea that they were helpless “girls” rather than workingwomen, though disproven by their activism, made middle-class reformers flock to aid them no matter how rough they might seem.

Housewives, who often acted in support of strikers, carried out their own protests against high food prices. They confiscated merchants’ goods and sold them at what they considered a fair price. “There should no longer be either rich or poor,” argued Italian peasant women. “All should have bread for themselves and for their children.” Housewives often hid neighbors’ truant children from school officials so that the children could continue to help with work at home. When landlords evicted tenants, women gathered in the streets to return the ousted families’ household goods as fast as they were removed. Meeting on doorsteps or at markets, women initiated rural newcomers into urban ways. In doing so, they helped cement the working-class unity created by workers in the factory.

Governments increasingly responded to strikes by calling out troops or armed police, even though most strikes were about working conditions and not about political revolution. Despite government force, unions did not back down or lose their commitment to solidarity. Craft-based unions of skilled artisans, such as carpenters and printers, were the most active and cohesive, but from the mid-1880s on, a movement known as **new unionism** attracted transport workers, miners, matchgirls, and dockworkers. These new unions were nationwide groups with salaried managers who could plan a widespread general strike across the trades, focusing on such common goals as achieving the eight-hour workday but also paralyzing an entire nation through work stoppages. Large unions had the potential for challenging large industries, cartels, and trusts.

Working-class political parties developed from unions. Workingmen helped create the Labour Party in England, the Socialist Party in France, and the Social Democratic Party in Sweden, Hungary, Austria, and Germany — most of them inspired by Marxist theories. Germany was home to the largest socialist party in Europe after 1890. Socialist parties held out hope that newly enfranchised male working-class voters could become a collective force in national elections, even triumphing over the power of the upper class.

Those who accepted Marx's assertion that "workingmen have no country" also founded an international movement to address workers' common interests across national boundaries. In 1889, some four hundred socialists from across Europe met to form the **Second International**, a federation of workingclass organizations and political parties that replaced the First International, founded by Marx before the Paris Commune. The Second International adopted a Marxist revolutionary program, but it also advocated suffrage (in countries where it still did not exist) and better working conditions.

Members of the Second International determined to rid the organization of anarchists, who flourished in the less industrial parts of Europe — Russia, Italy, and Spain — where Marxist theories of worker-controlled factories had less appeal. In an age of tough international competition in agriculture, many rural workers sought a life free from governments that backed the landowners' interests. Thus, many advocated extreme tactics, including physical violence. "We want to overthrow the government … with violence since it is by the use of violence that they force us to obey," wrote one Italian anarchist. In the 1880s, anarchists bombed stock exchanges, parliaments, and businesses. Members of the Second International felt that such random violence was counterproductive.

Workingwomen joined unions and workers' political parties, but in much smaller numbers than men. Unable to vote in national elections and usually responsible for housework in addition to their paying jobs, women had little time for party meetings. In addition, their lower wages hardly allowed them to survive, much less pay party or union dues. Many workingmen also opposed women's presence in unions. Contact with women would mean "suffocation," one Russian workingman believed, and end male union members' sense of being "comrades in the revolutionary cause." Unions glorified the heroic struggles of a male proletariat against capitalism. Marxist leaders maintained that capitalism alone caused injustice to women and thus that the creation of a socialist society would automatically end gender inequality. As a result, although the new political organizations wanted women's support, they dismissed women's concerns about lower wages and sexual harassment.

Popular community activities further strengthened worker solidarity. The gymnastics and musical societies that had once united Europeans in nationalistic fervor now served working-class goals. Socialist gymnastics, bicycling, and marching societies promoted physical fitness because it could help workers in the “struggle for existence” — a reflection of the spread of Darwinian thinking to all levels of society. Workers also held festivals and cheerful parades, most notably on May 1 — a centuries-old holiday that the Second International now claimed as a labor holiday. Like religious processions of an earlier time, parades fostered unity. As a result, governments frequently banned such public gatherings, calling them a public danger.

Expanding Political Participation in Western Europe

Ordinary people everywhere in the West were becoming aware of politics through newspapers, which, combined with industrial and imperial progress, were important in developing a sense of citizenship in a nation. After 1880, western European countries moved toward mass politics more rapidly than did countries to the east, thanks in part to the rise of mass journalism — itself the product of industrial development. The invention of automatic typesetting and the production of newsprint from wood pulp lowered the costs of printing, and the telephone allowed reporters to communicate news to their papers almost instantly. Once literary in content, many daily newspapers now emphasized sensational news, using banner headlines, dramatic pictures, and gruesome details — particularly about murders and sexual scandals — to sell papers. In the hustle and bustle of industrial society, one editor wrote that “you must strike your reader right between the eyes.” Stories of imperial adventurers and lurid accounts of exploited women workers, some in the white slave trade, drew ordinary people to the mass press.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

Imagine you are an industrial worker in 1890. You read newspapers and are well informed. You received a public education until you reached age 13, and throughout childhood your family celebrated imperial triumphs. In which imperial country in Europe would you want to live? What would your attitude be to the benefits and harms of empire? What would your final analysis be of empire as it relates to you as an individual worker, as a citizen of a nation-state, as a human being? Would you be inclined to migrate to another part of the world?

Journalism created a national community of up-to-date citizens, whether or not they could vote. Unlike the book, the newspaper was meant not for quiet reflection at home or in the upper-class club but for quick reading of attention-grabbing stories on mass transportation and on the streets. Elites complained that the sensationalist press was a sign of social decay, but in western Europe increasing political literacy opened the political process to wider participation.

A change in political campaigning was one example of this widening participation. In the fall of 1879, **William Gladstone** (1809–1898), leader of the British Liberals, whose party was then out of power, took a train trip across Britain to campaign for a seat in the House of Commons. During his campaign, Gladstone addressed thousands of workers, arguing for the people of India and Africa to have more rights and summoning his audiences to "honest, manful, humble effort" in the middle-class tradition of "hard work." Newspapers around the country reported on his trip, and these accounts, along with mass meetings, fueled public interest in politics. Gladstone's campaign was successful, and he took the post of prime minister for the second of the four nonconsecutive terms he served between 1868 and 1894.

Other changes fostered the growth of political participation in Britain. The Ballot Act of 1872 made voting secret, a reform that reduced the ability of landlords and employers to control how their workers voted. The **Reform Act of 1884** doubled the electorate to around 4.5 million men, enfranchising many urban workers and artisans and thus further reducing traditional aristocratic influence in the countryside. To win the votes of the newly enfranchised, Liberal and Conservative parties alike established national political clubs that competed with small cliques of parliamentary elites for control of party politics. Broadly based interest groups such as unions and national political clubs opened up politics by appealing to many more voters.

British political reforms immediately affected Irish politics by arming poor tenant farmers with the secret ballot. The political climate in Ireland remained explosive mainly because of continuing repressive tactics of absentee landlords, many of them English and Protestant, who drove Irish tenants from their land in order to charge higher rents to newcomers. In 1879, opponents of these landlords formed the Irish National Land League and launched fiery protests. Irish tenants elected a solid bloc of nationalist representatives to the British Parliament, who, voting as a group, had sufficient strength to defeat either the Conservatives or the Liberals. Irish leader **Charles Stewart Parnell** (1846–1891) demanded British support for **home rule** — a system giving Ireland its own parliament — in return for Irish votes (see Terms of History on page 857). Conservatives called home rule “a conspiracy against the honor of Britain,” and when they were in power (1885–1886 and 1886–1892), they cracked down on Irish activism. Scandals reported in the press, some of them totally invented, weakened Parnell’s influence. In 1890, news broke of his affair with a married woman, and he died in disgrace soon after, as the media shaped politics. Still, Irish home rule remained a heated political issue, as did the determination to end Ireland's colonial status.

France's **Third Republic** replaced the defeated Second Empire. The republic was weak at the start because the monarchist political factions — Bonapartist, Orléanist, and Bourbon — all struggled to destroy it. An alliance of businessmen, shopkeepers, professionals, and rural property owners successfully supported the republic, and in 1875 the adoption of a new constitution created a ceremonial presidency and a premier (prime minister) dependent on support from the elected Chamber of Deputies. The aim was to prevent the kind of strongman politics that had seen previous republics give way to the rule of emperors and the return of monarchs.

The Third Republic would remain fragile until World War II. Economic downturns, widespread corruption, and growing anti-Semitism fueled by a highly partisan and monarchist press kept the Third Republic on shaky ground. Newspaper stories about members of the Chamber of Deputies selling their votes to business interests and about the alleged trickery of Jewish businessmen manipulating the economy added to the instability. As a result, the public also blamed Jews for problems in the republican government and the economy.

Republican leaders attempted to strengthen citizen loyalty by instituting compulsory and free public education in the 1880s. In public schools, secular teachers who supported republicanism replaced the Catholic clergy, who usually favored a return to monarchy. A common curriculum — identical in every schoolhouse in the country — featured patriotic reading books and courses in French geography, literature, and history. The government established secular public high schools for young women, seen as the educators of future citizens, while mandatory military service for men inculcated pride in the republic rather than in the monarchy or the church.

Although many western European leaders believed in economic liberalism, constitutions, and efficient government, these ideals did not always translate into universal male suffrage and citizens' rights in the less powerful western European countries. Spain and Belgium abruptly awarded suffrage to all men in 1890 and 1893, respectively, while remaining monarchies. An alliance of conservative landowners and the Catholic church dominated Spain, although there was increasingly lively urban activism in the industrial centers of Barcelona and Bilbao. Reform in the Netherlands increased male suffrage to only 14 percent by the mid-1890s, and an 1887 law in Italy gave the vote to all men who had a primary school education, also 14 percent of the male population. Without receiving the benefits of nation building — education, urban improvements, industrial progress, and the vote — the average Italian in the south felt less loyalty to the new nation than fear of the harmful effects of national taxes and the draft on the family economy.

TERMS OF HISTORY

Home Rule

Activists in empires came to demand more freedom and equal treatment under the law, including a level of autonomy called *home rule*. Home rule most often involved a subject-group's control of domestic matters such as legislating civilian laws and regulations and developing infrastructure such as roads or sanitation systems. The dominant government or dynastic center would then control foreign policy, diplomacy, the military, and in some cases finances. In other words, most instances of home rule did not include full sovereignty.

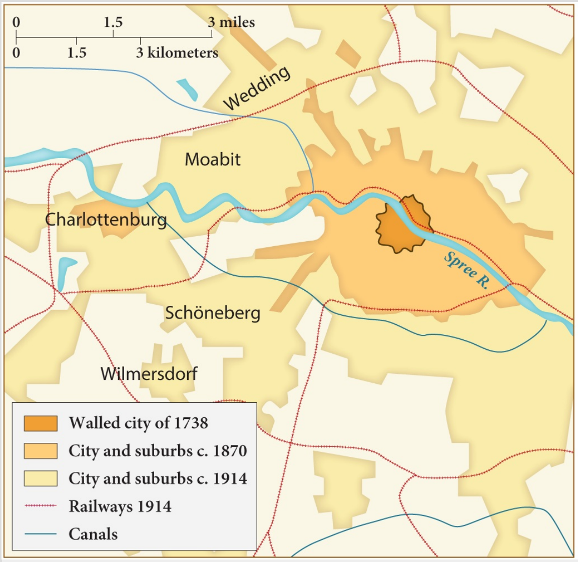
After the disastrous famine in the "hungry forties," the Irish attributed their situation to unfair treatment of their people. Despite Great Britain's promotion of its values as the fairest and most civilized, the Irish charged, English people devastated Ireland by ruthlessly exploiting farmers and other workers. Irish leaders proposed that the British government stop being hypocritical and give Ireland the independence — if only the partial autonomy of home rule — on which English leaders claimed to champion human rights and freedom.

Home rule was thus a compromise political arrangement proposed by politically subjected peoples, albeit those with some clout. The public relations side of obtaining home rule involved focusing on the hypocrisy, especially where Great Britain was involved. However, there was usually muscle behind the demand. When Hungary extracted home rule from the Habsburg dynasty, it came after the dynasty's military weakness was exposed in its defeat by Prussia in 1866. Hungary could demand a greater say in its administration because of its agrarian wealth. The Irish demanded home rule with some effect when Irish representatives to the British Parliament could influence policy by promising its votes to whichever side — Liberal or Conservative — supported home rule. Indian gestures toward home rule began when the Indian National Congress formed in 1885 but took a different turn with Mahatma Gandhi's book *Hind Swaraj* (1909). In it, Gandhi maintained that gaining shared control of India with Britain or even full political independence would entail British rule as long as Indians wanted British values. Following British culture amounted to being ruled by Britain.

For their part, Hungarian leaders chafed under the shared power agreement with the Habsburgs. As a result, they tried as often as possible to disrupt the arrangement, even as they faced demands for greater autonomy from ethnic groups in the Hungarian kingdom. The Irish as a group never gained home rule and only gained full sovereignty with difficulty: after World War I the self-proclaimed Irish Republic became the Irish Free State still owing allegiance to the British crown. India never gained home rule, but did become independent after World War II. However, independence came only with a partition of territory similar to that in Ireland and Hungary after World War I.

Power Politics in Central and Eastern Europe

Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia diverged from the political paths taken by western European countries in the decades 1870–1890. In all three countries, conservative large landowners remained powerful, often blocking improvements in transport, sanitation, and tariff policy that would support a growing urban population. Yet Bismarck, who had upset the European balance of power in the Franco-Prussian War, created a powerful, unified Germany, with explosive economic growth and rapid development of every aspect of the nation-state, from transport to the thriving capital city of Berlin (Map 23.3).



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MAP 23.3 Expansion of Berlin to 1914

"A capital city is essential for the state to act as a pivot for its culture," the German historian Heinrich von Treitschke asserted. No other capital city grew as dramatically as Berlin after German unification in 1871.

Industrialists and bankers set themselves up in the new capital, while workers migrated there for jobs, swelling the population. The city was newly dotted with military monuments and with museums to show off its culture.

His goals achieved, Bismarck now desired stability built on diplomacy instead of war. Needing peace to consolidate the new nation, he pronounced Germany “satisfied,” meaning that it sought no new territory in Europe. In 1873, to ensure Germany’s long-term security, Bismarck forged the Three Emperors’ League — an alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. The three conservative powers shared a commitment to maintaining the political status quo.

At home, Bismarck, who owned land and invested personally in industry, joined with the liberals to create a variety of financial institutions, including a central bank to advance German commerce and industry. After religious leaders defeated his Kulturkampf (see Chapter 22, page 818) against Catholicism, Bismarck turned to attacking socialists and liberals instead of Catholics as enemies of the regime. He outlawed the workers’ Social Democratic Party in 1878, and, hoping to lure the working class away from socialism, between 1882 and 1884, he sponsored an accident and disability insurance program — the first of its kind in Europe. In 1879, he put through tariffs protecting German agriculture and industry from foreign competition but also raising the prices of consumer goods. Ending his support for laissez-faire economics, Bismarck broke with political liberals while simultaneously increasing the power of the agrarian conservatives by attacking the free-trade interests of Germany’s industrial sector.

Like Germany, Austria-Hungary employed liberal economic policies and practices at will. From the 1860s, liberal businessmen succeeded in industrializing parts of the empire, and the prosperous middle classes erected conspicuously large homes, becoming prominent in urban life. Even after losing their political power in 1870, liberals remained influential enough to gain free-trade provisions and to secure investments to construct infrastructure, such as railroads.

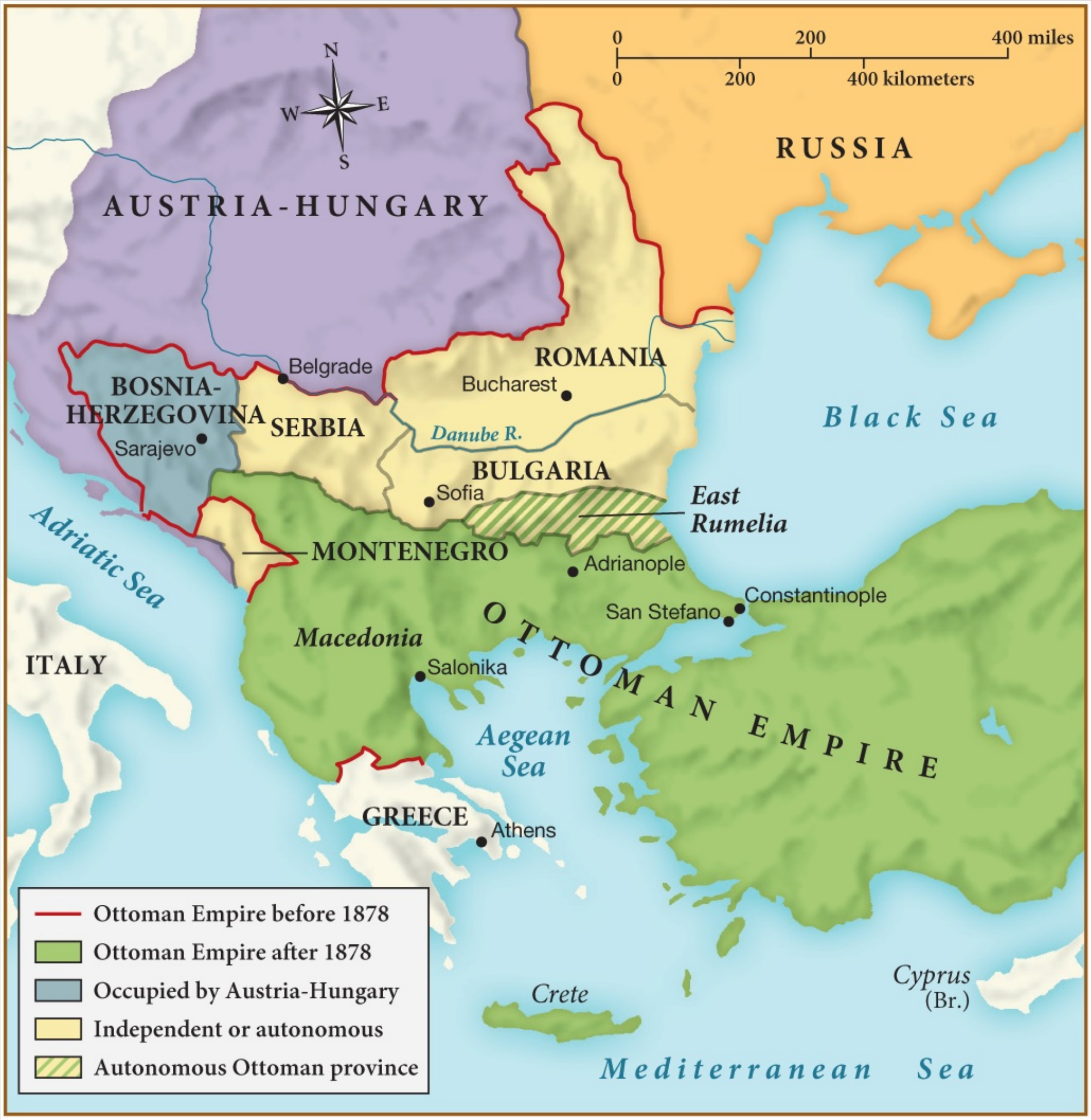
Despite these measures, Austria-Hungary turned away from liberalism under Count Edouard von Taaffe, Austrian prime minister from 1879 to 1893. Building a coalition of clergy, conservatives, and Slavic parties, Taaffe used its power to weaken the liberals — many of them ethnic Germans. In Bohemia, for example, he designated Czech as an official language of the bureaucracy and school system, thus breaking German speakers’ monopoly on office holding. Reforms outraged individuals at whose expense other ethnic groups benefited; yet those who won concessions, such as the Czechs, clamored for even greater autonomy. By encouraging national sentiment among active language communities, the monarchy became crucial to holding together interest groups even as it appeared to encourage competition among them.

Nationalists in the Balkans demanded independence from the declining Ottoman Empire, raising Austro-Hungarian fears and ambitions. In 1876, Slavs in Bulgaria and Bosnia-Herzegovina revolted against Turkish rule, killing Ottoman officials. As the Ottomans slaughtered thousands of Bulgarians in turn, two other small Balkan states, Serbia and Montenegro, rebelled against the sultan too. Russian Pan-Slavic organizations sent aid to the Balkan rebels and so pressured the tsar's government that Russia declared war on Turkey in 1877 in the name of protecting Orthodox Christians. With help from Romania and Greece, Russia defeated the Ottomans and by the Treaty of San Stefano (1878) created a large, pro-Russian Bulgaria.

The Treaty of San Stefano sparked an international uproar. Austria-Hungary and Britain feared that an enlarged Bulgaria would become a Russian satellite that would enable the tsar to dominate the Balkans. Austrian officials worried about their own restless Slavs. British prime minister Benjamin Disraeli moved warships into position against Russia to halt the advance of Russian influence in the eastern Mediterranean, so close to Britain's routes through the Suez Canal. The public was drawn into foreign policy — the music halls and newspapers of England echoed a new jingoism, or political sloganeering, that throbbed with militarism: “We don't want to fight, but by jingo if we do, / We've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too!”

The other great powers, however, did not want a Europe-wide war, and in 1878, they attempted to revive the concert of Europe by meeting at Berlin under the auspices of Bismarck — now a calming presence on the diplomatic scene. The Congress of Berlin rolled back the Russian victory by partitioning the large Bulgarian state carved out of Ottoman territory and denying any part of Bulgaria full independence from the Ottomans (Map 23.4). Austria occupied (but did not annex) Bosnia and Herzegovina as a way of gaining clout in the Balkans; Serbia and

Montenegro became fully independent. The Balkans remained an active site for secret agitators, nationalist movements, and great-power rivalries.



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MAP 23.4 The Balkans, c. 1878

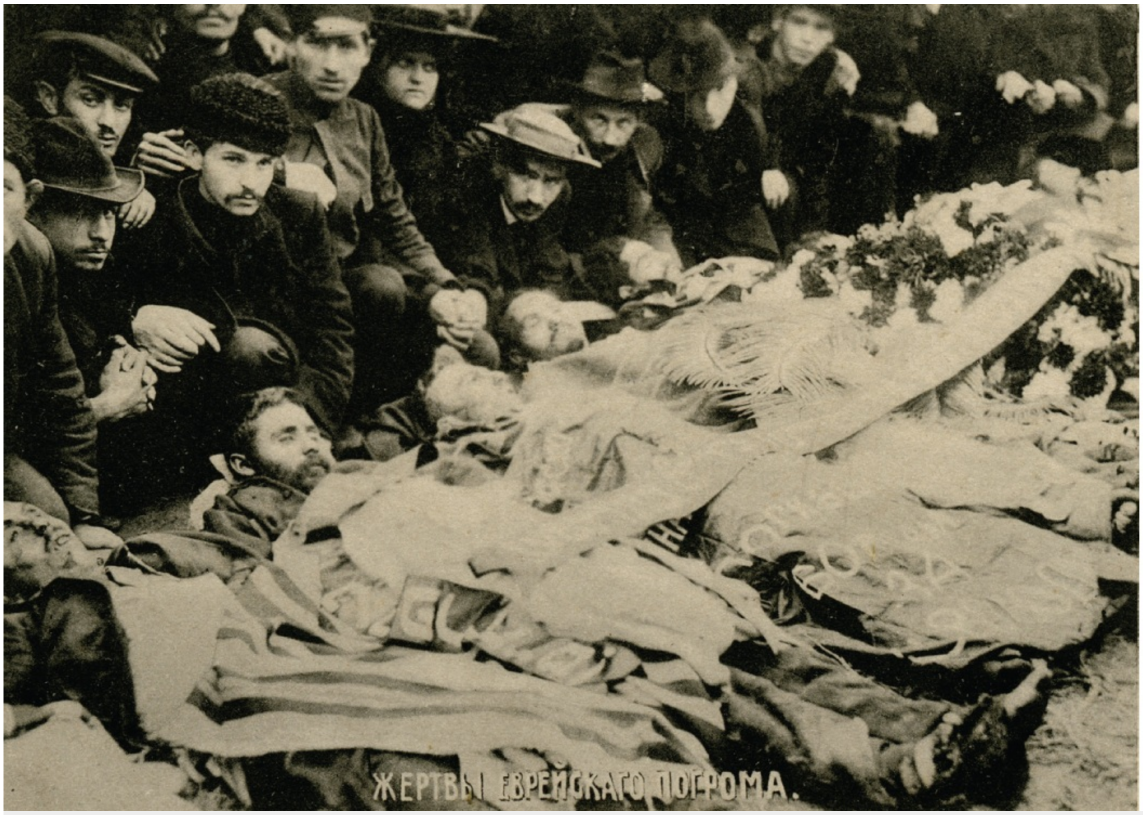
After midcentury, the map of the Balkans was almost constantly redrawn. This resulted in part from the weakness of the dominant Ottoman Empire but also from the ambitions of inhabitants themselves and from great-power rivalry. In tune with the growing sense of national identities based on shared culture, history, and ethnicity, various Balkan peoples sought to emphasize local, small-group identities rather than merging around a single dominant group such as the Serbs. Yet there was also a move by some intellectuals to transcend borders and create a more unified southern Slav culture.

Following the Congress of Berlin, the European powers attempted to guarantee stability through a complex series of alliances and treaties. Anxious about the Balkans, Austria-Hungary forged a defensive alliance with Germany in 1879. The **Dual Alliance**, as it was called, offered protection against Russia and its potential for inciting Slav rebellions. In 1882, Italy joined this partnership (henceforth called the Triple Alliance), largely because of Italy's imperial rivalries with France. Bismarck negotiated the Reinsurance Treaty (1887) with Russia guaranteeing neutrality in case of war unless the Habsburgs attacked Russia or Germany attacked France. The intention was to keep the Habsburgs from recklessly starting a war over Pan-Slavism.

Russia itself was beset by domestic problems in the 1870s and 1880s. Young Russians were turning to revolution for solutions to political and social problems. One such group, the Populists, wanted to rouse debt-ridden peasants to revolt. Other people formed terrorist bands to assassinate public officials. The secret police rounded up hundreds of members of one of the largest groups, Land and Liberty, and subjected them to brutal torture and show trials. When in 1877, a young radical, Vera Zasulich, tried unsuccessfully to assassinate the chief of the St. Petersburg police, the people of the capital city applauded her act and acquittal, so great was their outrage at government treatment of young radicals from respectable families.

Writers debated Russia’s future, mobilizing public opinion over these issues. Novelists Leo Tolstoy, author of the epic *War and Peace* (1869), and Fyodor Dostoevsky, a former radical, continued to believe that Russia above all required spiritual regeneration — not revolution. Tolstoy’s novel *Anna Karenina* (1877) tells the story of an impassioned love affair, but it also weaves in the spiritual quest of Levin, a former “progressive” landowner who, like Tolstoy, idealizes the peasantry’s stoic endurance. Dostoevsky satirized Russia’s radicals in *The Possessed* (1871), a novel in which a group of revolutionaries murders one of its own members. Dostoevsky thus reiterated his view that radicals were simply destructive, offering no solutions whatsoever to Russia’s ills.

Despite the influential critiques published by Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, violent action rather than spiritual uplift remained the foundation of radicalism. In 1881, the People’s Will, a splinter group of Land and Liberty, killed Tsar Alexander II in a bomb attack. The tsar’s death, however, failed to provoke the general uprising the terrorists expected. Alexander III (r. 1881–1894) unleashed a new wave of oppression against religious and ethnic minorities. Popular books and drawings depicted Tatars, Poles, Ukrainians, and others as a horrifying menace to Russian culture. The five million Russian Jews, confined to the eighteenth-century Pale of Settlement (the name for the restricted territory in which they were permitted to live), endured pogroms. Their distinctive language, dress, and ghettoization made them easy targets. Government administrators encouraged these pogroms, blaming Jews for rising living costs that were actually caused by the high taxes levied on peasants to pay for industrialization.


ЖЕРТВЫ ЕВРЕЙСКАГО ПОГРОМА.

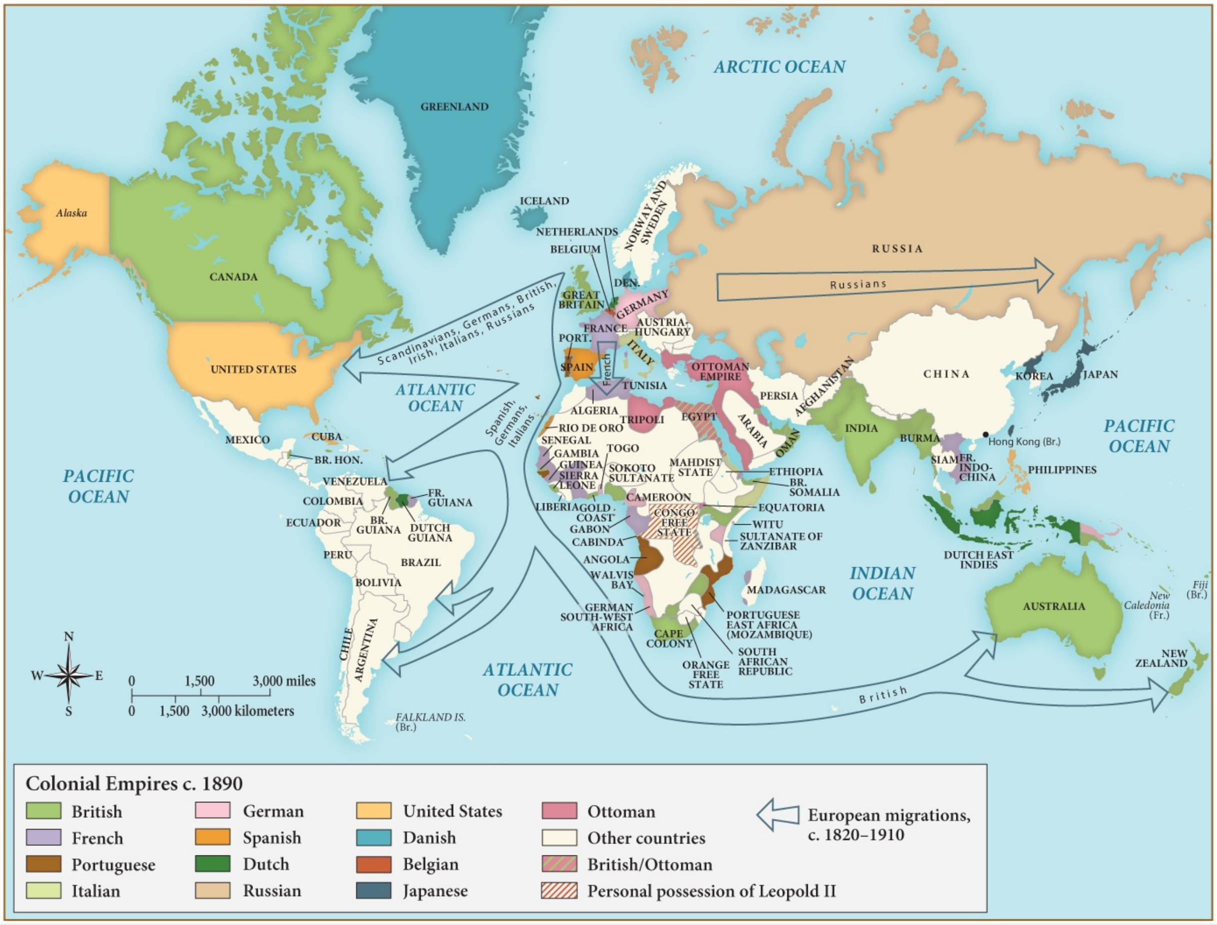
Tobie Mathew Collection/Bridgeman Images.

Pogrom Victims After the assassination of Alexander II in 1881, the Russian government unleashed pogroms against the Jews of the Russian Empire, and these continued for decades thereafter. The pogroms involved violent acts such as murder, beatings, and the destruction of property on a grand scale. In this image, Jewish survivors of a pogrom early in the twentieth-century survey the bodies of their dead relatives and neighbors.

As the tsar inflicted even greater repression across Russia, Bismarck's delicate system of alliances of the three conservative powers was coming apart. A brash but deeply insecure young kaiser, William II (r. 1888–1918), came to the German throne in 1888. William resented Bismarck's power, and his advisers flattered the young man into thinking that his own talent made Bismarck an unnecessary rival. William dismissed Bismarck in 1890 and let the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia lapse in favor of a pro-German relationship with Austria-Hungary. He thus destabilized the diplomatic scene just as imperial rivalries were intensifying among the European powers.

Review Question

What were the major changes in political life from the 1870s to the 1890s, and which areas of Europe did they most affect?



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MAPPING THE WEST

The West and the World, c. 1890

In the late nineteenth century, European trade and political reach spanned the globe, aided by massive doses of violence. Needing markets for the vast quantities of goods that poured from European factories and access to raw materials to produce the goods, governments asserted that the Western way of life should be spread to the rest of the world and that global resources would be best used by Europeans. Explorations and scientific discoveries continued both to build the knowledge base of Western nations and to enhance their ability for greater conquest. Simultaneously, millions of Europeans left their homes to find a better life elsewhere.

Analyzing the Map: Describe the patterns of migration shown by the map, and analyze the causes behind these particular patterns during these decades.

Making Connections: How did the patterns of colonization toward the end of the nineteenth century differ from those around 1700? (See Map 17.1 on page 604.)

Conclusion

The period from the 1870s to the 1890s has been called the age of empire and industry because Western society pursued both these ends in a way that rapidly transformed Europe and the world. Much of Europe thrived due to industrial innovation, becoming more populous and more urbanized. Using the innovative weapons streaming from Europe's factories, the great powers undertook a new imperialism that aimed for political rule over foreign peoples. As they intensified global connections, Europeans proudly spread their supposedly superior culture throughout the world and, like Frieda von Bülow and Carl Peters, sought out more power and wealth.

Imperial expansion and industrial change affected all social classes. The upper class attempted to maintain its position of social and political dominance, while an expanding middle class gained influence. Working-class people often suffered from the effects of rapid industrial change when their labor was replaced by machinery. Millions relocated to escape poor conditions in the countryside and to find new opportunities. Political reform, especially the expansion of suffrage, gave working-class men a political voice. Workers formed unions and political parties to protect their interests, but governments often responded to workers' activism with repression.

As workers fought for improved wages and conditions and the impoverished migrated to find a better life, the advance of empire and industry was bringing unprecedented tensions to national politics, the international scene, and everyday life. By the 1890s, racism and anti-

Semitism were spreading, and many were questioning the costs of empire both to their own nation and to conquered peoples. Complex politics in central and eastern Europe often hindered participation and reform. The rising tensions of modern life would soon have grave consequences for the West as a whole.

Chapter 23 Review

Key Terms and People

Be sure you can identify the term or person and explain its historical significance.

Leopold II
outwork
capital-intensive industry
limited liability corporation
impressionism
new unionism
Second International
William Gladstone
Reform Act of 1884
Charles Stewart Parnell
home rule
Third Republic
Dual Alliance

Review Questions

1. What were the goals of the new imperialism, and how did Europeans accomplish those goals?

2. What were the major changes in Western industry and business by the end of the nineteenth century?
3. How did empire and industry influence art and everyday life?
4. What were the major changes in political life from the 1870s to the 1890s, and which areas of Europe did they most affect?

Making Connections

1. How did the new imperialism differ from European expansion of two centuries earlier? Of four centuries earlier?
2. Describe the effects of imperialism on European politics and society as a whole from 1870 to 1890.
3. Compare the political and social goals of the newly enfranchised male electorate with those of people from the "best circles."

Important Events

1860s–1890s	Impressionism flourishes in the arts; absorption of Asian influences
1870s–1890s	Vast emigration from Europe continues; the new imperialism; scramble for Africa
1871	Franco-Prussian War ends

1873	Extended economic recession begins with global impact
1876	British Parliament declares Victoria empress; invention of telephone
1878	Treaty of San Stefano
1879	Dual Alliance is formed between Germany and Austria-Hungary
1881	Tsar Alexander II is assassinated; France occupies Tunisia
1882	Triple Alliance is formed between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy; Britain invades Egypt
1882–1884	Bismarck sponsors social welfare legislation
1884	British Parliament passes the Reform Act, doubling size of male electorate
1884–1885	European nations carve up Africa at Berlin conference
1885	Invention of workable gasoline engine; formation of Indian National Congress
1889	Japan adopts constitution based on European models; socialists meet in Paris and establish Second International
1891	Construction of Trans-Siberian Railroad begins

Consider three events

Impressionism flourishes in the arts (1860s–1890s), vast emigration from Europe continues (1870s–1890s), and Bismarck sponsors social welfare legislation (1882–1884). How were all of these related to empire and industry?

Suggested References

The literature on imperialism is becoming increasingly exciting, especially as authors address the relationship between industry and empire, for instance in the consumption of goods and the manufacture of new products using rubber. Others show its confusions, extraordinary violence, and chaotic nature.

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Chapter 24
Modernity and the Road to War

1890–1914

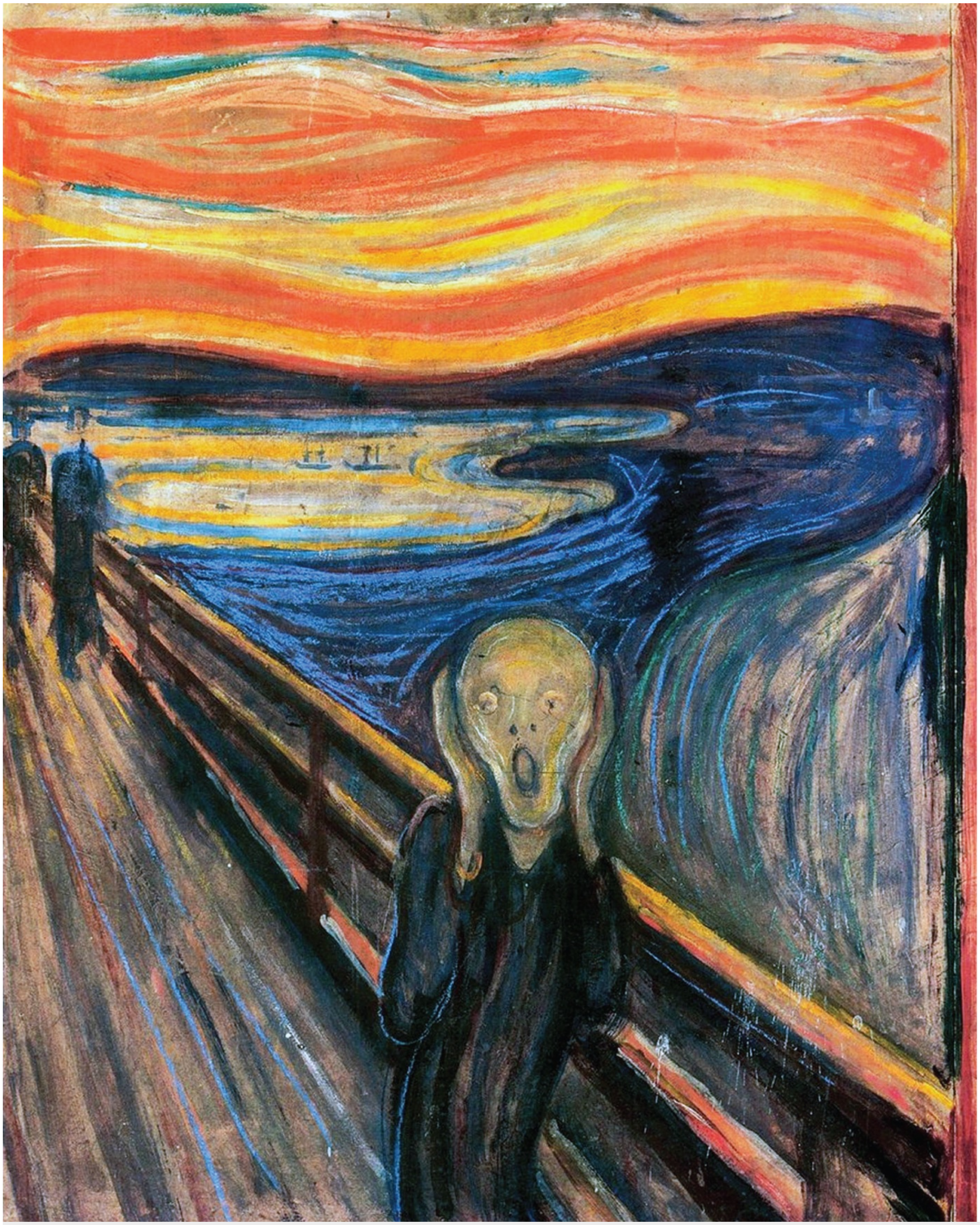


Photo12/Universal Images Group/Getty Images.

Edvard Munch, *The Scream* (1893) In some of his paintings, Norwegian artist Edvard Munch captured a certain spirit of the turn of the century, depicting in soft pastel colors the newly leisured life of people strolling in the countryside. Yet modern life also had a tortured side, which Munch was equally capable of portraying. *The Scream* is taken as emblematic of the torments of modernity as the individual turns inward, beset by neuroses, self-destructive impulses, and even madness. It can also be suggested that the screamer, like Europe, travels the road to World War I.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

Public Debate over Private Life

How did ideas about the self and about personal life change at the beginning of the twentieth century?

Modernity and the Revolt in Ideas

How did modernism transform the arts and the world of ideas?

Growing Tensions in Mass Politics

What were the points of tension in European political life at the beginning of the twentieth century?

European Imperialism Challenged

How and why did events in overseas empires from the 1890s on challenge Western faith in imperialism?

Roads to War

What were the major factors leading to the outbreak of World War I?

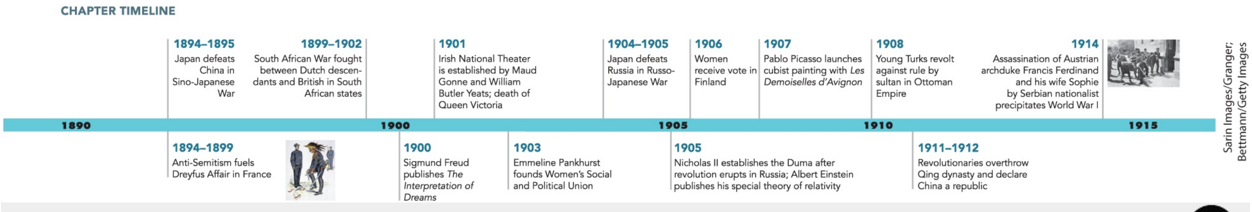
In the first decade of the twentieth century, a wealthy young Russian man traveled from one country to another to find relief from a common malady of the time called neurasthenia. Its symptoms included fatigue, lack of interest in life, depression, and sometimes physical illness. In 1910, the young man consulted Sigmund Freud, a Viennese physician whose unconventional treatment — eventually called psychoanalysis — took the form of a conversation about the patient's dreams, sexual experiences, and everyday life. Over the course of four years, Freud uncovered his patient's deeply hidden fear of castration, which was disguised as a fear of wolves — thus the name Wolf-Man, by which he is known to us. Freud worked his cure, as the Wolf-Man himself put it, "by bringing repressed ideas into consciousness" through extensive talking.

In many ways, the Wolf-Man could be said to represent his time. Born into a family that owned vast estates, he reflected Europe's growing prosperity, though on a grander scale than most. Countless individuals were troubled, even mentally disturbed like the Wolf-Man, and suicides were not uncommon. The Wolf-Man's own sister and father died from intentional drug overdoses. As the twentieth century opened, Europeans raised questions about family, gender relationships, empire, religion, and the consequences of technology. Every sign of imperial wealth brought on an apparently irrational sense of Europe's decline. British writer H. G. Wells saw in this prosperous era "the sunset of mankind." Gloom filled the pages of many a book and upset the lives of individuals like the Wolf-Man.

Conflict rattled the world as a growing number of powers, including Japan and the United States, fought their way into even more territories. The nations of Europe had lurched from one diplomatic crisis to another over access to global resources and control of territory and fueled an arms race that threatened to turn Europe — the most civilized region of the world, according to its leaders — into a savage battleground. In domestic politics, militant nationalism stirred hatred and anti-Semitic violence. Women suffragists, along with other politically disadvantaged groups such as the Slavs and Irish, demanded full citizenship, even as political assassinations and public brutality undermined liberal commitment to the rule of law.

These were just some of the conflicts associated with the term *modernity*, often used to describe the rise of mass politics, the spread of technology, the faster pace of life, and the artistic culture — all of which were visible in the West from the late nineteenth century on. Although many people today admire the brilliant, innovative qualities of modern art, music, and dance, people of the time were offended, even outraged, by the new styles and sounds. Every advance in science and the arts simultaneously undermined middle-class faith in Western civilization.

That faith was further tested when the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne was assassinated in June 1914. Few gave much thought to the global significance of the event, least of all the Wolf-Man, whose treatment with Freud was just ending. He viewed the fateful day of June 28 simply as the day he "could now leave Vienna a healthy man." Yet the assassination put the spark to the powder keg of international discord that had been building for several decades. The resulting disastrous war, World War I, like the insights of Freud, would transform life in the West and beyond.


CHAPTER TIMELINE

1894–1895 Japan defeats China in Sino-Japanese War

1894–1899 Anti-Semitism fuels Dreyfus Affair in France

1899–1902 South African War fought between Dutch descendants and British in South African states

1900 Sigmund Freud publishes *The Interpretation of Dreams*

1901 Irish National Theater is established by Maud Gonne and William Butler Yeats; death of Queen Victoria

1903 Emmeline Pankhurst founds Women's Social and Political Union

1904–1905 Japan defeats Russia in Russo-Japanese War

1905 Nicholas II establishes the Duma after revolution erupts in Russia; Albert Einstein publishes his special theory of relativity

1906 Women receive vote in Finland

1907 Pablo Picasso launches cubist painting with *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*

1908 Young Turks revolt against rule by sultan in Ottoman Empire

1911–1912 Revolutionaries overthrow Qing dynasty and declare China a republic

1914 Assassination of Austrian archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife Sophie by Serbian nationalist precipitates World War I

Sarin Images/Granger; Bettmann/Getty Images

CHAPTER FOCUS

How did developments in social life, art, intellectual life, and politics at the turn of the twentieth century produce instability and set the backdrop for war?

Public Debate over Private Life

At the beginning of the twentieth century, an increasing number of people could aspire to a comfortable family life because of Europe's improved standard of living. Yet at the time, traditional social norms such as heterosexual marriage and woman's domestic role as wife and mother were coming under attack by what were seen as the forces of modernity. The falling birthrate, rising divorce rate, and growing activism for marriage reform provoked heated accusations that changes in private life were endangering national health. Discussions about sexual identity became a political issue, and some feared the disappearance of distinct gender roles. Women's visibility in public life prompted one British songster in the late 1890s to write:

> Rock-a-bye baby, for father is near
> Mother is "biking" she never is here!
> Out in the park she's scorching all day
> Or at some meeting is talking away!

Discussions of gender roles and private life contributed to rising social tensions because they challenged so many traditional ideals. Freud and other scientists tried to be dispassionate in their study of such phenomena — sexuality, for example — and to formulate treatments for so-called modern ailments such as those afflicting the Wolf-Man.

Population Pressure

From the 1890s on, European politicians and the public hotly discussed urgent concerns over trends in population, marriage, and sexuality. The European population continued to grow as the twentieth century opened. Germany's population increased from forty-one million in 1871 to sixty-four million in 1910, and tiny Denmark's grew from 1.7 million in 1870 to 2.7 million in 1911. Contributing to the increase were improvements in sanitation and public health, which reduced infant mortality and extended the average human life span. Following the earlier examples of Vienna and Paris, planners tore apart and rebuilt Budapest, Moscow, and Berlin (whose population grew to more than four million). Less powerful states also rebuilt cities to absorb population growth: the Balkan capitals of Sofia, Belgrade, and Bucharest gained tree-lined boulevards and improved sanitation facilities.

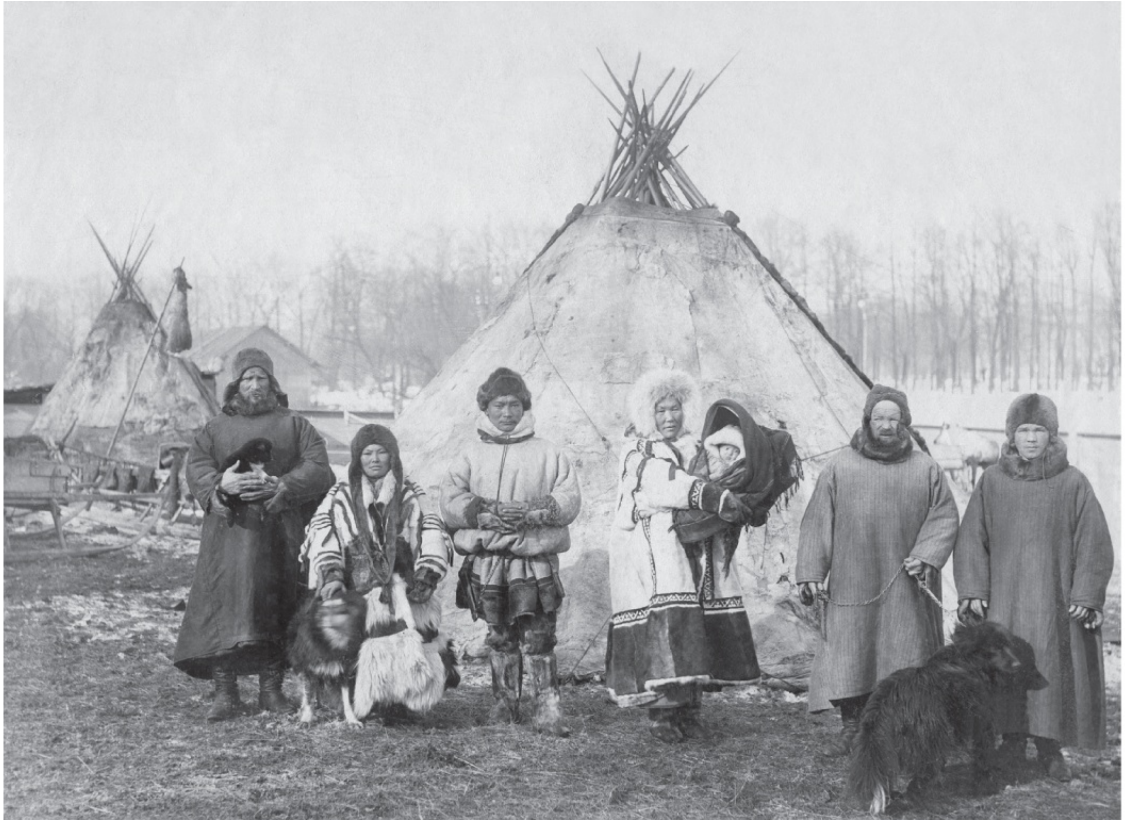
While the absolute size of the population was rising in the West, the birthrate (measured in births per thousand people) was falling. The birthrate had been decreasing in France since the eighteenth century; other European countries began experiencing the decline late in the nineteenth century. The Swedish birthrate dropped from thirty-five births per thousand people in 1859 to twenty-four per thousand in 1911; Germany went from forty births per thousand in 1875 to twenty-seven per thousand in 1913.

Industrialization and urbanization helped bring about this change. Farm families needed fewer hands because new agricultural machinery was replacing human laborers. In cities, individual couples were free to make their own decisions about limiting family size, learning from neighbors or, for those with enough money and education, from pamphlets and advice books about birth-control practices, including coitus interruptus (the withdrawal method of preventing pregnancy). Industrial technology played a further role in curtailing reproduction: condoms, improved after the vulcanization of rubber in the 1840s, proved fairly reliable in preventing conception, as did the diaphragm. Abortions were also common.

The wider use of birth control roused critics who accused middle-class women of holding a “birth strike.” Bishops in the Church of England condemned family limitation as “demoralizing to character and hostile to national welfare.” Politicians worried that the drop in the birthrate was due to a crisis in masculinity, which would put military strength at risk. The “quality” of those being born also troubled activists: If the “best” classes had fewer children, politicians asked, what would society look like if only the “worst” classes grew in number? The decline in fertility, one German nationalist warned, would fill the country with “alien peoples, above all Slavs and probably East European Jews as well.” Nationalist groups inflamed the political climate with such racial hatreds. Instead of building consensus to create an inclusive political community, politicians won votes by demonizing ethnic minorities, the poor, and women who limited family size (see Environment Matters).

ENVIRONMENT MATTERS

Samoed Family of Russia



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The West was hardly uniform in its development of so-called modern institutions such as the well-schooled family. Across the West's borderlands, mountains, and other rural regions, people such as the Samoeds of northern Russia lived nomadic or semi-nomadic lives and engaged in trapping, fishing, foraging, and other livelihoods that did not always involve permanent settlement. While traders dealt with such families, governments tried to make them settle, pay taxes, and surrender their hunting grounds as part of modernizing the nation. To survive, the Samoed people needed to move according to the regular weather patterns that made adaptation to change necessary. Moreover their own hunting practices could damage the fragile Arctic environment. State and private enterprise exploitation and Samoed interactions with Arctic resources across Russia are aspects of a geological period of human impact on nature and the environment called the "Anthropocene."

Questions to Consider

1. The Samoed people were romanticized in these years as were other so-called "primitive" people. Do you see them as benevolent children of nature fighting evil forces of industrialization, or is there another interpretation of their place in modern history?
2. How would you justify seizure of Native American, Samoed, local Hawaiian, and other indigenous groups' land and other resources in the nineteeth century?

Reforming Marriage

Reformers thought that improving conditions within marriage would raise both the quality and quantity of children born. Many educated Europeans believed in eugenics — a set of ideas about producing "superior" people through selective breeding. A famed Italian criminologist declared that "lower" types of people were not humans but "orangutans." Eugenicists wanted increased childbearing for "the fittest" and decreased childbearing — even sterilization — for "degenerates," that is, those deemed inferior. Women of the "better" classes, reformers also believed, would have more children if marriage were made more equal. One step would be to allow married women to keep their wages and to own property, both of which in most legal systems belonged to their husbands. Another step would be to allow women guardianship of their own children.

Reformers worked to improve marriage laws to boost the birthrate, while feminists sought to better the lot of mothers and their children. Sweden made men's and women's control over property equal in marriage and allowed married women to work without their husband's permission. Other countries, among them France (1884), legalized divorce and made it easier to obtain. Reformers reasoned that divorce would allow unhappy couples to separate and undertake more loving and thus more fertile marriages. By the early twentieth century, several countries had passed legislation that provided government subsidies for medical care and child support as concerns about population became a building block of the welfare state — that is, a nation-state whose policies addressed not just military defense or foreign policy, but also the social and economic well-being of its people.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

As a journalist, your newspaper is caught up in the debate over changes in private life and you are tasked with writing an opinion piece on the topic. What would your position be on the changes such as the legalization of divorce and women having the right to own their own wages instead of their husbands owning them? How would you explain what is happening in society and how would you defend your position? How would you explain the increasing prominence of sexual identity in social and political debate? What could you appreciate about the views of those advocating views that oppose your own.?

The conditions of women's lives varied across Europe. For example, a greater number of legal reforms occurred in western versus eastern Europe, but women could get university degrees in Austria-Hungary long before they could at Oxford or Cambridge in England. However, in much of rural eastern Europe, the father's power over the extended family remained almost dictatorial. According to a survey of family life in eastern Europe in the early 1900s, fathers married off their children so young that 25 percent of women in their early forties had been pregnant more than ten times. Yet reform of everyday customs did occur: for instance, among the middle and upper classes of Europe, many grown children were coming to believe that they had a right to select a marriage partner instead of accepting the spouse their parents chose for them.

New Women, New Men, and the Politics

of Sexual Identity

Rapid social change set the stage for even bolder behaviors among some middle-class women. Adventurous women traveled the globe on their own to promote Christianity, make money, or learn about other cultures. The increasing availability of white-collar jobs for educated women meant that more of them could adopt an independent way of life. The so-called **new woman** dressed more practically, with fewer petticoats and looser corsets, biked down city streets and country lanes, lived apart from her family, and supported herself. Italian educator Maria Montessori (1870–1952), the first woman in Italy to earn a medical degree and the founder of an educational system that still bears her name, secretly gave birth to an illegitimate child. Other new women lived openly with their lovers. Not surprisingly, there was loud criticism: the new woman, German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche wrote, had led to the "uglification of Europe."

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Maria Montessori Maria Montessori, famous today for the global network of schools that bear her name, was the perfect example of a “new woman.” Her work outside the home with children was controversial; she was also a highly skilled medical doctor and, secretly, an unwed mother. While she developed a set of sophisticated theories for the advancement of young children generally, others cared for her own son.

Sexual identity also fueled debate. A popular book in the new field of “sexology,” which studied sex scientifically, was *Sexual Inversion* (1896) by Havelock Ellis, a British medical doctor. Ellis claimed that there was a new personality type — the homosexual — identifiable by physical affection for members of their own sex. Homosexuals joined the discussion, calling for recognition that they composed a natural “third sex” and were not just people behaving sinfully. Some maintained that, possessing both male and female traits, they marked “a higher order” of human life. The discussion of homosexuality started the trend toward seeing sexuality in general as a basic part of human identity.

The issue became explosive in the spring of 1895, when Irish playwright Oscar Wilde (1854–1900) was convicted of indecency — a charge that referred to his sexual affairs with younger men — and sentenced to two years in prison. “Open the windows! Let in the fresh air!” one newspaper rejoiced at the conviction. Between 1907 and 1909, German newspapers broadcast the courts-martial of military men in Kaiser William II’s closest circle who were condemned for homosexuality and transvestitism. The government had to assure the public that William’s own family life was “a fine model” for the German nation, as heterosexuality took on patriotic overtones. Still, these cases paved the way for growing sexual openness while politicizing supposedly “private” sexual issues.

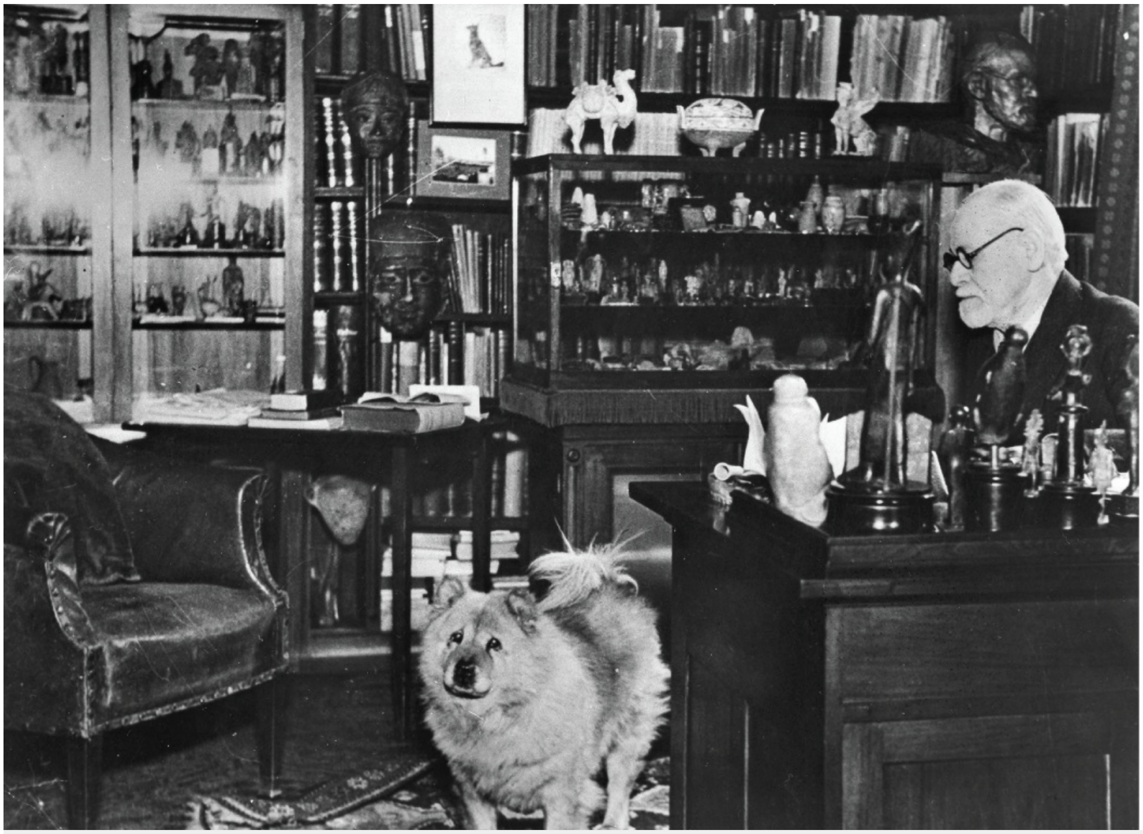
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-DIG-ppmsca-40827.

Oscar Wilde The Irish-born writer Oscar Wilde symbolized the persecution experienced by homosexuals in the late nineteenth century. Convicted of indecency for having sexual relations with another man, Wilde served time in prison — a humiliation for the husband, father, acclaimed author, witty playwright, and human being.

Sciences of the Modern Self

Scientists and Social Darwinists found cause for alarm not only in the poor condition of the working class but also in modern society's mental complaints such as those of the Wolf-Man. New sciences of the mind such as psychology and psychoanalysis aimed to treat everyone, not just those with obvious mental disabilities. A number of books in the 1890s presented arguments on causes and cures for modern nervous ailments. *Degeneration* (1892–1893), by Hungarian-born physician Max Nordau, blamed overstimulation for nervous complaints, the increasingly bizarre art world, and ultimately a general downturn in the human species. The Social Darwinist remedy for such mental decline was imperial adventure for men and increased childbearing for both sexes because it would restore men's virility and women's femininity.

Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) devised a different approach to treating mental distress — one that challenged the widespread liberal belief in a rational self that consistently acts in its own best interest. Dreams, he explained in *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900), reveal an unseen and powerful part of one's personality — the "unconscious" — where all sorts of desires are more or less hidden from one's rational understanding. Freud also held that the human psyche is made up of three competing parts: the ego, the part that is most in touch with the need to work and survive — that is, reality; the id (or libido), the part that contains instincts and sexual energies; and the superego, the part that serves as the conscience. Freud's theory of human mental processes and his method for treating their malfunctioning came to be called psychoanalysis.



Sigmund Freud Copyright –ullstein bild/Granger — All rights reserved.

Freud's Office and Collection Sigmund Freud surrounded himself with imperial trophies such as Oriental rugs and African art objects in his study and therapy room in Vienna. Freud was fascinated by cures brought about through shamanism, trances, and other practices of non-Western medicine. Despite his successes, Freud, like other Jews, was a target of anti-Semitism from Nazis and others; he eventually escaped Vienna for exile in London in 1938.

Freud believed that sexual life should be understood objectively, free from religious or moral judgments. Children, he insisted, have sexual drives from the moment of birth; for the individual to attain maturity and for society to remain civilized, sexual desires — such as impulses toward incest — had to be repressed. Gender identity is more complicated than biology alone, he claimed, adding that girls and women have powerful sexual feelings, an idea that contradicted existing beliefs that women were passionless.

The influence of psychoanalysis became pervasive in the twentieth century. For example, Freud's "talking cure," as his method of treatment was labeled, gave rise to the practice of talking out one's problems to a therapist. Terms such as *neurotic* and *unconscious* came into widespread use. Freud attributed girls' complaints about sexual abuse to fantasy caused by "penis envy," an idea that led members of the new profession of social work to state that most reports of such abuse were not true. Like Darwin, Freud rejected optimistic views of the world, believing instead that humans individually and collectively were motivated by irrational drives toward death and destruction.

REVIEW QUESTION

How did ideas about the self and about personal life change at the beginning of the twentieth century?

Modernity and the Revolt in Ideas

Toward the beginning of the twentieth century, intellectuals and artists so completely rejected long-standing beliefs and traditional artistic forms that they ushered in a new era. In science, the theories of Albert Einstein and other researchers established new truths in physics. Artists and musicians produced shocking works but, like Freud, they were influenced by advances in science and the progress of empire. Their blending of the scientific and the irrational, and of Western and non-Western styles, helped launch the revolution in ideas and the arts called **modernism** (see Terms of History on page 878).

TERMS OF HISTORY

Modern

The word *modernus* was introduced into Latin in the sixth century; after that, the claim to being modern occurred in many centuries and cultures. Shakespeare, for example, referred to "modern ideas" in his plays, and historians have long debated where "modern" history begins: with Abraham? with Charlemagne? with the Renaissance?

Despite the claims of many ages to being modern, the term has fastened itself most firmly on the period from the end of the nineteenth century through the first half of the twentieth. Its most specific historical use has been to describe the art, music, and dance that flourished at that time. When used in this sense, *modern* indicates a sharp break with lyrical, romantic music and dance and with the tradition of realism in the arts. The blurred images of the impressionists and the jarring music of Arnold Schoenberg are part of modern art because they break with accepted forms. The sexual rawness of Gustave Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* (see Chapter 22) or of Sigmund Freud's analysis of the Wolf-Man's dreams added to the multifaceted meanings of the word *modern*. Sometimes this intellectual break with the cultural past is referred to as modernism.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the word *modern* also referred to social phenomena. Women who went to work or entered universities or began careers were called modern women.

They believed that, by showing themselves capable and rational, they could end restrictions placed on them. They lived different lives from those women who confined themselves to the domestic sphere. This departure from tradition supposedly made them modern. (The phenomenon spread around the world until people globally began speaking of a "modern girl.")

In seeking an education, these women were invoking a meaning of the words *modern* and *modernity* dating back to the Enlightenment. Rational thought and science have also been taken as the bedrock of the modern. *Modernization* — another derivative of the word *modern* — refers to the kind of scientific and technological progress that rational observation produced. Industry and its products — indoor plumbing, electricity, telephones, and automobiles — were signs of *modernity*. This focus on the term *modern* to indicate technological advance made it useful as a way to celebrate the West's modernity in contrast to other people's "backwardness." Its association with new (and therefore superior) thinking and forward advancement became central to the justification for imperial rule, especially as Western empires were increasingly contested by 1900.

The many meanings of the word *modern* and those words deriving from it make it a multipurpose term. Complex, paradoxical, and dense with meaning, *modern* may not always be precise and in fact may be called a form of propaganda. Its very breadth explains why *modern* remains a much-debated term of history.

The Opposition to Positivism

Late in the nineteenth century, many philosophers and social thinkers rejected the century-old belief that using scientific methods would uncover enduring social laws. This belief, called positivism, had emphasized the verifiable nature of fundamental laws and had inspired legislation based on statistical and other studies of society. Challenging positivism, some critics declared that because human experience is ever changing, there are no constant social laws. German political theorist Max Weber (1864–1920) maintained that the sheer number of facts involved in policymaking could make decisive action by bureaucrats impossible. In times of crisis, a charismatic leader might usurp power because of his ability to act simply on intuition. These turn-of-the-century thinkers, called relativists and pragmatists, influenced thinking throughout the twentieth century.

The most radical among the scholars was the German philosopher **Friedrich Nietzsche** (1844–1900), who asserted that scientific "truths" are merely human representations of reality. Neither scientists nor other careful observers, he said, can have knowledge of nature that is not filtered through human perception. Nietzsche was convinced that late-nineteenth-century Europe was witnessing the decline of absolute truths such as those found in religion. "God is dead," he announced, "we have killed him." Far from arousing dread, however, the death of God, according to Nietzsche, would give birth to a joyful quest for new "poetries of life" to replace worn-out religious and middle-class rules. Nietzsche believed that an uninhibited, dynamic "superman," free from traditional religious and moral values, would replace the rule-bound middle-class person.

Nietzsche thought that each individual had a vital life energy that he called "the will to power." The idea inspired many people, including his students. As a teacher, Nietzsche was so vibrant — like his superman — that his first students thought they were hearing another Socrates. However, Nietzsche contracted syphilis and was insane in the last eleven years of his life, cared for by his sister. She edited his attacks on middle-class values into attacks on Jews and revised his complicated concepts of the will to power and of superman to appeal to nationalists, anti-Semites, and militarists, all of whom Nietzsche actually hated.

The Revolution in Science

Around the turn of the century, discoveries by pioneering scientists similarly shook the foundations of certainty. In 1896, French physicist Antoine Becquerel discovered radioactivity. He also suggested the mutability of elements by the rearrangement of their atoms. French chemist Marie Curie and her husband, Pierre Curie, isolated the elements polonium and radium, which are more radioactive than the uranium Becquerel used. From these and other discoveries, scientists concluded that atoms are not solid, as had long been believed, but are composed of subatomic particles moving about a core. In 1900, German physicist Max Planck announced his quantum theory, stating that energy is delivered not in a steady stream but in discrete packets, which he later called *quanta*.

In this atmosphere of discovery, physicist **Albert Einstein** (1879–1955) proclaimed his special theory of relativity in 1905. According to this theory, space and time are not absolute categories but instead vary according to the vantage point of the observer. Only the speed of light is constant. That same year, Einstein suggested that the solution to problems in Planck's theory lay in considering light both as little packets *and* as waves. Einstein later proposed yet another blurring of two distinct physical properties, mass and energy. He expressed this equivalence in the equation $E = mc^2$, or energy equals mass times the square of the speed of light. In 1916, Einstein published his general theory of relativity, which connected the force, or gravity, of an object with its mass and proposed a fourth mathematical dimension to the universe. Once Einstein's theories of energy were applied to technology, television, nuclear power, and, within forty years, nuclear bombs followed.

The findings of Planck, Einstein, and others were not readily accepted, because long-standing scientific truths were at stake. Additionally, Marie Curie faced such sexism from the scientific establishment that even after she became the first person ever to receive a second Nobel Prize (1911), the prestigious French Academy of Science turned down her candidacy for membership. The academy claimed that a woman simply could not have done such outstanding work. Acceptance of these scientists' discoveries gradually came, and Einstein's name became synonymous with *genius*. Scientists of the modern era achieved what historians call a paradigm shift — that is, despite resistance, they transformed the foundations of science as their theories came to replace those of earlier pioneers.

Modern Art

Conflicts between traditional values and new ideas also raged in the arts as artists distanced themselves further from classical Western styles (see Contrasting Views on pages 880–881). French painter Paul Cézanne initiated one of the most powerful trends in modern art by using rectangular daubs of paint to portray his geometric vision of dishes, fruit, drapery, and the human body. Cézanne's art accentuated structures such as lines and planes instead of presenting nature as it appeared in everyday life. Following in Cézanne's footsteps, Spanish artist Pablo Picasso (1881–1973) developed a style called cubism in which even more radical emphasis on planes and surfaces converted his models into bizarre, almost unrecognizable forms. Picasso’s painting *Les Demoiselles d’Avignon* (1907), for example, depicted the bodies of the *demoiselles* (“young ladies” or in this case “prostitutes”) as fragmented and angular, with their heads modeled on African masks. Picasso’s work showed the profound influences of African, Asian, and South American arts, but his use of these features was more brutal than that of other modern artists. Like imperialists who recounted their violent exploits in speeches and memoirs, Picasso brought knowledge of the empire home in a style that captured the violent ruptures of these decades.

Across Europe, artists innovated in their work to incorporate political criticism and even outrage. “Show the people how hideous is their actual life,” anarchists challenged. Picasso, who had spent his youth in working-class Barcelona, a hotbed of anarchist thought, aimed to present the plain truth about industrial society in his art. In 1912, Picasso and French painter Georges Braque devised a new kind of collage that incorporated scraps of newspaper, string, and other material. The effect was a work of art that appeared to be made of trash. The newspaper clippings Picasso included described battles and murders, suggesting that Western civilization was not as refined as it claimed to be. In eastern and central Europe, artists criticized the boastful nationalism that determined royal purchases of sculpture and painting: “The whole empire is littered with monuments to soldiers and monuments to Kaiser William,” one German artist complained.

Scandinavian and eastern European artists produced works expressing the torment many felt at the time. Like the ideas of Freud, their style of portraying inner feelings — called *expressionism* — broke with middle-class optimism. Norwegian painter Edvard Munch aimed “to make the emotional mood ring out again as happens on a gramophone.” His painting *The Scream* (1893), shown in the chapter-opening illustration, used twisting lines and a tortured skeletal human form to convey the horror of modern life that many artists perceived. Swedish painter Hilma af Klint pioneered the first fully abstract paintings around 1909; shapes in these paintings no longer resemble physical objects or reality. Like af Klint, the Blue Rider group of artists, led by German painter Gabriele Münter and Russian painter Wassily Kandinsky, used geometric forms and striking colors to express an inner, spiritual truth. Kandinsky followed af Klint in producing abstract paintings. The work of expressionist and abstract artists before World War I was generally a commercial failure.

Only one style of this period, **art nouveau** (“new art”), was an immediate, commercial success. Designers manufactured everything from dishes, calendars, and advertising posters to streetlamps and even entire buildings in this new style. As one French official said about the first art nouveau coins issued in 1895, “Soon even the most humble among us will be able to have a masterpiece in his pocket.” Adapting elements from Asian design, art nouveau replaced the impersonality of machines with vines and flowers and the softly curving bodies of female nudes intended to soothe the individual viewer. This style directly contrasted with Picasso’s artistic harshness. Art nouveau was the notable exception to public rage at innovations in the visual arts.

CONTRASTING VIEWS

Debating the Revolt in Art, Ideas, and Lifestyles

At the turn of the century and up until the outbreak of war, heated feelings about changes in ideas, the arts, and everyday life erupted. Music and the visual arts fueled debates over modernity versus traditional values. The break with tradition in everyday life, especially the appearance of the modern woman who worked and did not marry, aroused comment. As the press carried the opinions of heads of state and ordinary critics, the atmosphere around what was called "modernity" was sometimes explosive.

1. House of the Vienna Secession, Motto, 1898

The Vienna Secession was a group of modern artists who broke with traditional ways of painting and design. This motto was inscribed on the wall of its headquarters.

To the age its art, to art its freedom.

2. William II, "True Art," 1901

As emperor of Germany, William II's opinions received widespread publicity. This is a pronouncement he made on the modern art springing up in this time.

Sculpture has, as yet, remained largely free of so-called modern directions and influences. It still stands tall and sublime. See to it that it remains so….

So often, under the much abused name and flag of "freedom," one descends into excess, licentiousness, and presumption….

But there is more: Art should assist in educating the public. By way of its ideals, it should also offer [the members of] the lower classes the opportunity — after a day of strenuous work and effort — to refresh and strengthen themselves…. And these ideals demand that we give [the members of] the working, toiling classes the chance to edify themselves through beauty and thereby elevate themselves above everyday concerns.

If art, now, does no more than portray misery — as it happens so often today — in an even more dreadful light than that in which it is already cast, then it sins against the German people…. If culture is to fully fulfill its duty, it must penetrate the lowest levels of society. Art can only do this [however] when it offers its hand, when it *elevates, when it does not lower itself into the gutter instead*.

Source: Wilhelm II, "Die wahre Kunst" ["True Art"] (December 18, 1901), in Ernst Johann, *Reden* *des Kaisers: Ansprachen, Predigten und Trinksprüche Wilhelms II* [*The Kaiser's Speeches: Addresses, Preachings, and Toasts by Wilhelm II*] (Munich, 1996), 99–103. German Historical Institute, http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/docpage.cfm?docpage_id=1185, trans. Angela A. Kurtz. Accessed October 19, 2014.

3. Claude Debussy, "Taste," 190?

Claude Debussy was a celebrated composer of the turn of the century. His music broke with the Western tradition of melodic, hummable music because he incorporated non-Western patterns so fully into his music that it sounded strange to listeners used to the music of Mozart, for example. His modifications, breaking with rule-bound formulas, shaped classical music from that time forward. Here is his analysis of the Indonesian music on which his modern compositions were based.

If one listens to [Javanese music] without being prejudiced by one's European ears, one will find in it a percussive charm that forces one to admit that our own music is not much more than a barbarous kind of noise fit for a traveling circus…. All that is needed is an instinctive desire for the artistic, a desire that is satisfied in the most ingenious ways and without the slightest hints of "bad taste."

Source: Claude Debussy, "Taste," in *Claude Debussy on Music*, ed. and trans. Richard Langham Smith (New York: Knopf, 1977), 278–79.

4. Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, "Futurist Manifesto," 1909

Marinetti had studied to become a lawyer before turning to poetry and journalism. After creating an uproar in Italian theaters and issuing pronouncements in newspapers against traditional artistic and political values, he published the "Futurist Manifesto," excerpted here.

1. We want to sing the love of danger, the habit of energy and rashness.
2. The essential elements of our poetry will be courage, audacity and revolt.
3. Literature has up to now magnified pensive immobility, ecstasy and slumber. We want to exalt movements of aggression, feverish sleeplessness, the double march, the perilous leap, the slap and the blow with the fist.
4. We declare that the splendor of the world has been enriched by a new beauty: the beauty of speed. A racing automobile with its bonnet adorned with great tubes like serpents with explosive breath … a roaring motor car which seems to run on machine-gun fire, is more beautiful than the Victory of Samothrace.

What can you find in an old picture except the painful contortions of the artist trying to break uncrossable barriers which obstruct the full expression of his dream?

To admire an old picture is to pour our sensibility into a funeral urn instead of casting it forward with violent spurts of creation and action. Do you want to waste the best part of your strength in a useless admiration of the past, from which you will emerge exhausted, diminished, trampled on?

For the dying, for invalids and for prisoners it may be all right. It is, perhaps, some sort of balm for their wounds, the admirable past, at a moment when the future is denied them. But we will have none of it, we, the young, strong and living Futurists!

Source: F. W. Marinetti. Manifesto of Futurism," in *Let's Murder the Moonshine: Selected Writings*. Trans. R. W. Flint (Los Angeles: Sun and Moon Press, 1991), 49–52.

5. Clifton A. Wheeler, response to the Armory show, 1913

Clifton A. Wheeler, an artist in Indiana who had trained in New York, wrote to the organizer of a 1913 New York Armory show, a major exhibition of new artistic works that shocked many U.S. viewers because of the modern art it contained. His opinions, expressed in a letter of December 22, 1913, also reflect his views of a similar exhibit he had just seen in Chicago.

I must confess that the exhibition in Chicago (The International) did not strike me with overwhelming force but I have enough respect for the opinions of Mr. Davies and yourself to admit that the fault may have been my own.

The principal effect the exhibition has had upon me has been to give me a more complete indifference to the facile nothings that most of the artists are painting now and a greater love for Massacio and Giorgione and the engravings of Durer.*

Source: Smithsonian Institution, Armory Show, http://armoryshow.si.edu/. Accessed October 19, 2014.

6. Aleksandra Kollontai, *Autobiography*, 1926

Kollontai was a Russian activist allied with socialism and would become prominent in the Bolshevik government during World War I. This is her recollection of her feelings as a young woman in the late nineteenth century.

I am far from being one of those "new women" who take their experiences as females with relative lightness (one might even say superficiality), and whose feelings and mental energies are directed at all other things in life but sentimental emotions of love. After all, I still belong to that generation of women who grew up at a turning point in history. Love, with its many disappointments, with its tragedies and eternal demands for happiness, still played a very important part in my life.

Source: Alexandra Kollontai, *Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman*, trans. Akvatir Attanasio, ed. Iring Fetscher (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971), 7.

Questions to Consider

1. What are the major issues in the debate over modern life?
2. Some historians find the clash over culture and social life to be as important an ingredient in the buildup to war as clashes because of nationalism and disputes over territory. What do you think?

*Massacio, Giorgione, and Durer were artists of the fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Renaissance.

The Revolt in Music and Dance

“Astonish me!” was the motto of modern dance and music, both of which shocked audiences in the concert halls of Europe. American dancer Isadora Duncan took Europe by storm at the turn of the twentieth century when, draped in a flowing garment, she appeared barefoot in one of the first performances of modern dance. Her sophisticated style was called “primitive” because it no longer followed the steps of classical ballet. Experimentation with forms of bodily expression animated the Russian Ballet’s 1913 performance of *The Rite of Spring*, by Igor Stravinsky, the tale of an orgiastic dance to the death performed to ensure a plentiful harvest. The dance troupe struck awkward poses and danced to rhythms intended to sound primitive. At the work's premiere in Paris, one journalist reported that "the audience began shouting its indignation…. Fighting actually broke out among some of the spectators."

Composers had been rebelling against Western traditions for several decades, producing music that was disturbing rather than pretty. Having heard Asian musicians at international expositions, French composer Claude Debussy transformed his style to reflect non-European musical patterns and wrote articles praising them. Italian composer Giacomo Puccini used non-Western subject matter for his opera *Madame Butterfly*, which debuted in 1904. Listeners were jarred when they heard non-Western tonalities. Like the bizarre representation of reality in cubism, the works of Austrian composer Richard Strauss added to the revolution in music by using several musical keys simultaneously, thus distorting familiar musical patterns. The early orchestral work of Austrian composer Arnold Schoenberg, who also wrote cabaret music to earn a living, shocked even Strauss. Schoenberg proposed eliminating tonality altogether; a decade later, he devised a new twelve-tone scale. "I am aware of having broken through all the barriers of a dated aesthetic ideal," Schoenberg wrote of his music. Audiences, however, found this music unpleasant and incomprehensible. "Anarchist! Nihilist!" they shouted, using political terms to show their distaste for modernist music.

REVIEW QUESTION

How did modernism transform the arts and the world of ideas?

Growing Tensions in Mass Politics

Alongside disturbances in artistic life, the political atmosphere grew charged. On the one hand, workingmen gained political representation. Networks of communication, especially the development of journalism, created a common fund of political knowledge that made mass politics possible. On the other hand, many political activists were no longer satisfied with the liberal rights, such as the vote, sought by earlier reformers. Some militant nationalists, anti-Semites, socialists, suffragists, and others demanded changes that challenged liberal values and individual rights. Traditional elites, resentful of the rising middle classes and urban workers, aimed to overturn constitutional processes and crush city life. Politics soon threatened national unity.

The Expanding Power of Labor

European leaders worried about the rise of working-class political power late in the nineteenth century. Laboring people's growing confidence came in part from expanding educational opportunities. Workers in England, for example, avidly read works by Shakespeare and took literally his calls for political action in the cause of justice that rang out in plays such as *Julius Caesar*. Unions gained members among factory workers, while labor and socialist parties won seats in parliaments as men in the lower classes received the vote. In Germany, Kaiser William II had allowed antisocialist laws to lapse after dismissing Bismarck as chancellor in 1890. Through organizing at the local level, the German Social Democratic Party became the largest group in the Reichstag by 1912.

Winning elections actually raised problems among socialists. Some felt uncomfortable sitting in parliaments alongside the upper classes — the enemies of working people, according to Marx. Others worried that accepting high public offices would weaken socialists' commitment to achieving a revolution that would put the working classes in power. These issues divided socialist organizations. Between 1900 and 1904, the Second International debated the question of revisionism — that is, whether socialists should work from within governments to improve the daily lives of laborers or push for such a violent, transformative revolution. Powerful German Marxists argued that settling for reform would leave the wealthy unchallenged while throwing small crumbs to a few working-class politicians. Meanwhile police persecution forced some working-class parties to operate in exile. The Russian government, for instance, outlawed political parties, imprisoned activists, and gave the vote to only a limited number of men when it finally introduced a parliament in 1905. Thus, Russian Marxist V. I. Lenin (1870–1924), who would take power during the Russian Revolution of 1917, operated outside the country.

Lenin advanced the theory that a highly disciplined socialist elite — rather than the working class as a whole — would lead a lightly industrialized Russia into socialism. At a 1903 party meeting of Russian Marxists, he maneuvered his opponents into walking out of the proceedings so that his supporters gained control of the party. Thereafter, his faction was known as the Bolsheviks, so named after the Russian word for "majority," which they had temporarily formed. They struggled to suppress the Mensheviks ("minority"), who had been the dominant voice in Russian Marxism until Lenin tricked them. Neither of these factions, however, had as large a constituency within Russia as the Socialist Revolutionaries, whose objective was to politicize peasants, rather than industrial workers, to bring about revolution. All of these groups functioned in secret instead of using electoral politics.

During this same period, anarchists, along with some trade union members known as syndicalists, kept Europe in a panic with their terrorist acts. In the 1880s, anarchists had bombed stock exchanges, parliaments, and businesses. By the 1890s, they were assassinating heads of state: the Spanish premier in 1897, the empress of Austria-Hungary in 1898, the king of Italy in 1900, and the president of the United States in 1901, to name a few famous victims. Syndicalists advocated the use of direct action, such as general strikes and sabotage, to paralyze the economy and give labor unions more power. In response, politicians from the old landowning and military elites of eastern and central Europe worked to reverse the trend toward constitutionalism and mass political participation.

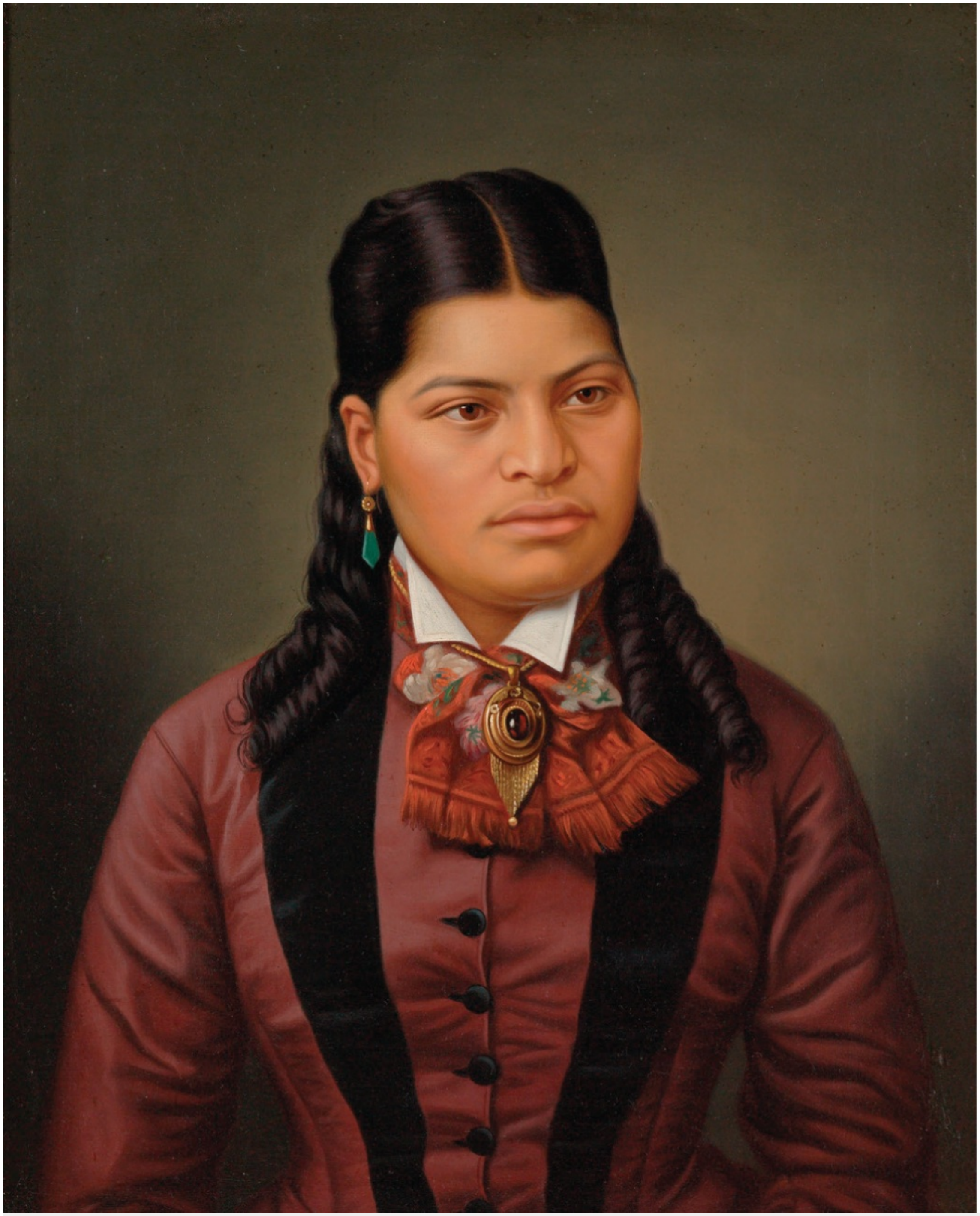
Rights for Women and the Battle for Suffrage

Women continued to agitate for the benefits of liberalism such as the right to vote and to own their wages if married. German women focused on widening opportunities for female education. Their activism aimed to achieve the German cultural ideal of *Bildung* — the belief that education can build character and that individual development has public importance. In several countries, women worked to prevent prostitutes from being imprisoned on suspicion of having syphilis when male clients with syphilis were ignored. Other women took up pacifism — among them Bertha von Suttner, whose popular writing emphasized how war inflicted terror on women and families. (Von Suttner influenced Alfred Nobel to institute a peace prize and then won the prize herself in 1903.)

By the 1890s, many women activists decided to focus their efforts on a single issue — suffrage — as the most effective way to correct the many problems caused by male privilege. Thereafter, suffragists created major organizations involving millions of activists. British suffrage leader Millicent Garrett Fawcett (1847–1929) pressured members of Parliament for women's right to vote. Across the Atlantic, American Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906) traveled the country to speak at mass suffrage rallies, edited a suffragist newspaper, and founded the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in 1904. Its leadership argued that despite men's promises to protect women in exchange for their inequality, the system of male chivalry had led to exploitation and abuse. "So long as the subjection of women endures, and is confirmed by law and custom, … women will be victimized," a leading British suffragist claimed. Other activists believed that the characteristics associated with mothering were necessary in shaping a country's policies.

In the West, women's rights activists were predominantly, though not exclusively, white and from the middle class. Free from the need to earn a living, they had more time to organize and to read the works of feminists such as Harriet Taylor and John Stuart Mill. Working-class women also participated in the suffrage movement. Textile workers of

Manchester, England, for example, put together a vigorous movement for the vote, seeing it as essential to improved working conditions. Many of these women, however, distrusted the middle class and believed suffrage to be less crucial than women’s pressing economic concerns. Black and native American activists were particularly aware of the intersecting obstacles in their lives, especially race, gender, and economic discrimination. However, in New Zealand a coalition of Maori and white women gained the vote for all women in 1893.



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Maori and White Women get the Vote in New Zealand, 1893 This 1874 image of a "Maori girl" shows a young woman in fashionable European clothing; perhaps she joined the activist coalition of white and Maori women that ultimately produced the 1893 victory for women's suffrage in New Zealand. Maori women were active in a number of reform movements and exercised their leadership as part of their traditional place in Maori society. However, as they assimilated visually to the styles of the conqueror, they also faced the reality of European traditions of legal discrimination against women.

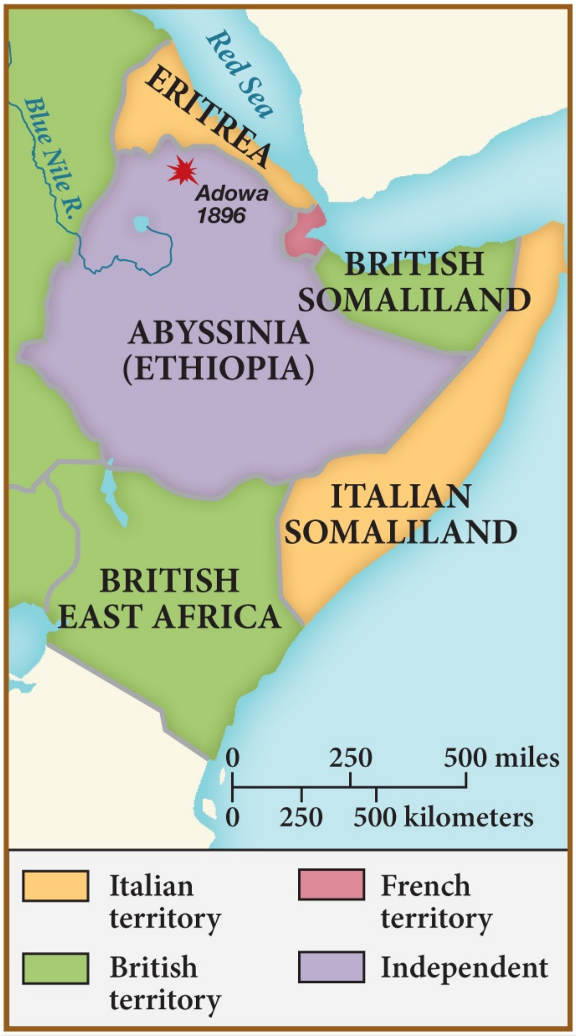
In 1906 in Finland, suffragists achieved their first major victory for European women when the Finnish parliament granted women the vote. The failure of Britain's Parliament to enact similar legislation provoked suffragist **Emmeline Pankhurst** (1858–1928) and her daughters to found the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) in 1903. Starting in 1907, members of the WSPU held parades in English cities, and in 1909, they began a campaign of violence, blowing up railroad stations, slashing works of art, and chaining themselves to the gates of Parliament. Disguising themselves as ordinary shoppers, they carried little hammers to smash the plate-glass windows of department stores and shops. Parades and demonstrations made suffrage a public spectacle; some outraged men responded by attacking the marchers. Arrested for disturbing the peace, the marchers went on hunger strikes in prison. Like striking workers, these women were willing to use confrontational tactics to obtain rights.

Liberalism Tested

Governments in western Europe, where liberal institutions were seemingly well entrenched, found that recently enfranchised voters wanted solid benefits in exchange for their support. In 1905, the British Liberal Party won a majority in the House of Commons and pushed for social legislation aimed at the working class. "We are keenly in sympathy with the representatives of Labour," one Liberal politician announced. "We have too few of them in the House of Commons." The National Insurance Act of 1911 instituted a program of unemployment assistance funded by new taxes on the wealthy.

The Irish question, however, tested Britain’s commitment to such liberal values as autonomy, opportunity, and individual rights. In the 1890s, new groups formed to foster Irish culture as a way of heightening the political challenge to what they saw as Britain’s continuing colonization of the country. In 1901, the circle around poet William Butler Yeats and actress Maud Gonne founded the Irish National Theater to present Irish rather than English plays. Gonne took Irish politics into everyday life by opposing British efforts to gain the loyalty of the young. Every time an English monarch visited Ireland, he or she held special receptions for children. Gonne and other Irish volunteers sponsored competing events, handing out candies and other treats for patriotic youngsters. One home rule supporter marveled at “the procession … of thirty thousand school children who refused to be bribed into parading before the Queen of England.” Promoters of an “Irish way of life” encouraged speaking Irish Gaelic instead of English and supporting Catholicism instead of the Church of England. This cultural agenda gained political force with the founding in 1905 of Sinn Féin (“We Ourselves”). This group strove for complete Irish independence — a goal that aligned with liberal values of national autonomy and rights but threatened the prestige of “liberal” Britain and the power of big landowners.

Once committed to economic growth and the rule of law, Italian leaders, now saddled with debt from unification, began to drift away from these liberal values. Instead, corruption plagued Italy’s constitutional monarchy, which lacked a secure parliamentary system to guide its growth. To forge national unity in the 1890s, prime ministers used patriotic rhetoric and imperial adventure, notably a second unsuccessful attempt to conquer Ethiopia in 1896. Giovanni Giolitti, who served as prime minister for three terms between 1903 and 1914, adopted a policy known as *trasformismo* (from the word for “transform”), using bribes and public works programs to gain support from deputies in parliament. Political opponents called Giolitti the “Minister of the Underworld” and accused him of preferring to buy the votes of local bosses rather than spending money to develop the Italian economy or build solid institutions. In a wave of protest, urban workers in the industrial cities of Turin and Milan and rural laborers in the depressed agrarian south demanded change. Giolitti appeased them by instituting social welfare programs and, in 1912, virtually complete manhood suffrage.



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The Struggle for Ethiopia, 1896

Anti-Semitism, Nationalism, and Zionism in Mass Politics

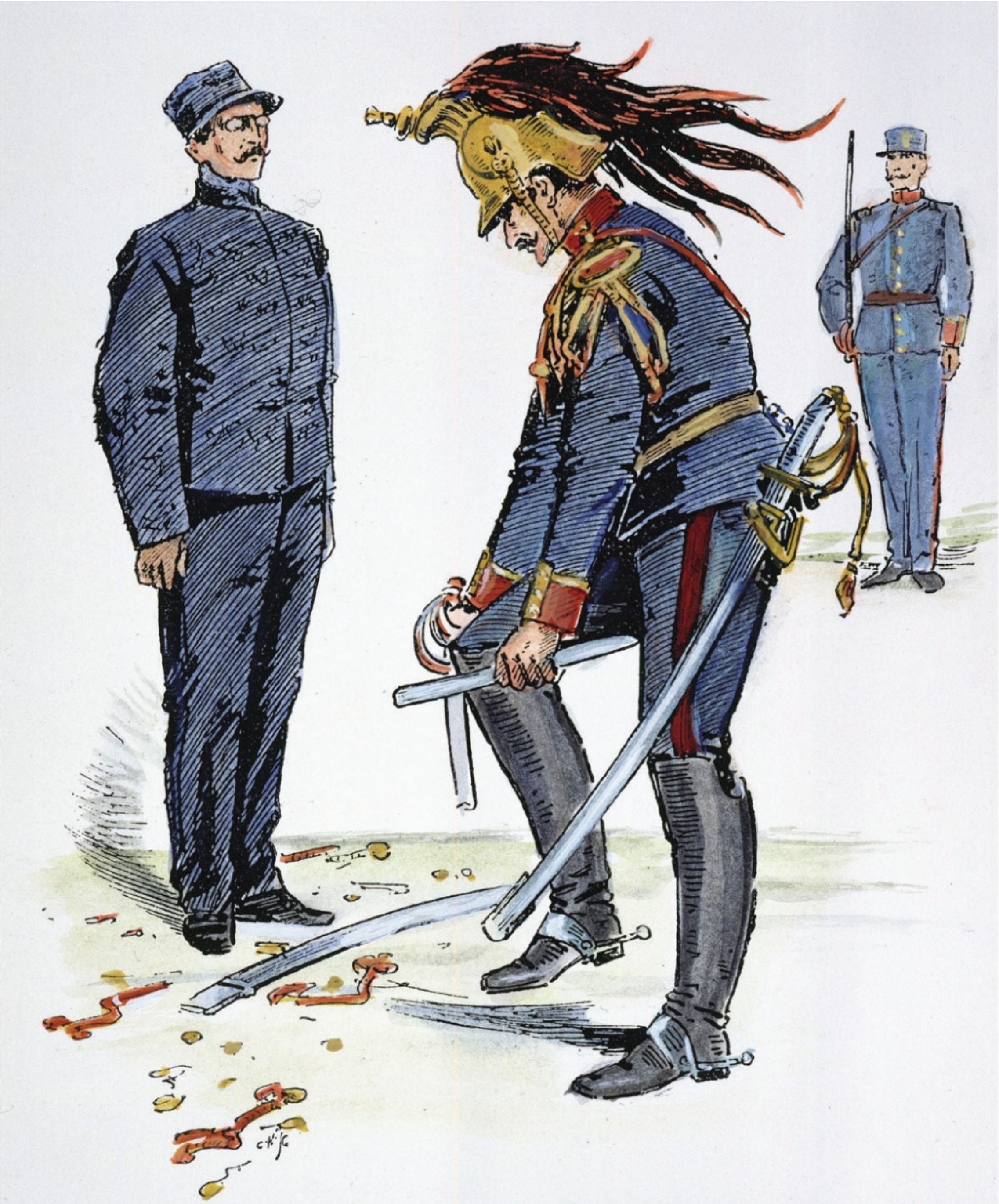
A real crisis for liberal political values of equal citizenship and tolerance came in the two decades leading up to World War I when politicians used anti-Semitism and militant nationalism to win elections. They told voters that Jews were responsible for the difficulties of everyday life and that anti-Semitism and increased patriotism would fix all problems. Voters from many levels of society responded enthusiastically, agreeing that Jews were villains and the nation-state was the hero in the struggle to survive. In both republics and monarchies, anti-Semitism and militant nationalism provided those on the radical right with a platform to gain working-class votes and thus combat the social democracy of the radical left. This new radical right included representatives of the agrarian nobility, aristocrats who controlled the military, and highly placed clergy. Liberals had hoped that voting by the masses would make politics more harmonious as parliamentary debate led to compromise and tolerance among classes. Instead politics became loud and hateful, a departure from consensus building and rational debate.

A strong tradition of anti-Semitism already existed in Russian politics. Russian tsar **Nicholas II** (r. 1894–1917) believed firmly in Russian orthodox religion, autocratic politics, and anti-Semitic social values. Taught as a child to hate Jews, Nicholas blamed them for any failure in Russian policy. He increasingly limited where Jews could live and how they could earn a living and helped make pogroms a regular and horrific occurrence in the lives of Russian Jews.

Principles of equal citizenship and tolerance were also tested in France. Powerful forces in the aristocracy, the military, and the Catholic church hoped that the Third Republic, like earlier ones, could be overthrown. Economic downturns, widespread corruption, and attempted coups made the republic more vulnerable, while the press attributed such failings to Jews. Despite an excellent system of primary education promoting literacy and rational thinking, the public tended to agree.

Meanwhile the clergy and monarchists kept hammering the message that the republic was nothing but a conspiracy of Jews.

Amid rising anti-Semitism, a Jewish captain in the French army, Alfred Dreyfus, was charged with spying for Germany in 1894. The military, whose upper echelons were traditionally aristocratic, Catholic, and monarchist, produced manufactured “evidence” to gain Dreyfus’s conviction even though the espionage continued. Then several newspapers received proof that the army had fabricated documents to convict Dreyfus. In 1898, the celebrated French novelist Émile Zola published an article titled “*J’accuse*” (I accuse) on the front page of a Paris daily, exposing the web of perjury that had led to the guilty verdict. Public riots, quarrels among families and friends, and denunciations of the army followed the naming of the truly guilty individuals. The government finally pardoned Dreyfus in 1899, dismissed the aristocratic and Catholic officers responsible for the false accusations, and ended religious teaching orders to ensure a secular public school system that honored toleration and the rule of law. Still, the Dreyfus Affair bolstered the use of anti-Semitism and official lies as standard tools of politics by showing their effectiveness with the public.



Sarin Images/Granger.

The Humiliation of Alfred Dreyfus French captain Alfred Dreyfus was sent to a harsh exile after being convicted of spying for Germany. Before he was taken to Devil's Island, he was subjected to the extreme humiliation of having his officer's insignia and ribbons stripped from his uniform and his sword broken before hundreds of troops and a mob of screaming anti-Semites. We can only imagine what this meant to a man in his mid-thirties who, despite being Jewish, had worked his way through an elite military school and up the ranks of the army. What do you see in his bearing? Would you relate Dreyfus's treatment and suffering to that of other innocent people convicted in our own day?

The ruling elites in Germany also used anti-Semitism to win support from those who feared the consequences of Germany's dramatic industrialization. The agrarian elites, who still controlled the highest reaches of government, lost ground to industry as agriculture (from which they drew their fortunes) declined as a force in Germany's economy. As industrialists grew wealthier and new opportunities drew rural workers to the cities, the agrarian elites came to loathe industry for challenging their authority. A Berlin newspaper noted, "The agrarians' hate for cities … blinds them to the simplest needs and the most natural demands of the urban population." To woo the masses, conservatives and a growing radical right claimed that Jews, who made up less than 1 percent of the German population, were responsible for destroying traditional society. They hurled diatribes against Jews, "new women," and Social Democrats, whom they branded as internationalist and unpatriotic. This new right contributed to the rise of a modern politics that rejected parliamentary consensus building. It relied instead on inventing enemies, fostering hatreds, and thus dividing what was supposed to be a unified nation-state.

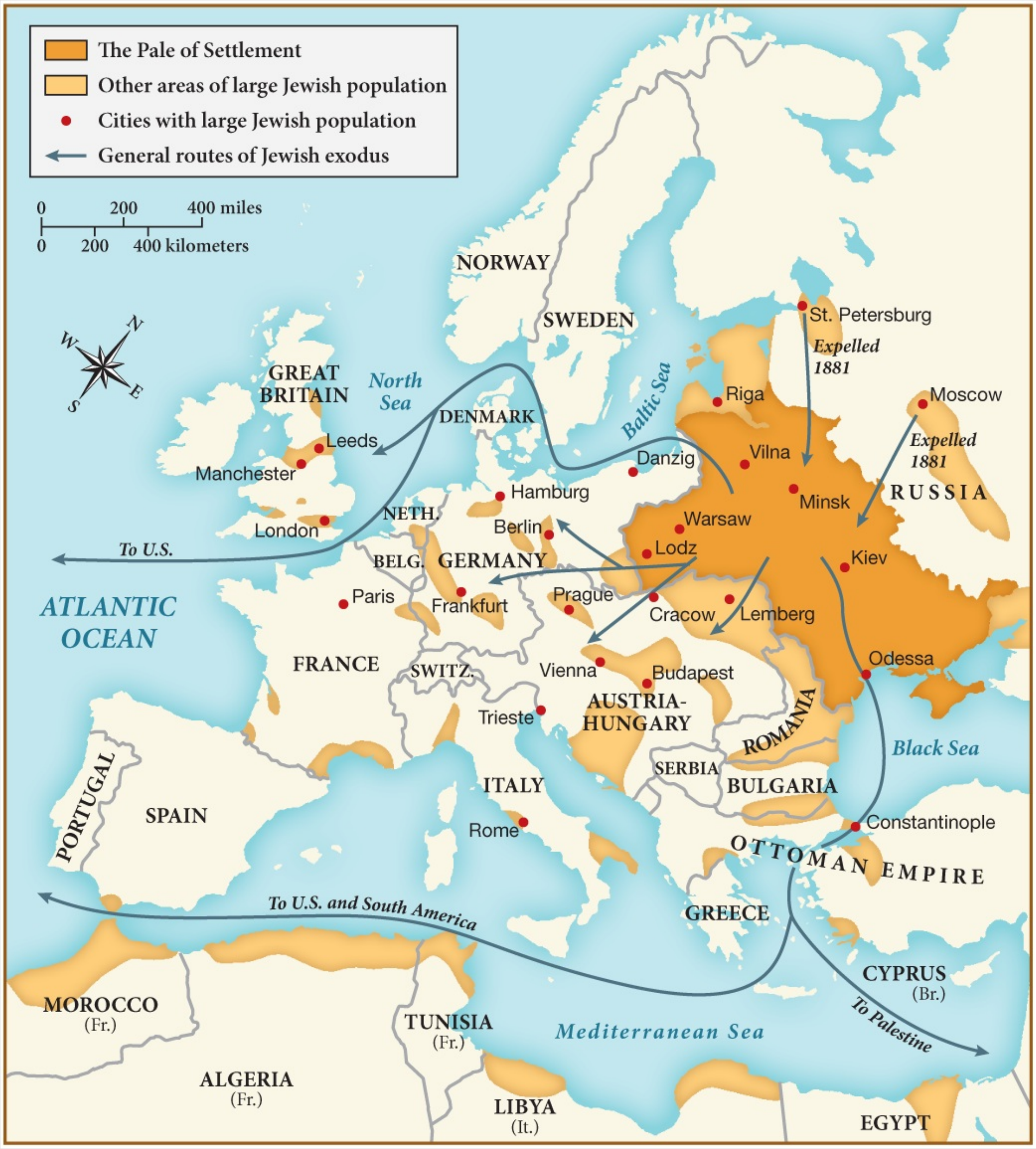
Politicians in the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary also used militant nationalism and anti-Semitism to win votes, but here the presence of many ethnic groups meant greater complexity in the politics of hate. Foremost among the nationalists were the Hungarians, who wanted autonomy for themselves while forcibly imposing Hungarian language and culture on all other, supposedly inferior, ethnic groups in Hungary. They flaunted two pieces of evidence: Budapest's position as a thriving industrial city, and the export of Hungarian grain from the vast estates of the Magyar nobility, which rescued the monarchy’s finances. The nationalists disrupted the Hungarian parliament so regularly that it weakened the orderly functioning of government.

Although capable of causing trouble for the empire, Hungarian nationalists, who mostly represented agrarian wealth, were themselves vulnerable. Hungary’s ethnic groups — Slovaks, Romanians, and Ruthenians — resisted Magyarization. Industrial workers struck to protest horrendous labor conditions, and 100,000 activists gathered in the fall of 1905 in front of the Hungarian parliament to demonstrate for the vote. Other nationalities across the Dual Monarchy intensified their demands. Croats, Serbs, and other Slavic groups in the south called for equality with the Hungarians. The central government allowed the Czechs a greater number of Czech officials in the government because of the growing industrial prosperity of their region. Yet steps favoring the Czechs provoked protest from the traditionally dominant ethnic Germans. When Austria-Hungary decreed in 1897 that government officials in the Czech region of the empire would have to speak Czech as well as German, Germans rioted. Although the imperial government in Vienna faced a raft of competing claims across Austria-Hungary, loyalty to the dynasty remained intact.

Still, tensions mounted as German politicians in Vienna linked the growing power of Hungarians and Czechs to Jews. Karl Lueger’s newly formed Christian Social Party attracted those losing standing and security amid modernization: the aristocracy, Catholics, artisans, and shopkeepers. Lueger’s hate-filled speeches helped elect him mayor of

Vienna in 1895, but his ethnic nationalism and anti-Semitism threatened the multinationalism on which Austria-Hungary was based. Thereafter, ever more politicians used anti-Semitism in their electioneering, calling Jews the “sucking vampire” of modernity and blaming them for the tumult of migration, the economy, and just about anything else people found disturbing. Politics became a thing not of debate in parliaments but of violent racism in the streets.

Anti-Semites lumped Jewish people into one hated group, but like members of any other religion, Jews were divided by social class and education. Many Jews in western Europe moved out of Jewish neighborhoods, intermarried with Christians, and in some cases converted to Christianity — practices known as assimilation. Many well-educated Jews favored the classical culture of the German Empire because it seemed more rational and liberal than the ritualistic Catholicism of Austria-Hungary. By contrast, less prosperous Jews, such as those in Russia and Romania, were increasingly singled out for persecution, legally disadvantaged, and forced to live in ghettos. Jews from these countries might seek refuge in the nearby cities of central and eastern Europe where they could eke out a living as day laborers or artisans. Jewish migration to North and South America also swelled (Map 24.1). By 1900, Jews such as Freud were prominent in cultural and economic affairs in cities across the European continent even as far more were discriminated against and victimized elsewhere.



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MAP 24.1 Jewish Migrations in the Late Nineteenth Century

Pogroms in eastern Europe, increasingly violent anti-Semitism across the continent, and the search for opportunity motivated Jews to migrate to many parts of the world. Between 1890 and 1914, some five million Jews left Russia alone. They moved to European cities, to North America and South America, and, as Zionism progressed, to Palestine.

Amid migration and continued persecution, a spirit of Jewish nationalism arose along with a thriving Jewish culture in cities such as Odessa. “Why should we be any less worthy than any other … people?” one Jewish leader asked. “What about our nation, our language, our land?” In the 1880s, the Ukrainian physician Leon Pinsker, seeing the Jews’ lack of national territory as key to their persecution, advocated founding a homeland for the Jewish people. In 1896, Theodor Herzl, strongly influenced by Pinsker, called for migration to create a Jewish nation-state, the goal of a movement known as **Zionism**. A Hungarian-born Jew, Herzl experienced anti-Semitism firsthand as a Viennese journalist and a writer in Paris during the Dreyfus Affair. Backed by eastern European Jews, he organized the first International Zionist Congress (1897). By 1914, some eighty-five thousand Jews had moved into Palestine — the region finally chosen for the Jewish nation.

REVIEW QUESTION

What were the points of tension in European political life at the beginning of the twentieth century?

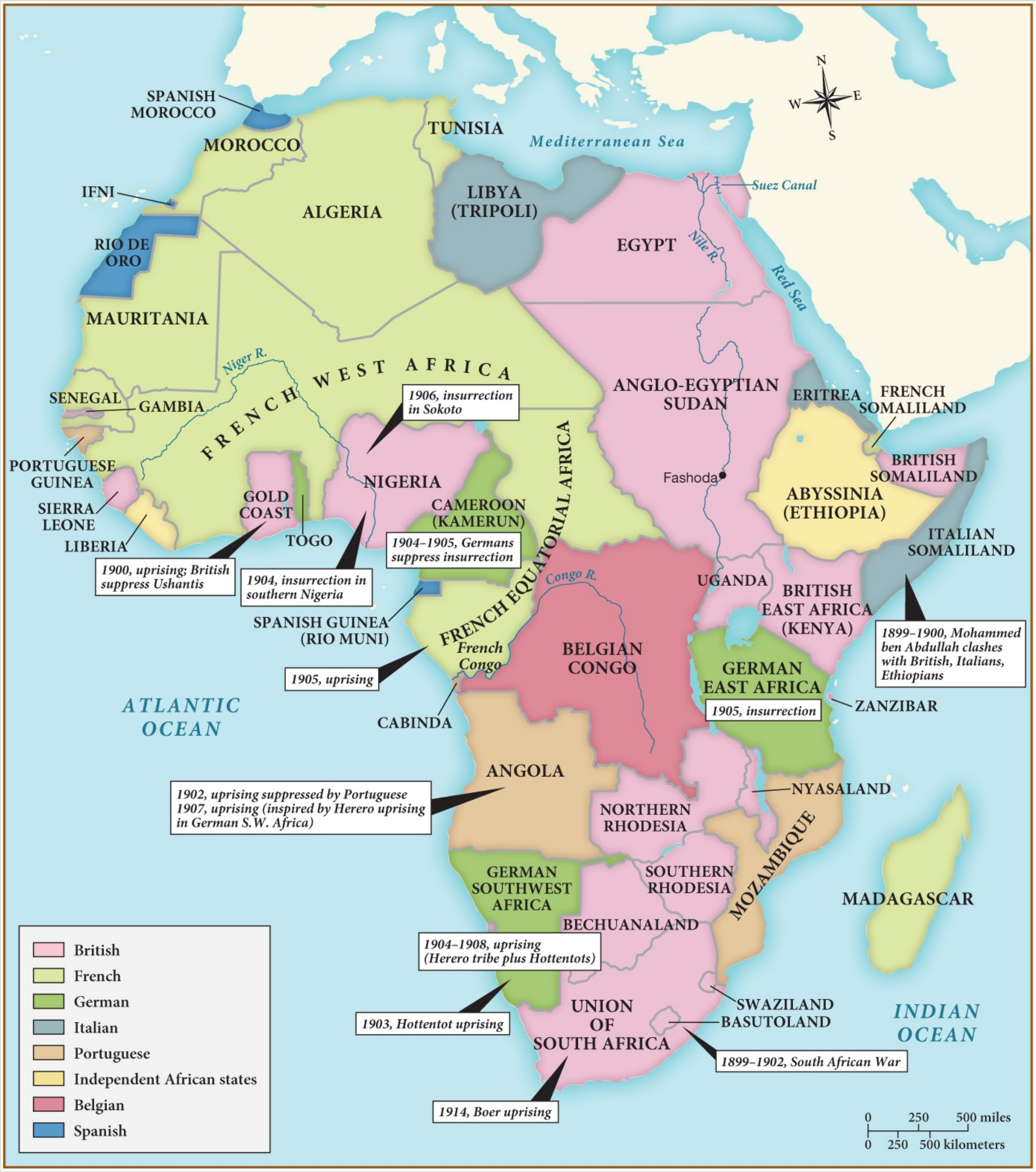
European Imperialism Challenged

Anti-Semitism was only one sign that the conditions of modern life were troubling and that the rule of law and other liberal values like tolerance stemming from Enlightenment times were threatened. Militant nationalism across the West made it difficult for nations to calm international tensions. This nationalist atmosphere heated up, and newcomers Italy and Germany now fought for a place at the imperial table, making imperial rivalries among the European powers alarmingly worse. Colonized peoples challenged European control, while Japanese expansionism came close in 1904–1905 to toppling the mighty Russian Empire. Globally, activists contested imperial policies and violence afflicted much of the modernizing world.

The Trials of Empire

Everyone was quick to violence when it came to empire, and Britain in its pursuit of the **South African War** (or Boer War) of 1899–1902 was no exception. In 1896, Cecil Rhodes, then prime minister of the Cape Colony in southern Africa, directed a raid into the neighboring territory of the Transvaal in hopes of stirring up trouble between the Boers, descendants of early Dutch settlers, and the more recent immigrants from Britain who sought gold and other mining riches. Rhodes aimed for a British takeover of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, which the Boers independently controlled. The Boers, however, dealt Britain a bloody defeat.

In 1899, Britain began full-scale operations against the Boers. Foreign correspondents covering the South African War reported on appalling bloodshed, unfit conditions of average British soldiers, and inhumane treatment of South Africans herded into an unfamiliar institution — the lethal concentration camp, where tens of thousands, mostly women and children, died. Britain finally annexed the area after defeating the Boers in 1902. Whites proceeded to seize the lands of Black people, confining them to ever smaller amounts of territory — a repressive system ultimately named apartheid (“apartness” in Afrikaans). As these events unfolded, prominent Britons began to call imperialism not the work of civilization but an act of barbarism (Map 24.2).



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MAP 24.2 Africa in 1914

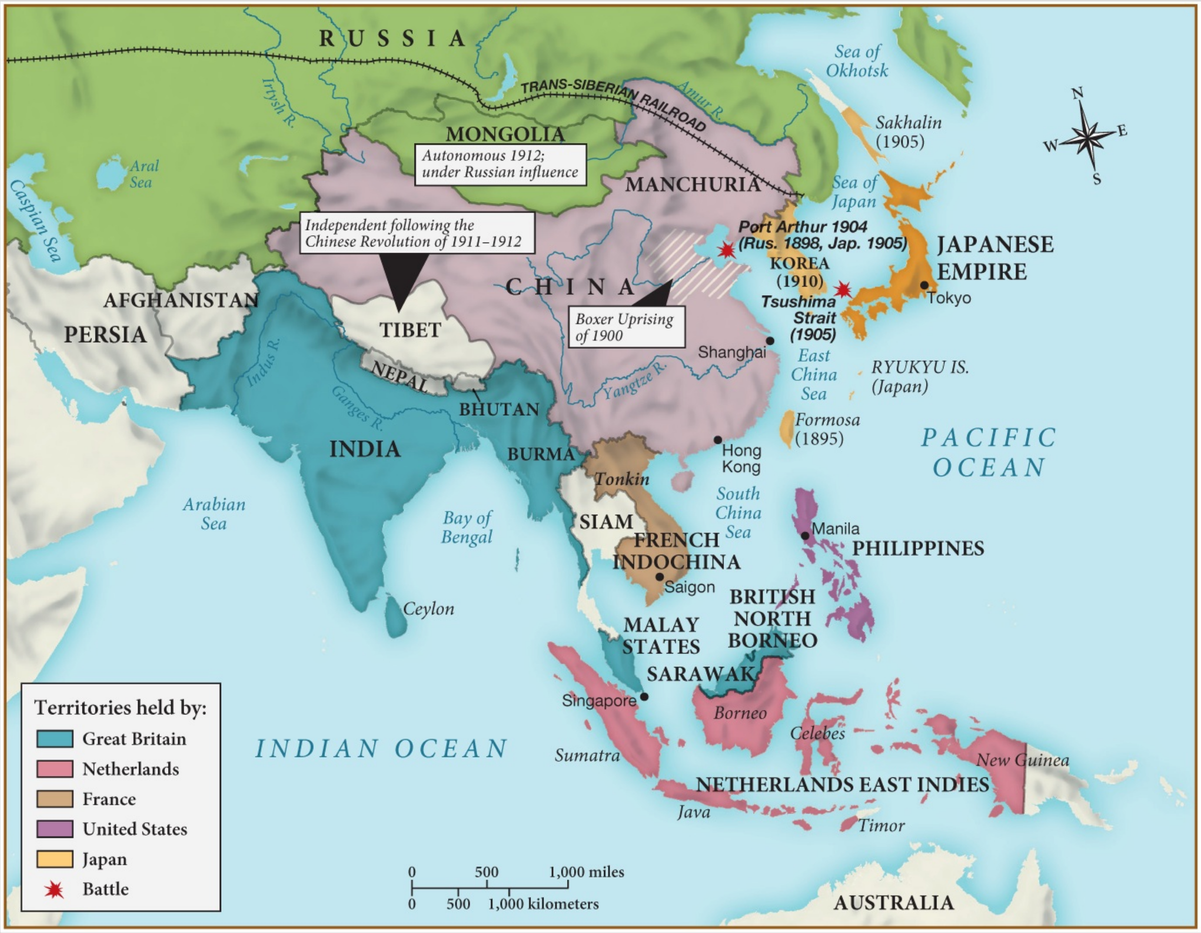
Uprisings intensified in Africa in the early twentieth century as Europeans tried both to consolidate their rule and to extract more wealth from the Africans. As Europeans were putting down rebellions against their rule, a pan-African movement arose, attempting to unite Africans as one people despite the diversity of cultures and ethnicities.

Nearly simultaneously with the South African War, the United States defeated Spain in the Spanish-American War in 1898 and took Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines as its trophies. Both Cuba and the Philippines had begun vigorous efforts to free themselves from Spanish rule before the war. Experienced in conquest to expand, the United States had crushed native Americans and annexed Hawaii in 1898. Urged on by the inflammatory daily press, the United States went to war against Spain, and then annexed Puerto Rico and Guam and bought the Philippines from Spain instead of honoring its announced belief in peoples' freedom. Cuba was theoretically independent, but the United States monitored its activities.

Further, the United States waged a bloody war against the Filipinos, who wanted independence, not another imperial ruler. British poet Rudyard Kipling had encouraged the United States to "take up the white man's burden" by bringing the benefits of Western civilization to those liberated from Spain. However, American brutality in the Philippines, where 200,000 local people were slaughtered, disillusioned some in the Western public, who liked to imagine native peoples joyously welcoming white "civilizers."

Almost simultaneously, Italy won a costly victory over the Ottoman Empire in Libya, and Italian hopes rose for imperial grandeur in the future. Germany likewise joined the imperial contest, demanding an end to Britain's and France's domination among the colonial powers. German bankers and businessmen were active across Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America, and by the turn of the century, Germany controlled colonies in Southwest Africa, the Cameroons, Togoland, and East Africa. Despite these successes, Germany, too, met humiliation and faced constant problems, especially in its dealings not only with Britain and France but also with local peoples in Africa and elsewhere who resisted the German takeover. As Italy and Germany joined the aggressive pursuit of new territory, imperialist greed, heated rivalry, and nationalist passion soared.

Japan's rise as an imperial power challenged the West's confident approach to imperialism. Japan defeated China in 1894 in the Sino-Japanese War, which ended China's domination of Korea. The European powers, alarmed by this victory, forced Japan to relinquish most of its gains, a move that outraged and insulted the Japanese. Japan's insecurity had risen with Russian expansion of the Trans-Siberian Railroad through Manchuria, sending millions of Russian settlers eastward. Angered by the continuing presence of Russian troops in Manchuria, the Japanese attacked the tsar's forces at Port Arthur in 1904 (Map 24.3).



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MAP 24.3 Imperialism in Asia, 1894–1914

The established imperialists came to blows in East Asia as they struggled for influence in China and as they met a formidable new rival — Japan. Simultaneously, liberation groups like the Boxers were taking shape, committed to throwing off restraints imposed by foreign powers and eliminating these interlopers altogether. In 1911, revolutionary Sun Yat-sen overthrew the Qing dynasty, which had left China unprepared to resist foreign takeover, and started the country on a different course.

The Russian military proved inept in the ensuing Russo-Japanese War, even though it often had better equipment or strategic advantage. Russia's Baltic Fleet sailed halfway around the globe only to be completely destroyed by Japan in the battle of Tsushima Strait (1905).

The Russian defeat opened an era of Japanese domination in East Asian politics. As one English general observed, “I have today seen the most stupendous spectacle it is possible for the mortal brain to conceive — Asia advancing, Europe falling back.” Japan annexed Korea in 1910 and began to target other areas for colonization.

The Russian Empire Threatened

Alongside the humiliating loss to Japan, revolution erupted in Russia in 1905, and the empire tottered on the brink of chaos. The mighty Russian Empire had concealed its weaknesses well even as state-sponsored industrialization in the 1890s had made the country appear modern. Yet, burdened by taxes to pay for industrialization and by debts owed for the land acquired during emancipation, peasants revolted in isolated uprisings at the turn of the century. Unrest occurred in the cities, too: in 1903, skilled workers led strikes in Baku; the unity of Armenians and Tatars in these strikes showed how Russification had made political cooperation possible among the various ethnicities. Worker activism, along with Japan’s victory, shook the autocratic regime.

On a Sunday in January 1905, a crowd gathered outside the tsar’s Winter Palace in St. Petersburg to march in a demonstration to make Nicholas II aware of the brutal working conditions they suffered. Nicholas had often traveled the empire, displaying himself as the divinely ordained “father” of his people; therefore, his “children” thought it natural to appeal to him for aid. Leading the demonstration was a priest who, unknown to the crowd, was a police informant and agitator. Instead of allowing the marchers to pass, troops guarding the palace shot into the trusting crowd, killing hundreds and wounding thousands. Thus began the Revolution of 1905, as news of “Bloody Sunday” moved outraged workers elsewhere to rebel.

In almost a year of turmoil across Russia, urban workers struck over wages, hours, and factory conditions and organized their own councils, called soviets. In June, sailors on the battleship *Potemkin* mutinied; in October, a massive railroad strike brought rail transportation to a halt; and in November, uprisings broke out in Moscow. The tsar’s forces kept killing protesters, but their deaths intensified the opposition of artisans and industrial workers, peasants, professionals, upper-class reformers, and women, many demanding an end to discriminatory laws such as those firing women teachers who married. Liberals from the zemstvos (local councils) and the intelligentsia (a Russian word for well-educated elites) demanded the creation of a constitutional monarchy and representative legislature. They believed that the government’s reliance on censorship and the secret police kept the empire backward.

The tsar finally yielded by creating a representative body called the **Duma**. Although very few Russians could vote for representatives to the Duma, its mere existence, along with the new right of open public debate, allowed people to present their grievances to a responsive body. Political parties committed to parliamentary rather than revolutionary programs also took shape. From 1907 to 1917, the Duma convened, but twice when the tsar disliked its recommendations he simply sent the delegates home. Nicholas had an able administrator in Prime Minister Pyotr Stolypin (1863–1911), who ended the mir system of communal farming and canceled the land redemption payments that had burdened the peasants since their emancipation in 1861. His reforms allowed people to move to the cities in search of jobs and created a larger group of independent farmers.

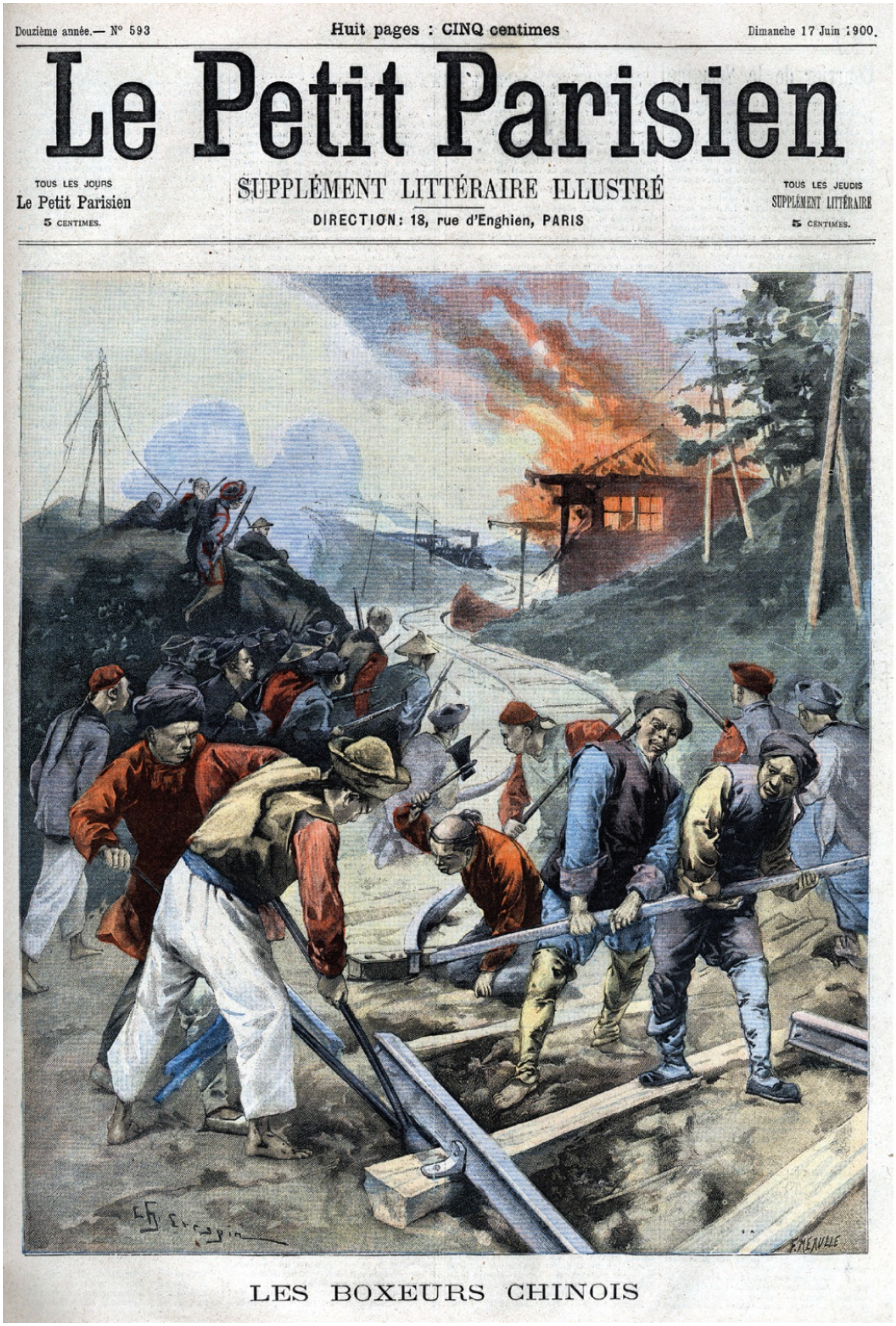
Bent on reform, Stolypin was also determined to restore law and order. He clamped down on revolutionary organizations, sentencing so many of their members to death by hanging that nooses were nicknamed “Stolypin neckties.” Still, rebels continued to assassinate government officials, and Stolypin himself was assassinated in 1911. Stolypin’s reforms promoted peasant well-being, which encouraged what one historian has called a “new peasant assertiveness.” The industrial workforce also grew, but strikes continued, culminating in a general strike in St. Petersburg in 1914. The imperial government’s refusal to share power through the Duma left the way open to an even greater upheaval in 1917.

Growing Resistance to Colonial Domination

Japanese military victories over the Qing in China and the Romanovs in Russia upset the status quo in both countries and encouraged nationalist protests across the globe, further setting the West on edge. Uprisings began in China after the 1895 defeat by Japan. Nonhuman factors also affected the Chinese people as drought and famine came to plague the empire. Despairing peasants organized into secret societies to expel the foreigners and restore Chinese dignity and power. One organization was the Society of the Righteous and Harmonious Fists, commonly called the

Boxers, whose members maintained that ritual boxing would protect them from a variety of evils, including bullets. Given the defeat of China's armies, Qing de facto ruler, the dowager empress Tz'u-hsi (Cixi; 1835–1908), encouraged the Boxers. In 1900, amid Boxer murders of missionaries and Chinese Christians whom they blamed for China's troubles, eight colonial powers put down the Boxers, devastating Boxer-held areas by burning communities and stripping the Chinese of their individual possessions. Once again, the Chinese government owed a huge indemnity and endured further military occupation.

The Boxer Uprising thoroughly discredited the Qing dynasty, leading a group of revolutionaries to overthrow its rulers in 1911 and to declare China a republic the next year. Their leader, Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), who had been educated in Hawaii and Japan, combined Western ideas and Chinese values in his Three Principles of the People: "nationalism, democracy, and socialism." For example, Sun's socialism included the Chinese belief that all people should have enough food, and his Nationalist Party called for revival of the Chinese tradition of correctness in behavior between governors and the governed, modern economic reform, and an end to Western domination of trade. Sun's stirring leadership and the changes brought about by the 1911 revolution helped weaken Western imperialism.



Douzième année.— N° 593

Huit pages : CINQ centimes

Dimanche 17 Juin 1900.

Le Petit Parisien

TOUS LES JOURS
Le Petit Parisien
5 CENTIMES.

SUPPLÉMENT LITTÉRAIRE ILLUSTRÉ
DIRECTION: 18, rue d'Enghien, PARIS

TOUS LES JEUDIS
SUPPLÉMENT LITTÉRAIRE
5 CENTIMES.

LES BOXEURS CHINOIS

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Boxer Siege of the Foreigner Settlement at Tientsin The Boxers felt that the presence of foreigners had caused a series of disasters in China, including the defection of the Chinese from traditional religion, the flow of wealth from the country, and a string of natural disasters such as famine. This depiction in a French newspaper shows the Boxers' ferocity toward these foreigners, as they tear up railroad tracks — emblems of the imposition of disastrous elements of Western society such as railroads. Beyond that, the Boxers attacked and even killed foreigners and their Chinese allies such as converts to Christianity.

In India, the Japanese victory over Russia and the Revolution of 1905 stimulated politicians to take a more radical course than that offered by the Indian National Congress. The anti-British Hindu leader B. G. Tilak, less moderate than Congress reformers, urged noncooperation: "We shall not give them assistance to collect revenue and keep peace. We shall not assist them in fighting beyond the frontiers or outside India with Indian blood and money." Tilak contrasted Hindu values with British brutality and urged outright rebellion. This brand of nationalism rejected assimilation to British culture and gradual change. Trying to stop Tilak, the British sponsored a rival nationalist group, the Muslim League, in an attempt to divide Muslims from Hindus in the Congress. Challenged, Britain allowed Indian representation in ruling councils and a limited right to vote. Yet discontent mounted, as did worries about the future among the most clear-sighted imperialists.

Revolutionary nationalism was also weakening the Ottoman Empire, which for centuries had controlled much of the Mediterranean. Rebellions plagued Ottoman rule, and this resistance prevented Ottoman reformers from successfully strengthening the government. Sultan Abdul Hamid II (r. 1876–1909) tried to revitalize the multiethnic empire by using Islam to counteract the rising nationalism of the Serbs, Bulgarians, and Macedonians. Instead, he unintentionally provoked Turkish nationalism, which heralded the uniqueness of the Turks' culture, history, and language, as many European ethnic groups were also doing. The Japanese defeat of Russia in 1904–1905 electrified these nationalists with the vision of a modern Turkey becoming “the Japan of the Middle East,” as they called it. In 1908, a group of nationalists called the Young Turks took control of the government in Constantinople. The Young Turks' triumph motivated other ethnic groups in the Middle East and the Balkans to demand an end to Ottoman domination in their regions (see Primary Source Analysis). Strong contingents of feminist-nationalists mobilized women to work for independence. However, the Young Turks, often aided by European powers with financial interests in the region, brutally repressed nationalist uprisings in Egypt, Syria, and the Balkans that their own success had encouraged.

The rebellions were part of the turmoil in global relations during the years just before World War I, as empires became the scene of growing opposition drawing inspiration from Japanese, Russian, and Turkish events. In German Southwest Africa, the military responded to native resistance in 1905 with a scorched-earth policy, eventually killing more than 100,000 Africans there. To maintain their grip on Indochina, the French closed the University of Hanoi, executed Indochinese intellectuals, and deported thousands of suspected nationalists. A French general stationed there summed up the fears of many colonial rulers: “The gravest fact of our actual political situation in Indochina is not the recent trouble in Tonkin [or] the plots undertaken against us but in the muted but growing hatred that our subjects show toward us.”

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

"Going to Battle" (A Turkish Poem)

Both old and new empires experienced waves of nationalist sentiment during the years 1890–1914. Turks dominated the Ottoman Empire and their newfound nationalism was directed at the European powers trying to encroach on Ottoman lands. Turkish nationalism, however, was also announced as the unifying force and dominant value of the multinational Ottoman Empire and thus met with resistance from the many groups such as Slavs, Arabs, and others within the empire. The poem here, "Going to Battle," expresses Turkish nationalism and is now well known to children across Turkey. Mehmed Emin was twenty-eight when he published the work in 1897. His devotion to nationalism prompted him to adopt the name Yurdakul, meaning "slave to the homeland." After World War I, Mehmed Emin became a prominent politician in the new Turkish nation.

"GOING TO BATTLE"

I am a Turk, my religion, my race are great,
My breast, my soul are filled with fire.
He who is a man is the servant of his fatherland.
The Turkish child does not stay at home — I go.
I do not allow the book of Muhammad to be abolished,
I do not suffer the flag of Osman to be taken away,
I do not permit the enemy to attack my fatherland
The House of God will not be destroyed — I go.
The earth is the home of my ancestors;
My house, my village are a corner of this place.
Here is the homeland, here is the lap of God.
The fatherland needs sons — I go.
My god is witness that I will keep my word,
All my love for my country deep in my heart,
In my eyes nothing but my fatherland.
The enemy shall not take my native soil — I go.
I wipe my tears with a white shirt,
I whet my knife with a black stone.
I desire grandeur for my fatherland;
No one stays in this world forever — I go.

Source: Robert G. Landen, ed., *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East: Selected Readings*

(New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1970), 120.

QUESTION TO CONSIDER

In what ways do the nationalist sentiments of the poem resemble those of nations further to the west, and in what ways do they differ?

REVIEW QUESTION

How and why did events in overseas empires from the 1890s on challenge Western faith in imperialism?

Roads to War

Internationally, competition intensified among the great powers and drove Western nationalists to become more aggressive. In the spring of 1914, U.S. president Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) sent a trusted adviser to Europe to observe the rising tensions there. “It is militarism run stark mad,” the envoy reported, adding that he foresaw an “awful cataclysm” ahead. Government spending on what people called the arms race had promoted economic growth while it menaced the future. As early as the mid-1890s, one socialist had called the situation a “cold war” because the hostile atmosphere made war seem a certainty. By 1914, the air was even more charged, with militant nationalism in the Balkan states and politics — both at home and worldwide — propelling Europeans toward mass destruction.

Competing Alliances and Clashing Ambitions

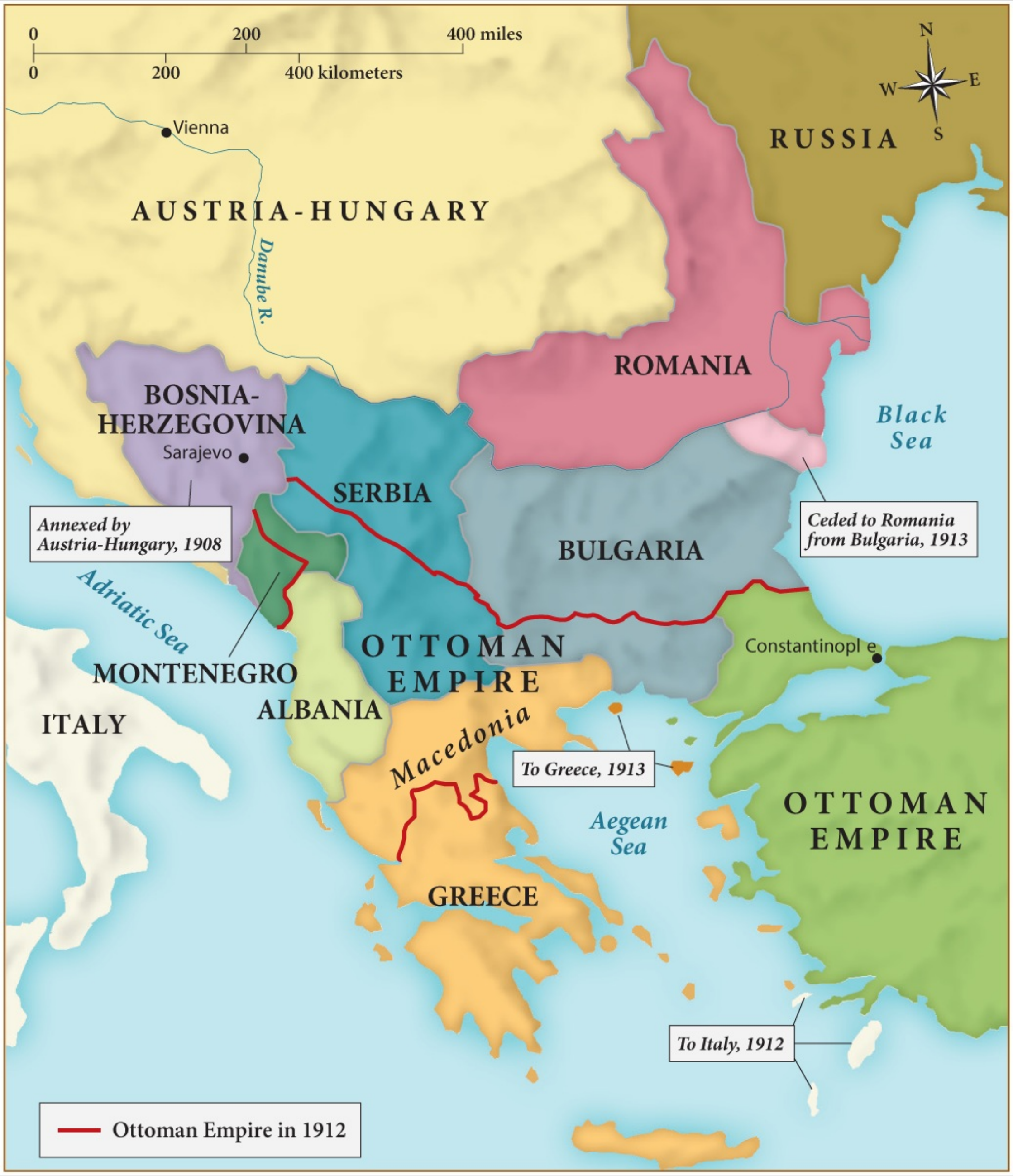
As the twentieth century opened, the Triple Alliance that Bismarck had negotiated among Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy confronted an opposing alliance between France and Russia, created in the 1890s. The wild card in the diplomatic scenario was Great Britain, traditional enemy of France, especially in the contest for global power. Britain and France — constant rivals in Africa — edged to the brink of war in 1898 over competing claims to Fashoda, a town in the Sudan. The threat of conflict led France to withdraw, showing both nations as embracing a truce out of mutual self-interest. To prevent another Fashoda, they entered into secret agreements, the first of which (1904) recognized British claims in Egypt and French claims in Morocco. This agreement marked the beginning of the British-French alliance called the **Entente Cordiale**. Still, French statesmen feared that, should war break out, their ally might remain neutral.

Kaiser William II inflamed the diplomatic atmosphere just as France and Britain were joining forces. After victory in the Franco-Prussian War, Bismarck had proclaimed Germany a "satisfied" nation and worked to avoid further wars. William II, in contrast, was emboldened by Germany's growing industrial might and announced in 1901 that Germany needed greater global power to be achieved by "friendly conquests." His actions, however, were far from friendly, and he used the opportunity presented by the defeat of France's ally Russia in 1904–1905 to contest French advances in Morocco. A boastful man who was easily prodded to rash actions by his advisers, William landed in Morocco in 1905 to block the French. To resolve what became known as the First Moroccan Crisis, an international conference meeting in Spain in 1906 upheld French claims in North Africa.

When the French took over Morocco completely in 1911, Germany triggered the Second Moroccan Crisis by sending a gunboat to the port of Agadir and again demanding concessions from the French. This time no power — not even Austria-Hungary — backed Germany. The British and French now strengthened the Entente Cordiale.

Germany's territorial claims unsettled the rest of Europe, particularly the Balkans. German statesmen began planning their creation of a

Mitteleuropa — a term that literally meant “central Europe” but in their minds also included the Balkans and Asia Minor. The Habsburgs, firmly backed by Germany, judged that their own expansion into the Balkans and the resulting addition of even more ethnic groups would weaken the claims of any single ethnic minority in the Dual Monarchy. Russia, however, saw *itself* as the protector of Slavs in the region and wanted to replace the Ottomans as the dominant Balkan power, especially since Japan had blocked Russian hopes for expansion to the east. Austria’s swift annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina during the Young Turks’ revolt in 1908 enraged not only the Russians but the Serbs as well, who wanted Bosnia as part of an enlarged Serbia (Map 24.4).



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MAP 24.4 The Balkans, 1908–1914

Balkan peoples — mixed in religion, ethnicity, and political views — were successful in asserting their desire for independence, especially in the First Balkan War, which claimed territory from the Ottoman Empire. Their increased autonomy sparked rivalries among them and continued to attract attention from the great powers. Three empires in particular — the Russian, Ottoman, and Austro-Hungarian — simultaneously wanted influence for themselves in the region, which became a powder keg of competing ambitions.

Even without the many greedy eyes focused on the Balkans, the situation would have been explosive. The nineteenth century had seen the growth of activism around ethnicity as the basis for national independence from the Ottomans. Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Montenegro, emerging as autonomous states, sought more Ottoman and Habsburg land to cement a common ethnicity — a difficult desire given the dense intermingling of ethnicities throughout the region. Nonetheless, war for territory was on these nationalists' agenda.

In the First Balkan War, in 1912, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Montenegro joined forces to gain Macedonia and Albania from the Ottomans. The victors divided up their booty, with Bulgaria gaining the most territory, but in the Second Balkan War, in 1913, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro contested Bulgarian gains. The quick victory of these allies increased Austria's concern at Serbia's rising power. The region had become perilous: both Austria-Hungary (as ruler of many Slavs) and Russia (as their would-be protector) stationed increasing numbers of troops along the borders. The situation led strategists to imagine that a quick war there — something like Bismarck's brief wars — could resolve tension and uncertainty.

The Race to Arms

In the nineteenth century, global rivalries and aspirations for national domination made readiness for war seem increasingly necessary. On the seas and in foreign lands, violence became an everyday occurrence in the drive for empire. Governments began to draft ordinary citizens for periods of two to six years into large standing armies, in contrast to the smaller forces that had served the more limited military goals of the eighteenth century. The per capita expenditure on the military rose in all the major powers between 1890 and 1914; the proportion of national budgets devoted to defense in 1910 was lowest in Austria-Hungary (at 10 percent) and highest in Germany (at 45 percent).

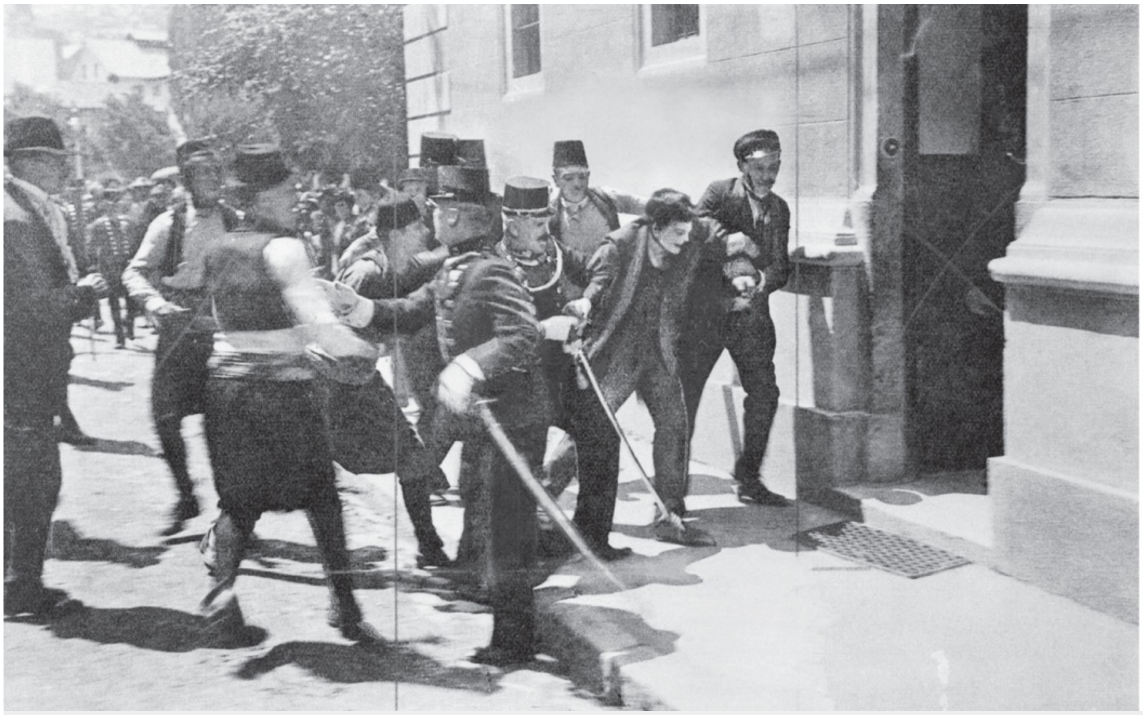
The modernization of weaponry also transformed warfare. Swedish arms manufacturer Alfred Nobel patented dynamite and developed a kind of gunpowder that improved the accuracy of guns and produced a clearer battlefield environment by reducing firearm smoke. By 1914, long-range artillery could fire on targets as far as six miles away. Munitions factories across Europe manufactured ever-growing stockpiles of howitzers, Mauser rifles, and Hotchkiss machine guns. In the Russo-Japanese and South African wars, military leaders had devised new strategies to protect their armies from the heavy firepower and deadly accuracy of the new weapons: in the Russo-Japanese War, trenches and barbed wire blanketed the front around Port Arthur.

Naval construction figured in both the arms race and the rising nationalism in politics. To defend against powerful weaponry, ships built after the mid-nineteenth century were made of metal rather than wood. Launched in 1905, HMS *Dreadnought,* a warship with unprecedented firepower, was the centerpiece of the British navy's plan to construct at least seven battleships per year. Germany also built up its navy and made itself a great land and sea power and planned naval bases as far away as the Pacific. The Germans described their fleet buildup as “a peaceful policy,” but, like British naval expansion, it only fed international hostility and intense competition in weapons manufacture.

Public relations campaigns encouraged military buildup. When critics of the arms race suggested a temporary “naval holiday” to stop British and German building, British officials sent out news releases warning that such a cutback “would throw innumerable men on the pavement.” Advocates of imperial expansion and militant patriotism lobbied for military spending as boosting national pride, while businessmen promoted large navies as beneficial to trade and the domestic economy. When Germany’s Social Democrats questioned such use of taxes and their heavy burden on workers, the press criticized the party for lack of patriotism. The Conservative Party in Great Britain, eager for more battleships, made popular the slogan “We want eight and we won’t wait.” Public enthusiasm for arms buildup and growing international competition set the stage for war. When asked in 1912 about his predictions for war and peace, a French military leader responded enthusiastically, “We shall have war. I will make it. I will win it.”

1914: War Erupts

June 28, 1914, began as an ordinary, even happy day not only for Freud’s patient the Wolf-Man but also for the Austrian archduke and heir to the Habsburg throne, Francis Ferdinand, and his wife, Sophie, as they ended a state visit to Sarajevo in Bosnia riding in a motorcade. In the crowd was a Serb nationalist, Gavrilo Princip, who had traveled in secret for several weeks to reach this destination, dreaming of reuniting his homeland of Bosnia-Herzegovina with Serbia and smuggling weapons with him to accomplish his end. Princip shot dead the unsuspecting Austrian couple.



Bettmann/Getty Images.

Arrest of the Assassin Gavrilo Princip belonged to the Young Bosnians, a group devoted to killing Habsburgs in revenge for the Austro-Hungarian monarchy’s having sent workers to colonize their homeland. In June 1914, at the age of nineteen, Princip lived out his dream, killing the heir to the Habsburg throne and his wife. Here Princip is shown being apprehended. He spent the rest of his brief life in prison and was appalled at the carnage of World War I. How would you assess Princip’s responsibility for World War I?

Some in the Habsburg government saw the assassination as an opportunity to put down the Serbians once and for all. Evidence showed that Princip had received arms and information from Serbian officials, who directed a terrorist organization from within the government. Backing a quick defeat of Serbia, German statesmen and military leaders urged the Austrians to be unyielding and promised support in case of war. The Austrians sent an ultimatum to the Serbian government, demanding suppression of terrorist groups and the participation of Austrian officials in an investigation of the crime, among other things. “You are setting Europe ablaze,” the Russian foreign minister remarked of the Austrians’ humiliating demands made on a sovereign state. Yet the Serbs were conciliatory, accepting all the terms except the presence of Austrian officials in the investigation. Kaiser William was pleased: “All reason for war is gone.” His relief proved unfounded. Austria-Hungary, confident of German backing, used the Serbs’ resistance to this one demand as the pretext for declaring war against them on July 28.

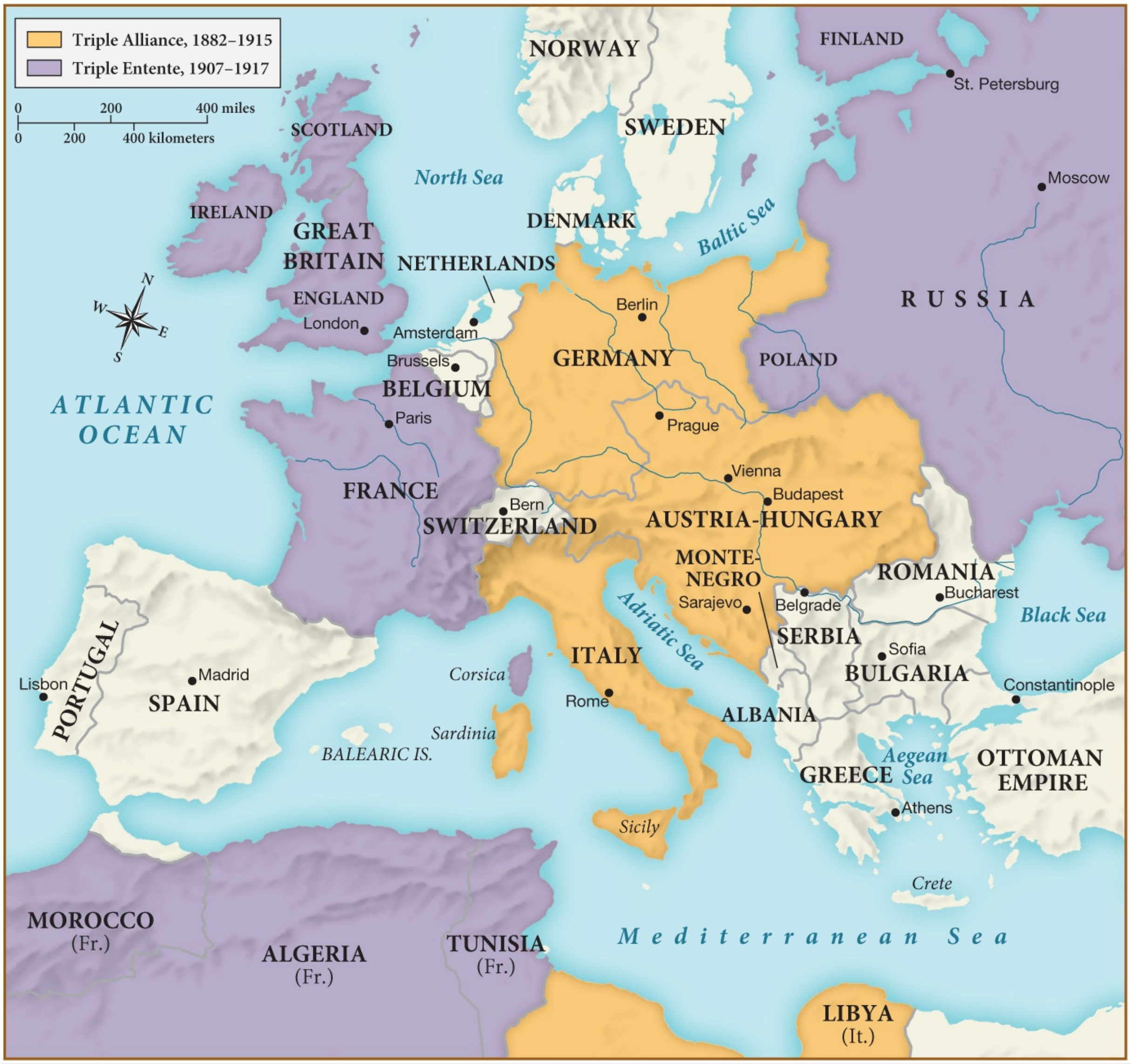
Some statesmen tried desperately to avoid war. Even the tsar and the kaiser sent pleading letters to one another not to start a European war. Still, Germany displayed firm support for Austria in hopes of convincing the French and British to stay out of the war and thus keep Russia from mobilizing. Additionally, German military leaders were focused on fighting a short, preemptive war whose territorial gains would help create a Mitteleuropa. As conservatives, they planned to impose martial law the minute war began, using it as an excuse for arresting the leadership of the German Social Democratic Party, which threatened their dominance.

The European press caught the war fever of nationalist and pro-war organizations, and military leaders promoted mobilization rather than diplomacy in the last days of July. The Austrians declared war and then ordered mobilization on July 31 in full confidence of German military aid, because as early as 1909 Germany had promised to defend Austria-

Hungary, even if that country took the offensive. Nicholas II ordered mobilization in defense of the Serbs — Russia’s Slavic allies. Encouraging the Austrian attack on Serbia, the German general staff mobilized on August 1. France declared war by virtue of its agreement to aid its ally Russia, and when Germany violated Belgian neutrality on its way to invade France, Britain entered the war on the side of France and Russia.

Review Question

What were the major factors leading to the outbreak of World War I?



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MAPPING THE WEST

Europe at the Outbreak of World War I, August 1914

All the powers expected a great, swift victory when war broke out. Many saw war as a chance to increase their territories; as rivals for trade and empire, almost all believed that war would bring them many advantages. However well prepared and invincible European nations appeared at the start of the war, relatively few would survive the conflict intact.

Analyzing the Map: Which features of the alliance system make political sense, and which do not?

Making Connections: How would setting this map in one of the larger world change your opinion of the strengths and weaknesses of the opposing alliances?

Conclusion

Rulers soon forgot their last-minute hesitations when, in some capitals, celebration erupted with the declaration of war. “A mighty wonder has taken place,” wrote a Viennese actor after watching the troops march off amid public enthusiasm. “We have become *young*.” Both sides exulted, as militant nationalism led many Europeans to favor war over peace. There were advantages to war: disturbances in private life and challenges to traditional truths would disappear, it was believed, in the crucible of war. A short conflict, people maintained, would resolve tensions ranging from the rise of the working class and would-be women voters to problems caused by global imperial competition. German military men saw war as an opportune moment to round up Social Democrats and reestablish the traditional power of an agrarian aristocracy. Liberal government based on rights and constitutions, some believed, had simply gone too far in allowing new groups full citizenship and political influence.

Modernity helped blaze the path to war. New technology, mass armies, and new techniques of persuasion supported the military buildup. With continuing violence in politics, chaos in the arts, and problems in the industrial order, there was a belief that through patriotism, war would save nations from the modern perils they faced. “Like men longing for a thunderstorm to relieve them of the summer’s sultriness,” wrote an Austrian official, “so the generation of 1914 believed in the relief that war might bring.” Tragically, any hope of relief soon faded. Instead of bringing the refreshment of summer rain, war opened an era of political turmoil, widespread suffering, massive human slaughter, and even greater doses of modernity.

Chapter 24 Review

Key Terms and People

Be sure you can identify the term or person and explain its historical significance.

new woman
Sigmund Freud
modernism
Friedrich Nietzsche
Albert Einstein
art nouveau
Emmeline Pankhurst
Nicholas II
Zionism
South African War
Duma
Entente Cordiale
Mitteleuropa

Review Questions

1. How did ideas about the self and about personal life change at the beginning of the twentieth century?

2. How did modernism transform the arts and the world of ideas?

3. What were the points of tension in European political life at the beginning of the twentieth century?

4. How and why did events in overseas empires from the 1890s on challenge Western faith in imperialism?

5. What were the major factors leading to the outbreak of World War I?

Making Connections

1. How did changes in society at the turn of the twentieth century affect the development of mass politics?

2. How was culture connected to the world of politics in the years 1890–1914?

3. How had nationalism changed since the French Revolution?

4. In what ways were imperial wars from the 1890s to 1914 relevant to the outbreak of World War I?

Important Events

1894–1895	Japan defeats China in Sino-Japanese War

1894–1899	Dreyfus Affair exposes anti-Semitism in France
1899–1902	South African War fought between Dutch descendants and British in South African states
1900	Sigmund Freud publishes *The Interpretation of Dreams*
1901	Irish National Theater is established by Maud Gonne and William Butler Yeats; death of Queen Victoria
1903	Emmeline Pankhurst founds Women's Social and Political Union
1904–1905	Japan defeats Russia in Russo-Japanese War
1905	Nicholas II establishes the Duma after revolution erupts in Russia; Albert Einstein publishes his special theory of relativity
1906	Women receive vote in Finland
1907	Pablo Picasso launches cubist painting with *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*
1908	Young Turks revolt against rule by sultan in Ottoman Empire
1911–1912	Revolutionaries overthrow Qing dynasty and declare China a republic
1914	Assassination of Austrian archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife by Serbian nationalist precipitates World War I

Consider three events

Sigmund Freud publishes *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900), Emmeline Pankhurst founds Women's Social and Political Union (1903), and Pablo Picasso launches cubist painting with *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* (1907). How did these events help to bring about modernity?

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The cultural ferment, social turmoil, and actual violence of the pre–World War I years come alive in the works listed here.

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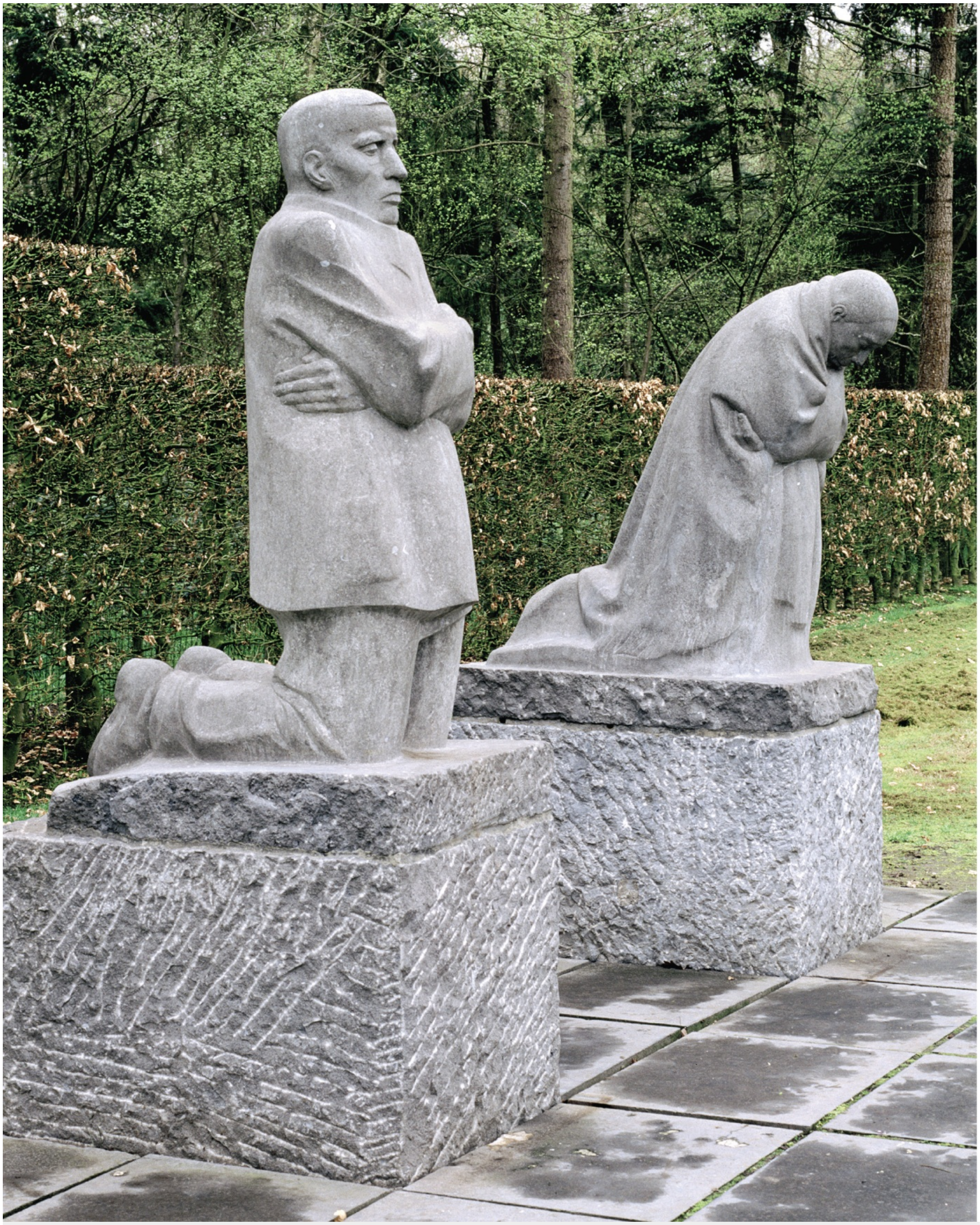
CHAPTER 25

World War I and Its Aftermath

1914–1929



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Grieving Parents Before World War I, the German artist Käthe Kollwitz gained her artistic reputation with woodcuts of handloom weavers whose livelihoods were threatened by industrialization. From 1914 on, she depicted the suffering and death that swirled around her — and never with more sober force than in these two monuments to her son Peter, who died on the western front in the first months of battle. Today one can still travel to Peter’s burial place in Vladslo, Belgium, to see this father and mother mourning their loss, like millions across Europe in those heartbreaking days.

Chapter Preview

The Great War, 1914–1918

In what ways was World War I a total war?

Protest, Revolution, and War's End, 1917–1918

Why did people rebel during World War I, and what turned rebellion into outright revolution in Russia?

The Search for Peace in an Era of Revolution

What were the major outcomes of the postwar peacemaking process?

A Decade of Recovery: Europe in the 1920s

What were the major political, social, and economic problems facing postwar Europe, and how did governments attempt to address them?

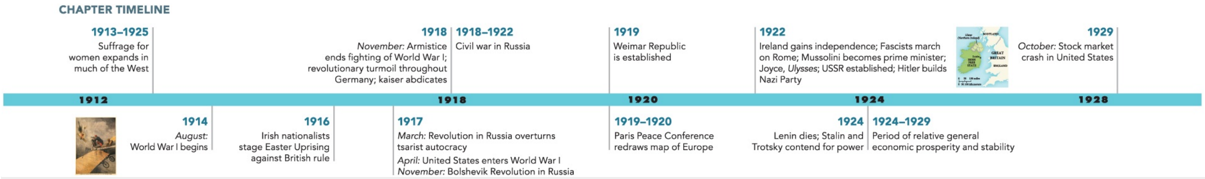
Mass Culture and the Rise of Modern Dictators

How did the postwar atmosphere influence cultural life and encourage the trend toward dictatorship?

Jules Amar, a French expert on improving the efficiency of industrial work, changed his career as a result of war. After 1914, as hundreds of thousands of soldiers returned from the battlefront severely maimed, plastic surgery and the construction of masks and other devices to hide deformities developed rapidly. Amar devised artificial limbs that would allow the wounded soldier to return to normal life by "making up for a function lost, or greatly reduced." The artificial arms featured hooks, magnets, and other mechanisms with which veterans could hold a cigarette, play a violin, and, most important, work with tools such as typewriters. Those who had been mangled by the weapons of modern technological warfare would be made “whole” and “employable,” it was thought, by technology such as Amar’s.

Jules Amar did his part to confront the tragedy of the Great War, so named by contemporaries because of its staggering human toll — forty million wounded or killed in battle. The Great War did not settle problems or restore social order; in fact, warfare and other violence already raged from Mexico and the Balkans across the colonized world. “After a war everything is better,” a British official claimed. To the contrary, World War I ended in turmoil, overturning the Russian, German, Ottoman, and Austro-Hungarian Empires. The war weakened the European powers and accelerated the rise of the United States. Colonized peoples who served in the war intensified their demands for independence. The armistice in 1918 did not end conflict: many soldiers remained actively fighting long into “peacetime,” with some even longing for the rugged, heroism of wartime.

World War I transformed society too. Prewar feelings of wartime patriotism gave way to postwar cynicism. Many Westerners turned their back on politics and in the Roaring Twenties embraced life with wild gaiety, shopping for new consumer goods, enjoying once-forbidden personal freedoms, and taking pleasure in the entertainment provided by films and radio. Colonized people organized resistance, while numbers of Westerners embraced the new political systems the war made possible: Soviet communism and Italian fascism. Modern communication technologies such as radio gave politicians the means to promote a utopian mass politics that, ironically, was antidemocratic, militaristic, and violent — like the war itself. A war that was welcomed in some quarters as a remedy for modernity destabilized Europe far into the following decades, leaving citizens, including Jules Amar and those he helped, to deal with its violent aftermath.



CHAPTER TIMELINE

1913–1925 Suffrage for women expands in much of the West

1914 *August:* World War I begins

1916 Irish nationalists stage Easter Uprising against British rule

1917 *March:* Revolution in Russia overturns tsarist autocracy
April: United States enters World War I
November: Bolshevik Revolution in Russia

1918 *November:* Armistice ends fighting of World War I; revolutionary turmoil throughout Germany; kaiser abdicates

1918–1922 Civil war in Russia

1919 Weimar Republic is established

1919–1920 Paris Peace Conference redraws map of Europe

1922 Ireland gains independence; Fascists march on Rome; Mussolini becomes prime minister; Joyce, *Ulysses*; USSR established; Hitler builds Nazi Party

1924 Lenin dies; Stalin and Trotsky contend for power

1924–1929 Period of relative general economic prosperity and stability

1929 *October:* Stock market crash in United States

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CHAPTER FOCUS

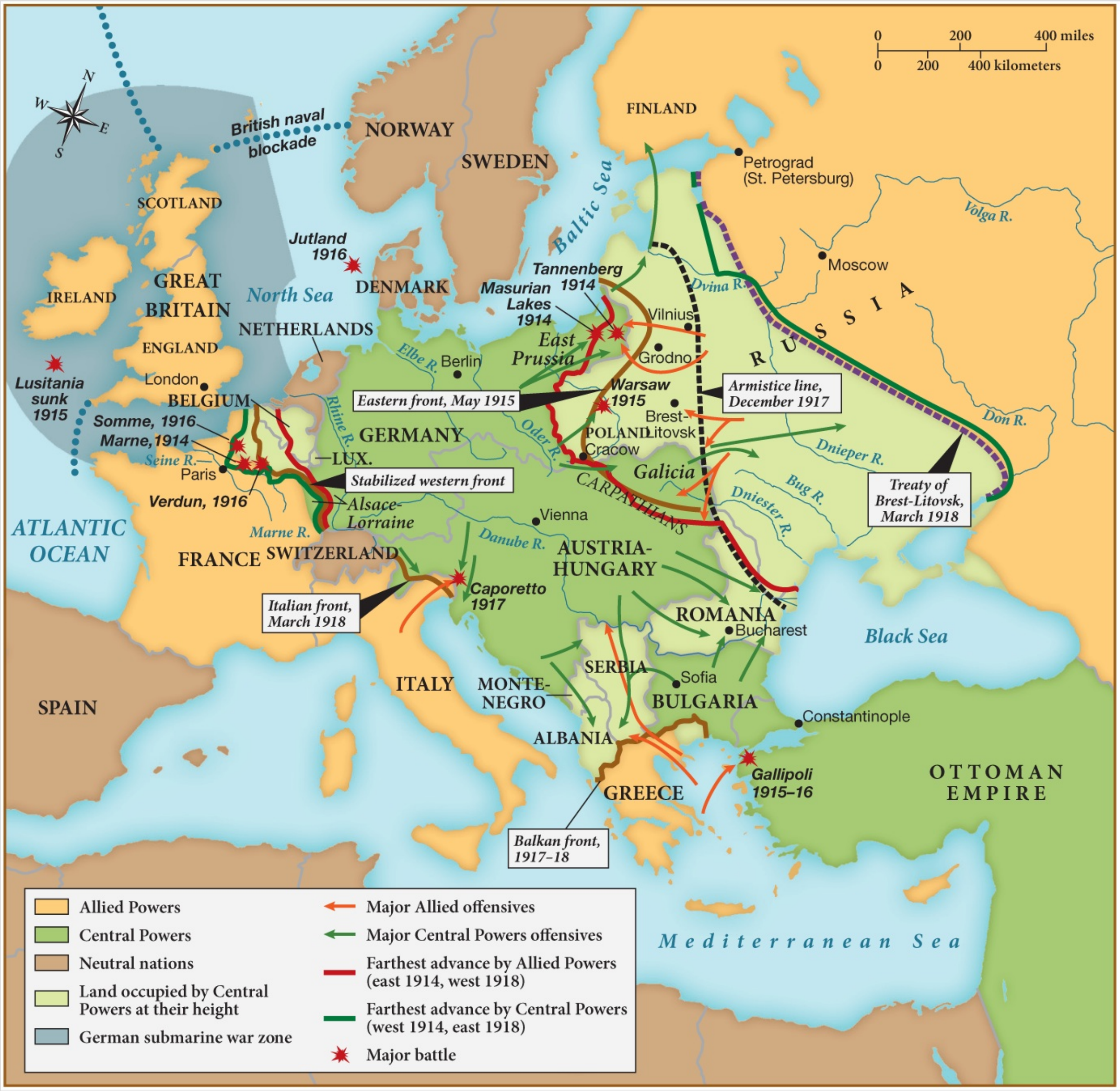
What political, social, and economic impact did World War I have during the conflict, immediately after it, and through the 1920s?

The Great War, 1914–1918

When war erupted in August 1914, two months after the assassination of the Austrian archduke and his wife at Sarajevo, there already existed long-standing alliances, well-defined strategies, and a stockpile of military technologies such as heavy artillery and machine guns. Most people felt that this would be a short, decisive conflict similar to Prussia's earlier rapid victories. In fact, the war lasted for more than four years. It was what historians call a **total war**, meaning one built on the full mobilization of entire societies — soldiers and civilians — and their industrial capacities. The war's unexpected and unprecedented horror supposedly made World War I "great."

Blueprints for War

World War I's two sets of opponents were formed roughly out of the alliances developed during the previous fifty years. On one side stood the Central Powers (Austria-Hungary and Germany), which had evolved from Bismarck's Triple Alliance. On the other side were the Allies (France, Great Britain, and Russia), which had emerged as a bloc from the Entente Cordiale between France and Great Britain and the 1890s treaties between France and Russia. In 1915, Italy, originally part of the Triple Alliance, joined the Allies in hopes of postwar gain. The war soon exploded globally: in late August 1914, Japan, eager to extend its empire into China, went over to the Allies, while in the fall the Ottoman Empire united with the Central Powers against its traditional enemy, Russia (Map 25.1).



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 25.1 The Fronts of World War I, 1914–1918

Because the western front remained relatively stationary, devastation of land and resources was intense but stable. All fronts, however, destroyed segments of Europe's hard-won industrial and agricultural capacity, while the immobile trenches increased military casualties whenever heavy artillery fire pounded them. The experience of soldiers and civilians on the more mobile eastern front involved a wider range of destruction and suffering for many more civilians.

Of the Central Powers, Germany wanted a bigger empire, to be achieved by annexing Russian territory and incorporating parts of Belgium, France, and Luxembourg. Some German leaders wanted to annex Austria-Hungary as well. Many in Austria-Hungary saw warfare as strengthening the empire’s balance of ethnic, religious, class, or status group interests. Among the Allies, Russia wished to reassert its status as a great power, as protector of the Slavs by annexing a reunified Poland, and as savior by taking formal leadership of other Slavic peoples. The French, too, craved territory, especially the return of Alsace and Lorraine, ceded to Germany after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871. The British wanted to cement their hold on Egypt and the Suez Canal and keep the rest of their world empire secure. In return for joining the Allies, France and Britain promised Italy territory in Africa, Asia Minor, the Balkans, and elsewhere.

The colonies participated in the war by providing massive assistance and serving as battlegrounds. Some one million Africans, one million Indians, and more than a million men from the British commonwealth countries fought on the battlefronts. The imperial powers also conscripted uncounted numbers of colonists as forced laborers: a million Kenyans and Tanzanians alone are estimated to have been conscripted for menial labor in the battle for East Africa. Using Arab, African, and Indian troops, the British waged war in the Ottoman lands of the Middle East. In sub-Saharan Africa, the vicious campaign for East

Africa cost many lives, including many civilians whose resources were confiscated and whose villages were burned.

Unprecedented use of new machinery determined the course of war. In August 1914, machine guns, fast breech-loading rifles, and military vehicles such as airplanes, battleships, submarines, and motorized transport (cars and trains) were all at the armies’ disposal. New technologies such as chlorine gas, tanks, and bombs were developed between 1914 and 1918. The war itself became a lethal testing ground, as both new and old weapons were used, often ineffectively. Many officers on both sides believed in a **cult of the offensive**, which called for spirited attacks against the enemy. Given the powerful war technology, many officers believed that heroic use of sabers, lances, and bayonets would make the difference between victory and defeat. In fact, the cult of the offensive would cost millions of lives.

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War in the Skies (1914) As the war started, aviators and the machines they piloted became symbols of the human potential to transcend time and space. They were mainly used for reconnaissance. Only slowly did the Great War feature the airplane as the new weapon in what British writer H. G. Wells called the "headlong sweep to death." Daring pilots, or "aces," guided planes in the totally new practice of aerial combat, as shown in this engraving from an Italian newspaper of a French airplane shooting down a German one.

The Battlefronts

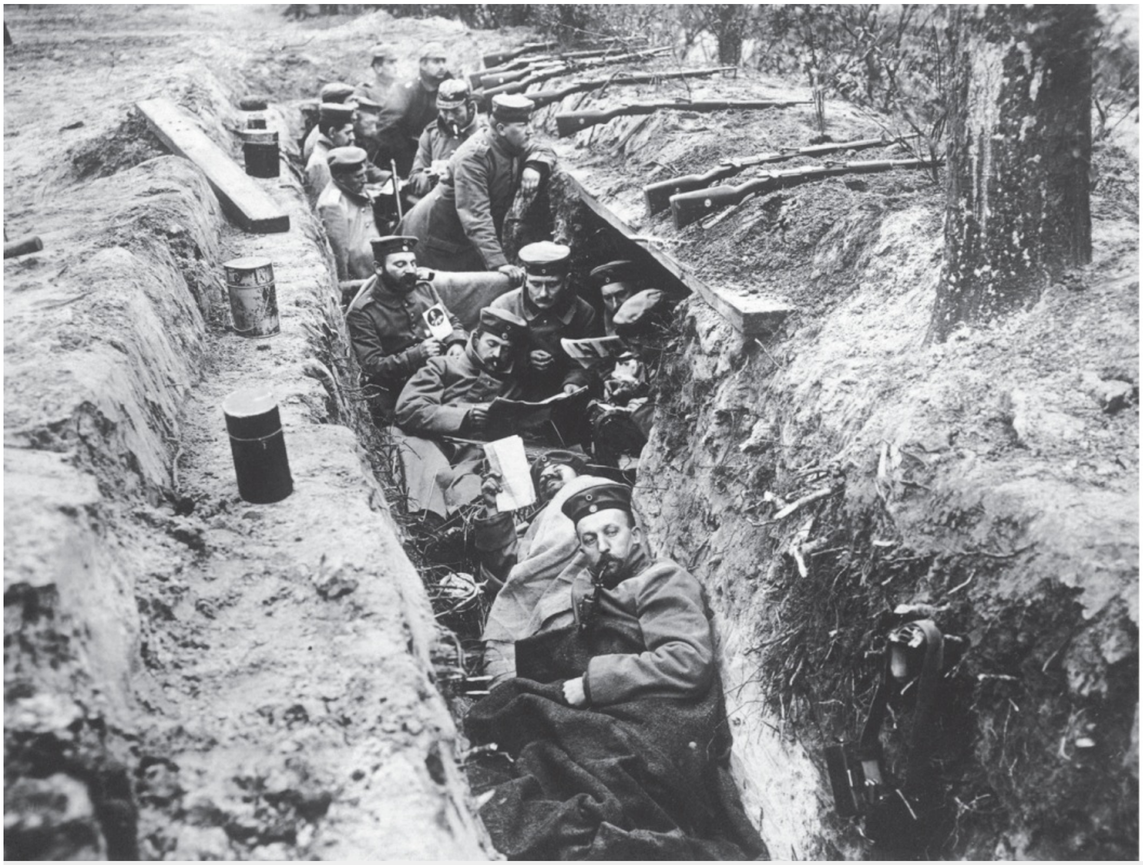
The first months of the war crushed any hope of a quick victory. The Germans were guided by the **Schlieffen Plan**, named after a former chief of the general staff. The plan outlined a way to combat enemies on two fronts by concentrating on one foe at a time. First, a concentrated blow to the west against France would lead to that nation's defeat in six weeks, accompanied by a light holding action against Russia to the east. The attack on France was to proceed without resistance through neutral Belgium. Once France had fallen, Germany's armies would move against Russia, which, it was believed, would mobilize far more slowly. None of the great powers expected that war would turn into the prolonged massacre of their nations' youth.

When German troops reached Belgium and Luxembourg at the beginning of August 1914, the Belgians surprisingly mounted a vigorous defense, slowing the German advance. In September, the British and French armies engaged the Germans along the Marne River in France. Neither side could defeat the other, and in the first three months of war, more than 1.5 million men fell on the western front alone. Guns like the 75-millimeter howitzer, accurate at long range, turned what was supposed to be an offensive war of movement into a stationary standoff along a line that stretched from the North Sea through Belgium and northern France to Switzerland.

On the eastern front, the Russians drove far more quickly than expected into East Prussia in mid-August. The success of the poorly equipped Russian soldiers was short-lived, aided by Russian generals' persistent attacks on Jewish soldiers in their own ranks. The Germans overwhelmed the tsar's army in East Prussia. Victory made heroes of the German military leaders Paul von Hindenburg (1847–1934) and Erich Ludendorff (1865–1937), who demanded more troops for the eastern front, undermining the Schlieffen Plan by removing forces from the west before the western front had been won.

War at sea proved equally indecisive. The Allies blockaded ports to prevent supplies from reaching Germany and Austria-Hungary. Kaiser William and his advisers planned a massive U-boat (*Unterseeboot,* "underwater boat," or submarine) campaign against Allied and neutral shipping. In May 1915, U-boats sank the British passenger ship *Lusitania* and killed 1,198 people, including 124 Americans. Despite U.S. outrage, President Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) maintained a policy of neutrality; Germany, unwilling to provoke Wilson further, called off unrestricted submarine warfare. In May 1916, the navies of Germany and Britain clashed in the North Sea at Jutland. This inconclusive battle demonstrated that the German fleet could not master British sea power.

Despite massive casualties, ideas of a negotiated peace were scorned: "No peace before England is defeated and destroyed," William II stormed against his cousin King George V. French leaders called for a “war to the death.” General staffs on both sides continued to prepare fierce attacks. Several times a year, campaigns opened with heavy artillery pounding enemy trenches and gun emplacements. Troops then went “over the top” by scrambling out of their trenches and into battle, usually to be mowed down by machine-gun fire from defenders in their own trenches. On the western front, the French assaulted the Germans throughout 1915 but accomplished little. On the eastern front, Russian armies captured parts of Galicia in the spring of 1915 and lumbered toward Hungary, with civilians across eastern Europe suffering assault, destruction of their homes, deportation, and starvation.



Paul Thompson/FPG/Getty Images.

War in the Trenches In the last months of World War I, these German soldiers still follow the “live and let live” agreement that soldiers implicitly made with their opponents in nearby trenches. They are reading newspapers, albeit ready for combat, their rifles positioned atop the trench walls. Such momentary tranquility when they arranged occasional games of soccer or joint holiday celebrations were in marked contrast to the lethal cult of the offensive.

The next year's battles were even more disastrous and futile. To cripple French morale, the Germans launched massive assaults on the fortress at Verdun, firing as many as a million shells in a single day. Combined French and German losses totaled close to a million men. Nonetheless, the French held. The British unleashed an artillery pounding of German trenches in the Somme region in June 1916; 1.25 million men were killed or wounded, but the final result was stalemate. By the end of 1916, the French had suffered more than 3.5 million casualties. To help the Allies engaged at Verdun and the Somme, the Russians struck again, driving into the Carpathian Mountains, recouping territory, and menacing Austria-Hungary. The German army stopped the advance, as the German general staff took over Austrian military operations.

Had military leaders thoroughly dominated the scene, historians judge, all armies would have been utterly demolished by the end of 1915. Yet ordinary soldiers in this war were not automatons in the face of what seemed to them suicidal orders from commanders. Informal agreements to avoid battles against each other allowed some battalions to go for long stretches with hardly a casualty. Enemies facing each other across the trenches frequently ate their meals in peace, despite being within hand-grenade reach. Throughout the war, soldiers on both fronts played an occasional game of soccer or made gestures of agreement not to fight. A British veteran of the trenches explained to a new recruit that the Germans "don't want to fight any more than we do, so there’s a kind of understanding between us. Don’t fire at us and we’ll not fire at you.” Many ordinary soldiers came to feel more warmly toward enemies who shared the trench experience than toward civilians back home. This camaraderie relieved some of the misery of trench life and aided survival. In some cases, upper-class officers and working-class recruits became friends in that “wholly masculine way of life uncomplicated by women,” as another soldier put it. Soldiers tended one another’s blistered feet and came to love one another, sometimes even passionately. This sense of battlefield community survived the war and influenced postwar politics.

Troops of colonized soldiers from Asia and Africa often were put in the very front ranks, where the risks were greatest. Yet, like class divisions, racial barriers sometimes fell: a European might give extra blankets and clothing to soldiers from warmer regions. Still, these troops saw their “masters” completely undone and “uncivilized,” for when fighting did break out, trenches became a veritable hell of shelling and sniping, flying body parts, blinding gas, and rotting cadavers. Some soldiers became hysterical or shell-shocked through the stress and violence of battle. Those who had gone to war to escape ordinary life in industrial society learned, as one German put it, “that in the modern war … the triumph of the machine over the individual is carried to its most extreme form.”

The Home Front

Total war demanded the involvement of civilians in manufacturing shells, machine guns, poisonous gases, bombs, airplanes, and eventually tanks — which together formed the backbone of technological warfare. Increased production of coffins, canes, wheelchairs, and artificial limbs (devised by the likes of Jules Amar) was also required. Because their armies would have utterly failed without them, civilians had to believe in the war, work overtime, and sacrifice for victory. To keep the war machine operating smoothly, governments oversaw factories, transportation systems, and the use of resources. People accepted tight government control as necessary to win the war.

At first, most political parties put aside their differences. Many socialists and working-class people who had formerly criticized the military buildup announced their support for the war. For decades, socialist parties had preached that "the worker has no country" and that nationalism was an ideology meant to keep workers disunited and subjected to the will of their employers. In August 1914, however, many socialists became as patriotic as the rest of society. Although feminists often opposed the conflict, the British suffrage leader Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughter Christabel were among those who became militant nationalists. In the name of victory, national leaders wanted to end political division: "I no longer recognize [political] parties," William II declared on August 4, 1914. "I recognize only Germans." Those at the receiving end of discrimination promoted unity. One rabbi echoed the kaiser: "In the German fatherland there are no longer any Christians and Jews, any believers and disbelievers, there are only Germans."

Governments mobilized the home front with varying degrees of success. Government committees allocated labor on both the home front and the battlefront and gave industrialists financial incentives to increase productivity. The Russian bureaucracy, however, only cooperated halfheartedly with industrialists, who then struggled without overall coordination to meet wartime needs. In several countries, emergency measures allowed the drafting of both men and women for military or factory service. Municipal governments set up canteens and day-care centers, but rural Russia, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Serbia, where children, women, and old men struggled to maintain farms, had no such relief programs.

Governments throughout Europe passed sedition laws that made it a crime to criticize war-related policies; propaganda agencies, sometimes fabricating atrocities, advertised the war as a patriotic mission to resist villainous enemies. In Russia, Tsar Nicholas II changed the German-sounding name of the capital St. Petersburg to the Russian Petrograd as a patriotic move. Amid conflict between Armenians, allied informally with the Russians, and Ottoman forces, the Ottomans drove Armenian civilians living in Turkey from their homes, forcing them onto long genocidal marches or into concentration camps where they were murdered or simply died. The Allies also caused the deaths of civilians en masse by creating famines — for example, by blockading the Syrian provinces of the Ottoman Empire in hopes that the people there would rebel or die of starvation.

Despite widespread commitment to the war, some individuals worked to bring about a negotiated peace. In 1915, activists in the international women's movement met in The Hague to call for an end to the war. "We can no longer endure … brute force as the only solution of international disputes," declared Dutch physician Aletta Jacobs. Many of these activists brought their cause to individual heads of state without success, though their talking points ended up in President Woodrow Wilson's principles for negotiating peace — the Fourteen Points. In Austria-Hungary, Habsburg failure to provision the population with food galvanized local ethnicities to provide welfare relief and to undertake vigorous anti-Habsburg campaigns, including plans for independence. The Allies encouraged such independence movements as part of their strategy to defeat Austria-Hungary.

The war upset the social order as well as the political one. In the war's early days, many women lost their jobs when luxury shops, textile factories, and other nonessential businesses closed. As more and more men left for the trenches, women who had lost employment elsewhere along with low-paid domestic workers found higher-paying jobs in munitions and metallurgical industries. In Warsaw women drove trucks, and in London they conducted streetcars. Some young women drove ambulances and nursed the wounded near the front lines.

Women's assumption of men's jobs looked to many like a sign of social disorder. One metalworker accused women of "sending men to the slaughter." Men feared that women would remain in the workforce after the war, robbing men of the breadwinner role. Others criticized young female munitions workers for squandering their pay on ribbons and jewelry. The heated prewar debates over the "new woman" and gender roles returned.

Roger Viollet/Getty Images.

A New Workforce in Wartime With men at the battlefront, women (at right in this French photograph) moved into factory work at jobs from which they had been unofficially barred before the war. In addition, tens of thousands of forced laborers from the colonies were moved to Europe also to replace men sent to the front. The European experience of forced labor and service at the front politicized colonial subjects, fortifying independence movements in the postwar period.

Difficult wartime conditions increasingly pitted civilians against one another on the home front. Workers toiled long hours with less to eat, while many in the upper classes bought fancy food and fashionable clothing on the black market (outside the official system of rationing). The cost of living surged and thus contributed to social tensions as shortages of staples like bread, sugar, and meat occurred across Europe and people went hungry. Reviving prewar anti-Semitism, some blamed Jews for the shortages. Colonial populations suffered oppressive conditions as well (see Environment Matters). The French forcibly transported some 100,000 Vietnamese to work in France for the war effort. Africans also faced grueling forced labor along with skyrocketing taxes and prices. Civilian suffering during the war, whether in the colonies or in Europe, laid the groundwork for ordinary people to revolt.

ENVIRONMENT MATTERS

War and East African Forests

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Wartime adversaries engaged not just on European battlefields but in the colonies as well. Germans and Britons fought in German-controlled East Africa, pursuing guerilla warfare in the forests in addition to fighting along the coast. Heavy machinery ripped up the woodland environment, while the combatants pillaged lumber for railroad ties, to fortify trenches, for fuel, and for numerous other uses. Meanwhile local Africans, who hid from the combatants in the forests, found their own resources — including plants and animals — destroyed in the fighting. Postwar Britain continued to plunder the world’s woodlands as the island nation imported more than three quarters of the lumber it consumed.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. How would you evaluate the destruction of nature in World War I compared to the loss of human life?
2. Why do you suppose that environmental damage is rarely mentioned in histories of warfare?

REVIEW QUESTION

In what ways was World War I a total war?

Protest, Revolution, and War’s End, 1917–1918

By 1917, the situation was becoming desperate for everyone — politicians, the military, and civilians. Discontent on the home front escalated: neither prewar patriotic slogans nor wartime propaganda prepared people for the devastation. Civilians rebelled in cities across Europe. While soldiers in some armies mutinied, nationalist struggles plagued Britain and Austria-Hungary. Soon full-fledged revolution was sweeping Europe, toppling the Russian dynasty, and threatening not just war but civil war as well.

War Protest

On February 1, 1917, the German government, hard-pressed by mounting casualties and by the military’s growing control, resumed full-scale submarine warfare. The British responded by mining German harbors and by developing the convoy system of shipping to drive off German submarines. The Germans’ submarine gamble not only failed to defeat the British but also brought the United States into the war in April 1917, after German U-boats sank several American ships. Meanwhile, the lack of food in eastern Europe became dire, especially discrediting the Austro-Hungarian government.

Political opposition increased in Europe. Irish republicans attacked government buildings in Dublin on Easter Monday 1916 in an effort to gain Ireland’s independence from Britain. The ill-prepared rebels were easily defeated, and many of them were executed. In the cities of Italy, Russia, Germany, and Austria, women rioted to get food for their families, and factory hands and white-collar workers alike walked off the job. Amid these protests, Austria-Hungary secretly asked the Allies for a negotiated peace; the German Reichstag also made overtures for a "peace of understanding and permanent reconciliation of peoples." In January 1918, President Woodrow Wilson issued his **Fourteen Points**, a blueprint for a nonvindictive peace settlement held out to the war-weary Central Powers.

Revolution in Russia

Of all the warring nations, Russia sustained the greatest number of casualties — 7.5 million by 1917. By summer 1916, the Muslim borderlands rose up against forced labor demands by the military; the following March,[i] crowds of workingwomen swarmed the streets of Petrograd demanding relief from the harsh conditions. Other protesters commemorating International Women's Day were then joined by factory workers. Many soldiers, embittered by the massive casualties and their leaders' foolhardy tactics, peeled off into the countryside. The government's incompetence and Nicholas II's stubborn resistance to change had made the war even worse in Russia than elsewhere. The urban riots in March 1917 finally led Nicholas to abdicate, bringing the three-hundred-year-old Romanov dynasty to a sudden end.

[i] Until February 1918, Russia observed the Julian calendar, which was thirteen days behind the Gregorian calendar used by the rest of Europe. Hence, the first phase of the revolution occurred in March according to the Gregorian calendar (but February in the Julian calendar), the later phase in November on the Gregorian calendar (October according to the Julian). All dates used in this book

follow the Gregorian calendar.

Aristocratic and middle-class politicians from the old Duma formed a new administration called the Provisional Government. At first, hopes were high that under the Provisional Government, as one poet put it, “our false, filthy, boring, hideous life should become a just, pure, merry, and beautiful life.” To survive, the Provisional Government had to pursue the war successfully, manage internal affairs better, and set the government on a firm constitutional footing, but other political forces had also strengthened during the revolution. Among them, the **soviets** — councils elected from workers and soldiers — competed with the government for political support. Born during the Revolution of 1905, the soviets in 1917 campaigned to end the deference usually given to the wealthy and to military officers, urged respect for workers and the poor, and temporarily gave an air of celebration and carnival to the political upheaval. The peasants, also competing for power, began to confiscate landed estates and withhold produce from the market, undermining the Provisional Government.

Aiming to intensify the turmoil in Russia, the Germans in April 1917 provided safe rail transportation for **V. I. Lenin** (1870–1924) and other Bolsheviks to return to Russia through German territory. Lenin had devoted his entire existence to bringing about socialism, aided only by his Bolshevik clique. Upon his return to Petrograd, he issued the April Theses, a radical document that called for Russia to withdraw from the war, for the soviets to seize power on behalf of workers and poor peasants, and for all private land to be nationalized. Undercutting the Provisional Government, Bolsheviks employed such slogans as “All power to the soviets” and “Peace, land, and bread.”

Digital Image Library/Alamy Stock Photo.

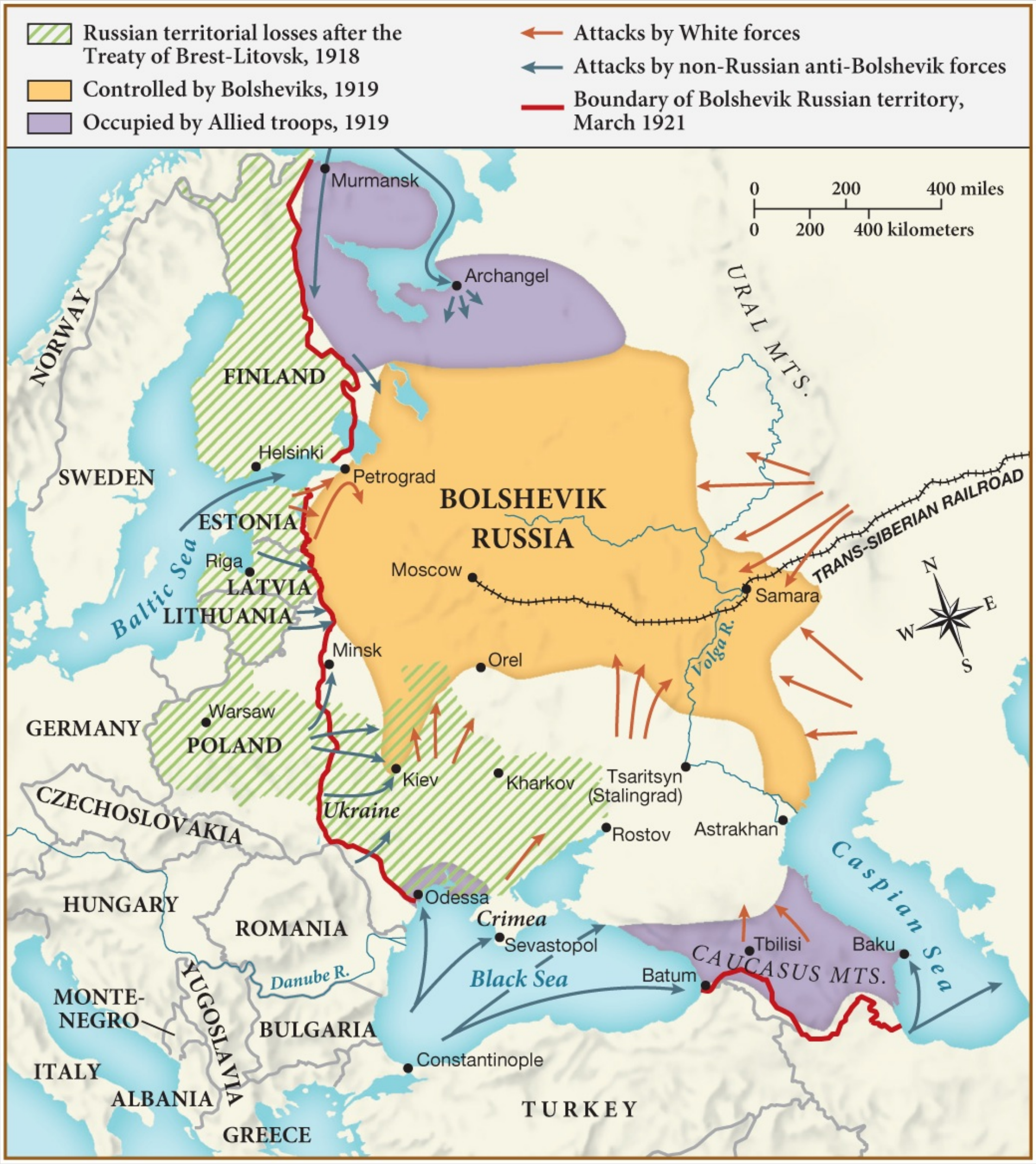
Lenin Addressing Soldiers Lenin mobilized the masses with his oratory, but he also used traditional weapons of the Russian Empire such as secret police, imprisonment and torture, and executions. At the time of the civil war, it was more important than ever to keep soldiers loyal. Understanding this, Lenin, with the crucial aid of Leon Trotsky, began building the Red Army into a formidable fighting force. The disappearance of the state promised by Marx once socialism was realized was not to be.

New prime minister Aleksandr Kerensky used his rousing oratory to boost patriotism, but his policy failures helped doom the government. The Bolshevik leadership, urged on by Lenin, overthrew the weakened Provisional Government in November 1917, an event called the **Bolshevik Revolution**. In January 1918, elections failed to give the

Bolsheviks a plurality, so the party used troops to take over the new government completely. The Bolsheviks, following Marxist doctrine, abolished private property and nationalized factories. The Provisional Government had allowed both men and women to vote in 1917, making Russia the first great power to legalize universal suffrage. This soon became a hollow privilege once the Bolsheviks limited the candidates to chosen members of the Communist Party.

The Bolsheviks asked Germany for peace and agreed to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March 1918), which placed vast regions of the old Russian Empire under German occupation. Because the loss of millions of square miles to the Germans put Petrograd at risk, the Bolsheviks relocated the capital to Moscow and formally adopted the name *communists* (taken from Karl Marx's writings) to distinguish themselves from the socialists/social democrats who had voted for the disastrous war in the first place. Lenin called the catastrophic terms of the treaty "obscene." However, he accepted them — not only because he had promised to bring peace to Russia but also because he believed that the rest of Europe would soon rebel and overthrow the capitalist order.

A full-blown civil war now broke out in Russia, with the pro-Bolsheviks (or "Reds") pitted against an array of forces (the "Whites") who wanted to turn back the revolution (Map 25.2). The Whites included three major groups, among others: the tsarist military leadership, composed mainly of landlords and supporters of aristocratic rule; the liberal educated class, including businessmen whose property had been nationalized; and non-Russian nationalities such as the Ukrainians who saw their chance for independence. In addition, before World War I ended, Russia’s former allies — notably the United States, Britain, France, and Japan — landed troops in the country to fight the Bolsheviks too. The counterrevolutionary groups lacked a strong leader and unified goals, however. Working to restore the Russian Empire, pro-tsarist forces, for example, alienated groups seeking independence, such as the Ukrainians, Estonians, and Lithuanians. Even with the presence of Allied troops, the opponents of revolution could not defeat the Bolsheviks without a common purpose.



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 25.2 The Russian Civil War, 1917–1922

Nationalists, aristocrats, middle-class citizens, and property-owning peasants tried to combine their interests to defeat the Bolsheviks, but they failed to create an effective political consensus. As fighting covered the countryside, ordinary people suffered, especially when their grain was confiscated by armies on both sides. In these circumstances, there was little attempt to win these citizens as allies. The Western powers and Japan also sent in troops to put down the threatening and deadly Bolshevik Revolution, making for lasting bad will and mistrust.

The civil war shaped Russian communism. Leon Trotsky (1879–1940), Bolshevik commissar of war, built a highly disciplined army by ending democratic procedures, such as the election of officers that had originally attracted soldiers to Bolshevism. Lenin and Trotsky introduced the policy of war communism — seizing grain from the peasantry to feed the civil war army and workforce. The Cheka (secret police) imprisoned opponents and often shot them without trial. Inexperienced in government, Bolsheviks depended on authoritarianism, a development that broke Marx's prediction that revolution would bring a "withering away" of the state.

During the bloody civil war, Bolsheviks also organized their supporters to foster revolutionary Marxism across Europe. In March 1919, they founded the Third International, also known as the Communist International (Comintern), to replace the Second International with a centralized organization dedicated to preaching communism. By mid-1921, the Red Army had defeated the Whites in the Crimea, the Caucasus, and the Muslim borderlands in central Asia, while other committed Bolsheviks slaughtered wantonly in the cause of creating their communist utopia. After ousting the Japanese from Siberia in 1922, the Party governed a state as multinational as the old Russian Empire had been, and one at odds with socialist promises for a humane and flourishing society.

Ending the War, 1918

In the spring of 1918, the Central Powers made one final attempt to smash through the Allied lines using a new offensive strategy. It consisted of concentrated forces piercing single points of the enemy's defense lines and then wreaking havoc from the rear. Using these tactics, the Central Powers had overwhelmed the Italian army at Caporetto in the fall of 1917, but a similar offensive on the western front in the spring of 1918 ground to a bloody halt within weeks. By then, the British and French had started making limited but effective use of tanks supported by airplanes. The German armies, suffering more than two million casualties between spring and summer, disintegrated.

By October 1918, the desperate German command helped create a civilian government to replace military rule of the home front. These inexperienced politicians would then unwittingly be blamed for the defeat. Shifting the blame from the military, the generals proclaimed themselves fully capable of winning the war. Weak-willed civilian officials, they announced, had dealt the military a "stab in the back" by forcing a surrender. A sailors' revolt and workers' uprisings led the Social Democratic Party to declare a German republic in an effort to prevent revolution. At the end of October, Czechs and Slovaks declared an independent state, while the Croatian parliament simultaneously announced Croatia's independence. On November 9, 1918, Kaiser William II fled as the Central Powers collapsed on all fronts. Finally, on the morning of November 11, 1918, an armistice was signed as hopes for peace rose.

In the course of four years, European civilization had been sorely tested, if not shattered. Conservative figures put the battlefield toll at a minimum of ten million dead and thirty million wounded, incapacitated, or doomed to die of their wounds. In every European combatant country, industrial and agricultural production had plummeted. From 1918 to 1919, a worldwide influenza epidemic left as many as one hundred million more dead. Soldiers returning home in 1918 and 1919 flooded the book market with their memoirs; whereas many emphasized heroism and glory, others cynically insisted that the fighting had been absolutely meaningless. Total war had not only drained society of resources and population but had also sown the seeds of further catastrophe in the years to come.

REVIEW QUESTION

Why did people rebel during World War I, and what turned rebellion into outright revolution in Russia?

The Search for Peace in an Era of Revolution

World War I had unforeseen and dramatic consequences including the continuation of militarized violence. Revolutionary fervor swept the continent, especially in the former empires of Germany and Austria-Hungary, where people were debilitated and desperate for food. Some in the newly independent nations of eastern and central Europe supported socialist principles, and activists on both the left and the right hoped for a political order based on military authority of the kind they had relied on during the war. Diplomats from around the world arrived in Paris in January 1919 to negotiate the terms of peace, not fully aware that the war was still going on not only in city streets, where soldiers were bringing the war home, but also in people's hearts.

Europe in Turmoil

Urban citizens and returning soldiers ignited the protests that swept Europe in 1918 and 1919. In January 1919, the red flag of socialist revolution flew from the city hall in Glasgow, Scotland, while in cities of the collapsing Austro-Hungarian monarchy, workers set up councils to take over both factories and politics. Many soldiers did not disband at the armistice but instead formed volunteer armies, preventing the return to peacetime politics. Some loyal Irish veterans went straight from Allied battlefields to Irish liberation forces. Germany was especially unstable, partly because of the shock of defeat; German workers and veterans filled the streets, demanding food and back pay.

Whereas in 1848, revolutionaries had marched to city hall or the king's residence, the protesters in 1919 took over newspapers and telegraph offices to control the flow of information. One of the most radical socialist factions was the Spartacists, led by cofounders Karl Liebknecht (1871–1919) and Rosa Luxemburg (1870–1919). Unlike Lenin, the two leading Spartacists wanted workers to experience politics through protests on the streets instead of simply following an all-knowing party leadership on a set course.

German conservatives had believed that the war would put an end to Social Democratic influence; in fact, it brought Social Democrats to power. Social Democratic leader Friedrich Ebert, who headed the new German government, rejected revolution and supported the creation of a parliamentary republic to replace the monarchy. He called on the German army and the Freikorps — roving paramilitary bands of students, demobilized soldiers, and others — to suppress the workers' councils and demonstrators seeking more transformative change. "The enthusiasm is marvelous," wrote one young soldier. "No mercy's shown. We shoot even the wounded." Members of the Freikorps hunted down Luxemburg and Liebknecht, among others, and murdered them. German Social Democrats, like Socialist Party members elsewhere, were distancing themselves from Marxist Communists.

Violence continued in Europe even as an assembly meeting in the city of Weimar in February 1919 approved a constitution and founded a parliamentary republic called the **Weimar Republic**. This time the right rebelled, dreaming of a restored monarchy: "As I love Germany, so I hate the Republic," wrote one officer. To defeat a military coup by the

Freikorps, Ebert called for a general strike. This action showed the lack of popular support for a military regime. Late in the winter of 1919, leftists proclaimed “soviet republics” — governments led by workers’ councils — in Bavaria and Hungary. Volunteer armies and troops soon put the soviets down. The Bolsheviks tried to establish a Marxist regime in Poland, but the Poles resisted and drove the Red Army back in 1920, while the Allied powers rushed supplies and advisers to Warsaw. Though they failed, the various revolts provided further proof that total war had let loose the forces of political chaos.

The Paris Peace Conference, 1919–1920

As political turmoil engulfed peoples from Berlin to Moscow, the Paris Peace Conference opened in January 1919. Visions of communism spreading westward haunted the deliberations, but the assembled statesmen were also focused on the status of Germany and the reconstruction of a secure Europe. Leaders such as French premier Georges Clemenceau had to satisfy angry citizens: France had lost 1.3 million people — almost an entire generation of young men — and more than a million buildings, six thousand bridges, and thousands of miles of railroad lines and roads. Great Britain’s representative, Prime Minister David Lloyd George, caught the mood of the British public with such slogans as “Hang the kaiser.” The Italians arrived on the scene demanding the territory promised to them in 1915. Meanwhile, U.S. president Woodrow Wilson, head of the new world power that had helped achieve the Allied victory, had his own agenda. His Fourteen Points, on which the truce had been based, were steeped in the language of freedom and called for open diplomacy, arms reduction, and the right of nationality groups to determine their own government.

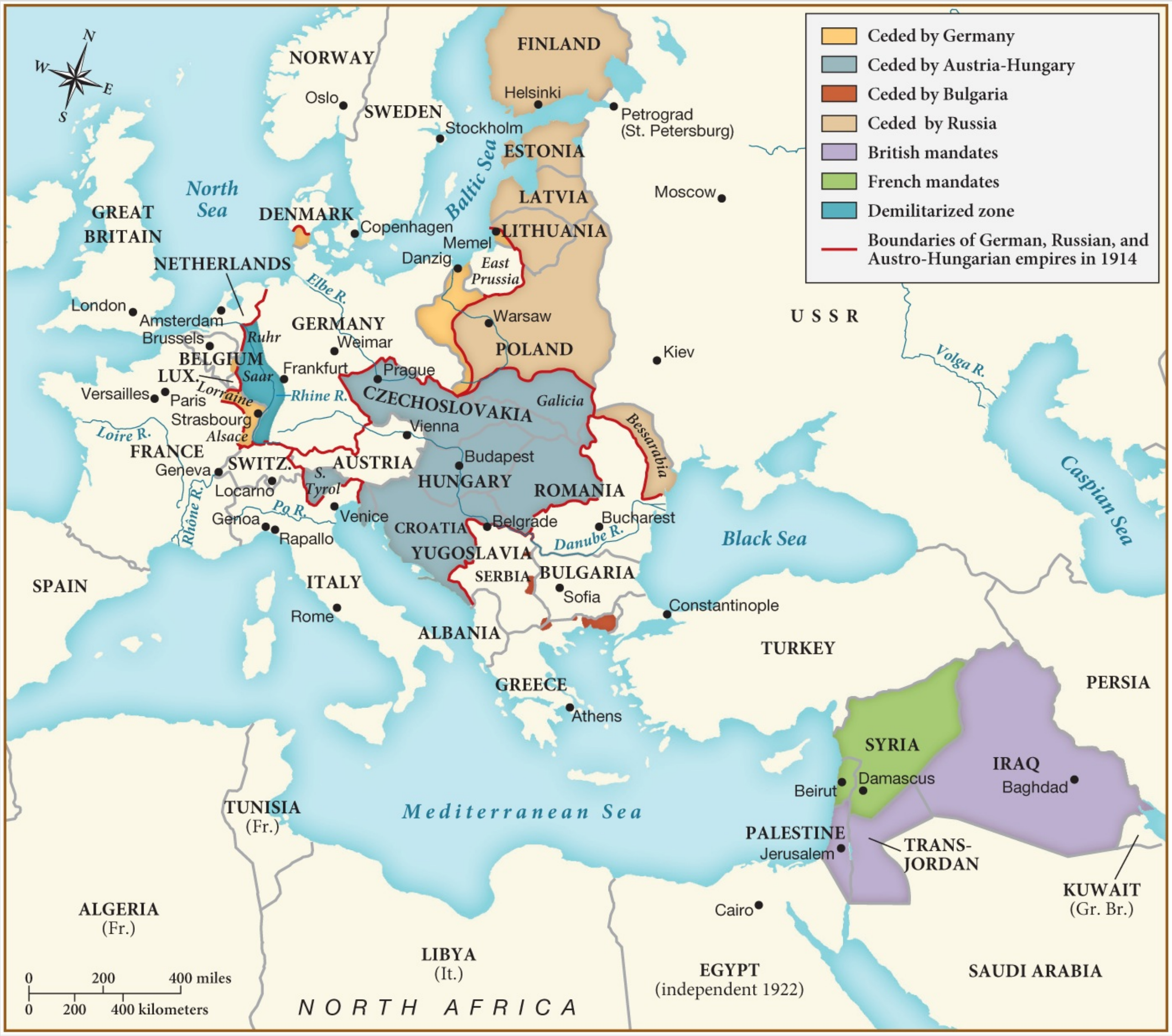
The Fourteen Points did not represent the mood of all the victors. Allied propaganda had made the Germans seem like inhuman monsters, and some military experts feared that Germany was using the armistice only to regroup for more warfare. Their territory almost completely unscathed, unlike France, many Germans denied that their army had been defeated. Eager for army support, Ebert had given returning soldiers a rousing welcome: “As you return unconquered from the field of battle, I salute you.” Wilson’s plan, based on *settlement* as opposed to *surrender*, recognized that Germany was still the strongest state on the continent. Economists and other specialists agreed that, harshly dealt with, a humiliated Germany might soon become vengeful and chaotic — a lethal combination.

After six months, the statesmen and their teams of experts produced the **Peace of Paris** (1919–1920), a cluster of individual treaties that shocked citizens of the losing countries. The treaties separated Austria from Hungary, reduced Hungary by almost two-thirds of its inhabitants and three-quarters of its territory, broke up the Ottoman Empire, and treated Germany severely. They replaced the Habsburg Empire with a group of small, relatively weak states: Czechoslovakia; Poland; and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (soon renamed Yugoslavia). After a century and a half of partition, Poland was reconstructed from parts of Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary — leaving one-third of its population ethnically non-Polish. The statesmen in Paris also created the Polish Corridor, which connected Poland to the Baltic Sea and separated East Prussia from the rest of Germany (Map 25.3). Austria and

Hungary were both left reeling at their drastic loss of territory and resources. These radical settlements only compounded the utter distress of starving, homeless citizens of central and eastern Europe.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

If you were at the Paris Peace Conference as a representative of an Allied nation, what position would you take on the Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, and German Empires? How would conditions across Europe influence your decision? Remembering that you are living in a world of empires, what changes would you make in policies toward the colonies?



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MAP 25.3 Europe and the Middle East after the Peace Settlements of 1919–1920

The political landscape of central, east, and east-central Europe changed dramatically as a result of the Russian Revolution and the Peace of Paris. The Ottoman, German, Russian, and Austro-Hungarian Empires were either broken up into multiple small states or territorially reduced. The settlement left resentments among Germans and Hungarians and created a group of weak, struggling nations in the heartland of Europe. The victorious powers took over much of the oil-rich Middle East. Why is it significant that the postwar geopolitical changes were so concentrated in one section of Europe?

The Treaty of Versailles, the centerpiece of the Peace of Paris, specifically dealt with Germany. In it, France recovered Alsace and Lorraine, and the Allies would temporarily occupy the left, or western, bank of the Rhine and the coal-bearing Saar basin. Germany would pay substantial reparations for civilian damage during the war, set in 1921 at the crushing sum of 132 billion gold marks. Germany also had to reduce its army, almost eliminate its navy, stop manufacturing offensive weapons, and deliver a large amount of free coal each year to Belgium and France. Furthermore, it was forbidden to have an air force and was forced to give up its colonies. Article 231 of the treaty described Germany's "responsibility" for damage caused "by the aggression of Germany and her allies." Outraged Germans interpreted this as a **war guilt clause** that blamed them for the war and allowed the victors to collect reparations from their economically developed country rather than from ruined Austria. War guilt made Germans feel like outcasts in the community of nations.

Besides redrawing the map of Europe, the Peace of Paris set up an organization called the **League of Nations**, whose members had a joint responsibility for maintaining peace — a principle called collective security. It was supposed to replace the divisive secrecy of prewar power politics and arbitrate its members' disputes. The U.S. Senate failed to ratify the peace settlement and refused to join the league. Moreover, Germany and Russia initially were excluded from the league and were thus blocked from working cooperatively with it. The absence of these three important powers weakened the league as a global peacekeeper.

The League of Nations also organized the administration of the former colonies and territories of Germany and the Ottoman Empire — such as Togo, Cameroon, Syria, and Palestine — through systems of political control called mandates. While the victorious powers exercised their mandates, local leaders kept limited authority. The league justified the **mandate system** as providing governance by "advanced nations" over territories "not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world." The mandate system not only kept imperialism alive at a time when the powers were bankrupt — many call it the work of a "League of Empires." It also, like the Peace of Paris, aroused anger and resistance (see Contrasting Views on pages 928–929).

CONTRASTING VIEWS

The Middle East at the End of World War I: Freedom or Subjugation?

The end of World War I aroused hopes around the world. In Paris in 1919, representatives of the victorious powers were besieged by outsiders to Western governments, each making a claim for special attention to their needs or for concrete action to realize the noble rhetoric of the Fourteen Points or for realization of the promises made by the victorious allies. The conquered and the colonized expected a fair-minded treaty based on a range of Allied agreements, and a variety of *other peoples were encouraged by promises of self-determination. Yet it quickly became clear that there were contrasting views among the Allies themselves. Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points articulated one position on the future of colonized areas of the world, including the Ottoman Empire (Excerpt 1). As the war drew to a close in November 1918, Britain and France seemed to endorse Wilson's position when it came to freedom for Ottoman subjects (Excerpt 2). Other agreements, such as those dividing up oil and territory between the British and French in the Middle East, gave a far different impression (Excerpt 3). At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919–1920, Middle Eastern leaders lobbied for their independence. The emir Faisal was one of these, after having led pro-Allied troops to help defeat the Ottomans and to achieve Arab unity (Excerpt 4). When the mandate system was drawn up, however, it became clear that those under Ottoman rule would in fact remain unfree and gain powerful new masters (Excerpt 5).*

1. Woodrow Wilson, Fourteen Points, January 8, 1918

President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, first presented in a speech to the U.S. Congress, raised hopes that the world would be fairer after the war than before. The fifth and twelfth points, presented here, spoke especially to those who had been held in colonial subjugation.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

Source: Woodrow Wilson, "Speech on the Fourteen Points," *Congressional Record*, 65th Congress, 2nd Session, 1918, 680–81.

2. The Anglo-French Declaration of November 7, 1918

As World War I reached its end in the autumn of 1918, the French and British issued this official declaration of their war aims.

The object aimed at by France and Great Britain in prosecuting in the East the War let loose by the ambition of Germany is the complete and definite emancipation of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks and the establishment of national governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choices of the indigenous populations.

Source: Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 5, cxlv, 351.

3. British-French Division of the Oil in Mesopotamia (Iraq)

Despite claims to favor Middle Eastern independence, the British and French made many agreements about their joint prerogatives in the region, this one concerning oil, which the war had shown to be an increasingly indispensable commodity.

The British Government undertake to grant to the French Government or its nominee twenty-five percent of the net output of crude oil at current market rates which His Majesty's Government may secure from the Mesopotamian oilfields in the event of their being developed by Government action; or in the event of a private petroleum company being used to develop the Mesopotamian oilfields the British Government will place at the disposal of the French Government a share of twenty-five percent in such company.

Source: *Memorandum of Agreement between M. Philippe Berthelot, Directeur des Affaires Politiques et Commerciles au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, and Professor Sir John Cadman, Director in Charge of His Majesty's Petroleum Department,* in Cmd. 675 of 1920 and in *U.S. Foreign Relations 1920*, ii, 655–58.

4. Claiming Independence for the Middle East

Arabs had hotly debated whether to assist the Allied colonizers in World War I, but promises of independence won them over. Some Arabs argued for independence of individual areas in the Middle East and for resolutions to competing claims of the Arabs and of new Jewish settlers in the region. Emir Faisal, who had commanded Arab forces in the war, presented the pan-Arab ideal.

The aim of the Arab nationalist movement is to unite the Arabs eventually into one nation…. I came to Europe on behalf of my father and the Arabs of Asia to say that they are expecting the powers at the Conference not to attach undue importance to superficial differences of condition among us and not to consider them only from the low ground of existing European material interests and supposed spheres of influence. They expect the powers to think of them as one potential people, jealous of their language and liberty, and they ask that no step be taken inconsistent with the prospect of an eventual union of these areas under one sovereign government.

Source: Stephen Bonsal, *Suitors and Suppliants: The Little Nations at Versailles* (Port Washington. NY: Kennikat Press, 1969), 32–33.

5. Resolution of the Syrian Congress at Damascus, July 2, 1919

In 1919, a commission from the Paris Peace Conference was established to investigate the political conditions in the Middle East. The Syrian Congress met to prepare this statement for the commission.

Considering the fact that the Arabs inhabiting the Syrian area are not naturally less gifted than other more advanced races and that they are by no means less developed than the Bulgarians, Serbians, Greeks, and Roumanians at the beginning of their independence, we protest against Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations placing us among the nations in their middle stage of development which stand in need of a mandatory power.

We oppose the pretentions of the Zionists to create a Jewish commonwealth in the southern part of Syria, known as Palestine, and oppose Zionist migration to any part of our country…. Our Jewish compatriots shall enjoy our common rights and assume the common responsibilities.

We also have the fullest confidence that the Peace Conference will realize that we would not have risen against the Turks with whom we had participated in all civil, political, and representative privileges … and so will grant us our desires in full in order that our political rights may not be less after the war than they were before, since we have shed so much blood in the cause of our liberty and independence.

Source: Quoted in J. C. Hurewitz, ed., *The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics: A Documentary Record*, 2nd ed. 2 vols. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1979), 2:180–81.

Questions to Consider

1. Describe the various claims of the official combatant powers. How do you explain these differing positions?
2. How were the competing positions at the peace conference related to the politics and conditions of World War I?
3. Does any one or two of the demands seem more justifiable in addressing the peacetime needs of Europe and the world?
4. What was the position of the Arabs?

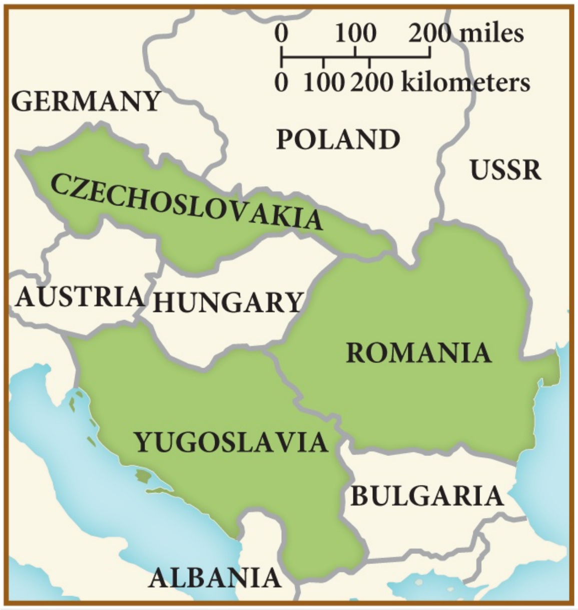
Economic and Diplomatic Consequences of the Peace

The Peace of Paris extended at least two problems into the 1920s and beyond. The first was economic recovery and its relationship to war debts and German reparation payments. The second was ensuring that peace actually came about and lasted. France, hardest hit by wartime destruction and billions of dollars in debt to the United States, estimated that Germany owed it at least $200 billion. By contrast, Britain, hardly damaged physically, worried instead about maintaining its empire and restoring trade with Germany, not exacting huge reparations to rebuild. Nevertheless, both France and Britain were dependent on some German payments to settle their war debts to the United States.

Germany claimed that the demand for reparations strained its government, already facing political upheaval and economic problems. The kaiser had not raised taxes — especially on the rich — to pay for the war, leaving the new republic with a staggering debt. The new republic, an experiment in democracy, needed to win over its citizens, not anger them by hiking taxes to pay Germany's debt. In 1921, when Germans refused to present a realistic plan for paying reparations, the French occupied several cities in the Ruhr basin until a settlement was reached. Germany's international relations continued to deteriorate. In 1923, after Germany defaulted on coal deliveries, the French (this time joined by the Belgians) again sent troops into the Ruhr basin, planning to seize its output to pay the wartime debt. Urged on by the government, Ruhr citizens shut down industry by staying home from work. The German government printed trillions of marks to support the workers and to pay its own war debts with practically worthless currency. The result was a staggering inflation in Germany: at one point, a single U.S. dollar cost 4.42 trillion marks, and wheelbarrows of money were required to buy a turnip. To resolve this chaos, the Dawes Plan (1924) and the Young Plan (1929) reduced reparations and restored the value of German currency. By that time, however, inflation had wiped out people's savings and turned even more Germans against their democratic government.

The second postwar issue involved making the peace take hold and last. Statesmen determined that peace needed disarmament, a return of Germany to the community of nations, and security for the new countries of eastern Europe. During hard diplomatic bargaining at the Washington Conference in 1921, the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy agreed to reduce their number of battleships and to stop constructing new ones for ten years. Four years later, in 1925, the League of Nations sponsored a meeting of the great powers, including Germany, at Locarno, Switzerland. The Treaty of Locarno provided Germany with a seat in the league as of 1926. In return for favorable plans, Germany agreed not to violate the borders of France and Belgium and to keep the nearby Rhineland demilitarized — that is, unfortified by troops.

To the east, statesmen feared German attempts to regain territory lost to Poland (actually underway by defeated soldiers), to merge with Austria, or to attack states spun off from Austria-Hungary. To meet this threat, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Romania formed the Little Entente in 1920–1921, a collective security agreement intended to protect them from Germany and Russia. Between 1924 and 1927, France allied itself with the Little Entente and with Poland. In 1928, sixty nations, including the major European powers, Japan, and the United States, signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which formally rejected international violence. Lacking any mechanism for enforcement, the pact resembled, as one critic put it, “an international kiss.”



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The Little Entente

The publicity surrounding these international agreements contrasted with the former secret diplomacy. Open, collective security planning of the 1920s suggested a diplomatic revolution that would promote international peace. Yet openness allowed diplomats to feed the press information designed to provoke the masses. For example, the press and opposition parties whipped the German populace into a nationalist fury whenever Germany’s diplomats appeared to compromise, even though these compromises worked to undo the Treaty of Versailles. Journalists who hated republican government used international meetings such as the one at Locarno to fire up political hatreds, no matter what the truth was, rather than promote peace or rational public discussion — the actual intention of such a diplomatic revolution.

REVIEW QUESTION

What were the major outcomes of the postwar peacemaking process?

A Decade of Recovery: Europe in the 1920s

Even after the armistice and the peace treaties, the wartime spirit endured and seemed impossible to forget. Towns and villages built their monuments to the fallen, and battlefield tourism sprang up for veterans and their families (see Primary Source Analysis). Words and phrases from the battlefield became part of everyday speech. Before the war the word *lousy* had meant "lice-infested," but English-speaking soldiers returning from the trenches now applied it to anything bad. Raincoats became *trench coats*. Maimed, disfigured veterans were present everywhere. While some received prostheses, such as those designed by Jules Amar, others without limbs were sometimes carried in baskets — hence the expression *basket case*. Four autocratic governments had collapsed as a result of the war, but whether these states would become workable democracies remained an open question. The Roaring Twenties masked the serious problem of restoring stability and implementing democracy amid the grim legacy of war.

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

Memory and Battlefield Tourism

World War I left deep wounds in the survivors, including the families of those who had died, and memories of the war and their loved ones filled everyday life. Like the English writer Vera Brittain, many relatives roamed the battlefields of Europe, in hopes of cementing their memories and understanding what had happened to their loved ones — and to Western civilization as a whole. During the war, Brittain had served as a nurse while suffering the loss of her brother, fiancé, and friends. Whereas organized tours of battlefields had begun almost immediately after the war, in 1921, Brittain went on her own to find her brother's grave high up in the remote mountains of Italy.

She recounted this visit in a memoir of her early life.

"How strange, how strange it is," I reflected, as I looked, with an indefinable pain stabbing my chest, for Edward's name among those neat rows of oblong stones, "that all my past years — the childhood of which I have no one, now, to share the remembrance, the bright fields at Uppingham, the restless months in Buxton, the hopes and ambitions of Oxford, the losses and long-drawn agonies of the War — should be buried in this grave on the top of a mountain, in the lofty silence, the singing unearthly stillness, of these remote forests! At every turn of every future road I shall want to ask him questions, to recall to him memories, and he will not be there. Who could have dreamed that the little boy born in such uneventful security to an ordinary provincial family would end his brief days in a battle among the high pine-woods of an unknown Italian plateau?"

Close to the wall, in the midst of a group of privates from the Sherwood Foresters who had all died on June 15th, I found his name: "Captain E. H. Brittain, M.C., 11th Notts. And Derby Regt. Killed in action June 15th, 1918. Aged 22." In Venice I had bought some rosebuds and a small asparagus fern in a pot; the shopkeeper had told me that it would last a long time, and I planted it in the rough grass beside the grave.

"How trivial my life has been since the War!" I thought, as I smoothed the earth over the fern. "How mean they are, these little strivings, these petty ambitions of us who are left, now that all of you are gone! How can the future achieve, through us, the sombre majesty of the past? Oh, Edward, you're so lonely up here; why can't I stay for ever and keep your grave company, far from the world and its vain endeavours to rebuild civilisation, on this Plateau where alone there is dignity and peace?"

Source: Vera Brittain, *Testament of Youth* (1933; repr. London: Virago, 1978), 525–27.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. In what ways are memory and historical facts important in this account of the postwar world?
2. How do memory and facts shape Brittain's analysis of the future?

Changes in the Political Landscape

The collapse of autocratic governments and the extension of suffrage to many women brought political turmoil as well as the expansion of democracy. Woman suffrage resulted from decades of fervent activism, but men in government claimed that suffrage was a “reward” for women’s war efforts. Women were voted into parliaments in the first postwar elections. Yet French men pointedly denied women the vote, threatening that women voters would bring back the rule of kings and priests. (Only at the end of World War II would France and Italy extend suffrage to women.) The welfare state also expanded, with payments being made to veterans and victims of workplace accidents. These benefits stemmed from the belief that more evenly distributed wealth — sometimes called economic democracy — would prevent further outbreak of revolution.

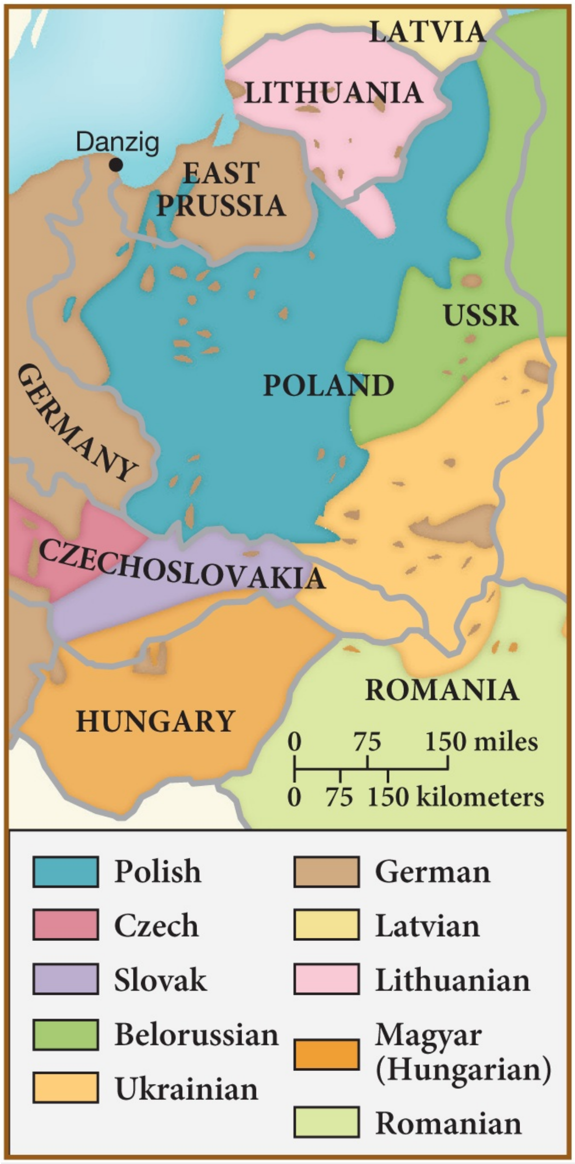
Women Gain Suffrage in the West

1906	Finland
1913	Norway
1915	Denmark, Iceland
1917	Netherlands, Russia
1918	Czechoslovakia, Great Britain (limited suffrage)
1919	Germany
1920	Austria, United States
1921	Poland
1925	Hungary (limited suffrage)
1945	Italy, France
1971	Switzerland

The trend toward economic democracy was not easy to maintain, however, as cycles of boom and bust reemerged. A short postwar economic boom prompted by reconstruction and consumer spending was followed by an economic downturn that was most severe between 1920 and 1922. By the mid-1920s, women made up a smaller percentage of the workforce than in 1913, and skyrocketing unemployment produced more discontent with governments. Veterans were especially angered by economic insecurity after years of enduring the war's horrors.

The new republics of eastern Europe in particular were unprepared for hard economic times and poorly equipped, given the devastation, to compete in the world market. None but Czechoslovakia had a mature industrial sector; agricultural techniques were often primitive; farms and livestock had been destroyed by advancing and retreating armies alike. Other pressing problems hampered them. Vast migrations occurred as some one million citizens escaped the civil war in Russia and 800,000 soldiers from the defeated Whites searched for safety. Two million people fled Turkey, Greece, and Bulgaria because the postwar settlement called for the new nations to be built along "nationality" lines. Hundreds of thousands landed in new nations: Hungary, for example, had to receive 300,000 people of Magyar ethnicity who were no longer welcome in Romania, Czechoslovakia, or Yugoslavia. Most of these millions of refugees lacked land or jobs or food. They had nothing to do "but loaf and starve," one English journalist observed of refugees in Bulgaria. Conflict and suffering menaced the region's revival.

Poland exemplified how postwar turmoil could destroy a new nation's parliamentary democracy. One-third of the reunified Poland consisted of Ukrainians, Belorussians, Germans, and other ethnic minorities — many of whom had grievances against the dominant Poles. Varying religious and cultural traditions also divided the Poles, who for 150 years had been split among Austria, Germany, and Russia. Polish reunification occurred without a common currency, political heritage, or even standard-sized railroad tracks. Despite a new constitution that professed equal rights for all ethnicities and religions, economic downturn brought strikes and violence in 1922–1923. Ultimately, former military leader Jozef Pilsudski took power via a coup in 1926 because of the government's inability to bring about prosperity. In postwar east-central Europe, military solutions to economic hardship demonstrated the peacetime continuation of hostility and war.



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National Minorities in Postwar Poland

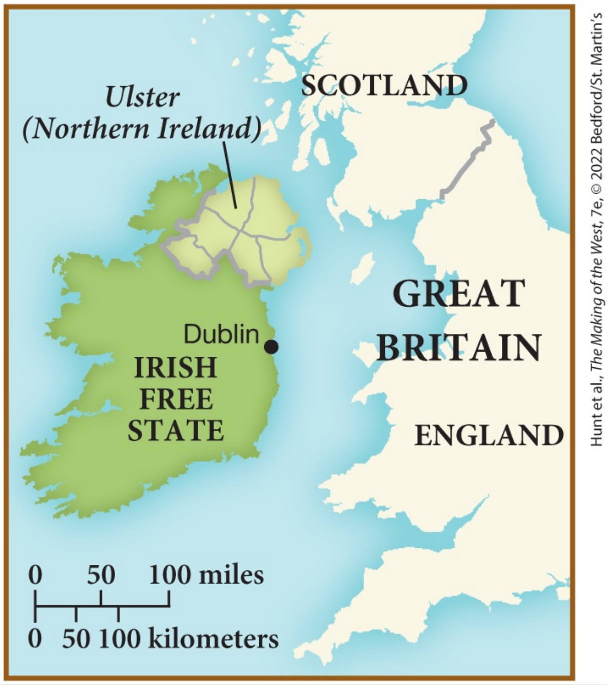
Germany was a different case. Although its economy picked up and the nation became a center of experimentation in the arts, political life remained unstable because so many people, nostalgic for imperial glory, associated defeat with the new Weimar Republic. Extremist politicians heaped daily abuse on Weimar's democracy. A wealthy newspaper and film tycoon called anyone cooperating with the parliamentary system "a moral cripple." Right-wing parties favored violence rather than consensus building, and nationalist thugs murdered democratic leaders and Jews. Growing numbers of communists, inspired by Bolshevism, were also not shy about jumping into street brawls.

Support for the far right came from wealthy landowners and businessmen, white-collar workers whose standard of living had dropped during the war, and members of the lower-middle and middle classes hurt by inflation. Bands of disaffected youth and veterans multiplied, among them a group called the Brown Shirts. Their leader was an ex-soldier named Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) — a favorite speaker among antigovernment crowds. In the wake of the Ruhr occupation of 1923, Hitler and German military hero Erich Ludendorff launched a coup d'état — or *putsch* in German — from a beer hall in Munich. Government troops suppressed the Beer Hall Putsch and arrested its leaders, but Ludendorff was acquitted and Hitler spent less than a year in jail. To conservative judges, former aristocrats, and most of the prewar bureaucrats who still staffed the government, such men were national heroes.

In France and Britain, parties on the right were less effective than in Germany because representative institutions were better established and the upper classes were not plotting to restore an authoritarian monarchy. In France, politicians from the conservative right and moderate left successively formed coalitions and rallied general support to rebuild war-torn regions and to force Germany to pay for the reconstruction. Needing population growth after the massive loss of life, the French parliament made distributing birth-control information illegal and abortion a severely punished crime.

Britain experienced postwar boom-and-bust cycles and continuing conflict in Ireland. Ramsay MacDonald (1866–1937), elected the first Labour prime minister in 1924, represented the political strength of workers. He had to face the unpleasant truth that although Britain had the largest world empire, many of its industries were obsolete or in poor condition. A showdown came in the ailing coal industry. On May 3, 1926, workers launched a nine-day general strike against wage cuts and dangerous conditions in the mines. The strike provoked middle-class resistance. University students, homemakers, and businessmen shut down the strike by replacing workers in many jobs. Seeing strikers as those who were once again attacking the nation, citizens from many walks of life began working through their wartime traumas with words and deeds, including violent acts at home and abroad.

In January 1919, Ireland's republican leaders declared their nation's independence and created a separate parliament. The British government refused to recognize the parliament and sent in the Black and Tans, a volunteer army of demobilized soldiers named for the color of their uniforms. Terror reigned in Ireland, and by 1921, public outrage had forced the British to negotiate, establishing the Irish Free State as a self-governing dominion. Separately, Northern Ireland, a group of six northern counties containing a majority of Protestants, became self-governing but still had representation in the British Parliament. This settlement left bitter discontent.



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The Irish Free State and Ulster, 1921

War had dramatically changed the colonies. European politicians and military recruiters had promised colonized peoples reforms, even independence, in exchange for their support during the war. Emir Faisal (later King of Syria and then Iraq) led a delegation to the peace conference to claim that reward only to be rejected. Elsewhere peoples' calls for reform and independence — now enhanced by increasing education, trade, and experience with the West — mostly met with a negative if not brutal response. British forces massacred protesters at Amritsar, India, in 1919, put down revolts against the mandate system in Egypt and Iran in the early 1920s, strafed Iraqui villages whose citizens refused to pay Britain taxes in those same years, and slaughtered women peacefully protesting in Nigeria in 1929. The Dutch jailed political leaders in Indonesia; the French punished Indochinese nationalists.

Western governments thus continued warfare in the colonies. Maintaining empires abroad seemed crucial to ensuring democracy, for any hint of declining national prestige fed antidemocratic forces.

Despite resistance, the 1920s marked the high tide of imperialism. Britain and France, enjoying new access to Germany's colonies in Africa and the territories of the fallen Ottoman Empire in the Middle East, were at the height of their global power because of the growing profitability that enterprise around the world could bring. Europeans expected the flow of Middle Eastern and Indonesian oil, for instance, to fuel the West's growing number of automobiles, airplanes, trucks, ships, and buses. Products like chocolate and tropical fruit became regular items in Westerners' diets, filling business people's pockets and ordinary people's expectations of these delights.

The balance of power among the imperial nations was shifting, however. The most important change was Japan's surging competition for markets, resources, and ultimately colonies. During the war, Japanese output of industrial goods such as metal and ships grew dramatically because the Western powers outsourced their wartime needs for such products. Japan's skyrocketing prosperity allowed it to become dominant in China. The Japanese government advertised its success as a sign of hope for non-Westerners. Japan's prosperity, the country's politicians claimed, would end the West's domination. Ardently nationalist, the Japanese military was not yet strong enough to challenge the Western powers. Thus, although outraged when the Western powers at Paris refused a nondiscrimination clause in the charter of the League of Nations, Japan cooperated in the Anglo-

American–dominated, racist peace settlement.

Reconstructing the Economy

The war had weakened European economies and allowed others — Japan, India, the United States, Australia, and Canada — to flourish. At the same time, the war had forced European manufacturing to become more efficient and had expanded the demand for automotive and air transport, electrical products, and synthetic goods. The prewar pattern of mergers and cartels continued after 1918, giving rise to gigantic food-processing firms such as Nestlé in Switzerland and petroleum enterprises such as Royal Dutch Shell. By the late 1920s, Europe was enjoying renewed economic prosperity.

The United States had become the trendsetter in economic modernization: by 1929, Ford Motor Company's Detroit assembly line was producing a Ford automobile every ten seconds. Increased productivity, founder Henry Ford (1863–1947) pointed out, resulted in a lower cost of living for workers. American efficiency expert Frederick Taylor (1856–1915) had developed methods to streamline workers' tasks for maximum productivity. Industrialists who adopted Taylor's methods were also influenced by European psychologists who emphasized the need to balance work and leisure activities. In theory, increased productivity not only produced prosperity for all but also unified workers and management, avoiding Russian-style worker revolution. For many workers, however, the emphasis on efficiency seemed inhumane; in some businesses restrictions were so severe that workers were allowed to use the bathroom only on a fixed schedule.

The managerial sector in industry had expanded during the war and continued to do so thereafter. Workers' knowledge became devalued, with managers alone seen as creative and innovative. Managers reorganized work procedures and classified workers' skills. They categorized jobs held by women as requiring less skill — whether they did or not — and therefore deserving of lower wages. With male workers' jobs increasingly threatened by labor-saving machinery, unions usually agreed that women should receive lower wages to keep them from competing with men for scarce high-paying jobs. Like the managerial sector, a complex union bureaucracy had ballooned during World War I to help monitor labor's part in the war. Unions could mobilize masses of people, as evidenced by their actions against coups in Weimar Germany and by the general strike in Great Britain in 1926.

Restoring Society

Civilians met the returning millions of brutalized, incapacitated, and shell-shocked veterans with combined joy and apprehension. Tens of thousands of German, central European, and Italian soldiers refused to disband; some British veterans vandalized university classrooms and assaulted women streetcar conductors and factory workers. Many veterans were angry that civilians had protested wartime conditions instead of quietly enduring them. Patriotic when the war erupted, civilians, especially women, sometimes felt estranged from the returning warriors who had inflicted so much death and who had lived daily with filth, rats, and decaying human flesh. While women who had served on the front had seen the soldiers' suffering firsthand and could sympathize with them, British suffragists, who had fought for equality in men’s and women’s lives before the war, often embraced separate spheres for men and women, so fearful were they of returning veterans.

For their part, veterans returned to a world that differed from the homes they had left. They found that the war had blurred class distinctions, giving rise to expectations that life would be fairer afterward. Despite their expectations, veterans often had few or no jobs open to them, and some found that their wives and sweethearts had abandoned them. Many found, too, that women’s roles had gone through other changes: middle-class women did their own housework because former servants could earn more money in factories, and greater numbers of women entered the professions. Women of all classes cut their hair short, wore sleeker clothes, smoked, and had money of their own because of war work.

Focusing on veterans’ needs, governments tried to make civilian life as comfortable as possible to reintegrate men into society and reduce the appeal of communism. Politicians believed in the calming power of family life and supported social programs such as veterans’ pensions and housing and benefits for out-of-work men. The new housing — “homes for heroes,” as politicians called the program in Vienna, Frankfurt, Berlin, and Stockholm — provided common laundries, day-care centers, and rooms for socializing. Gardens, terraces, and balconies provided a soothing country atmosphere that offset memories of battlefields and the hectic nature of industrial life. Inside, they boasted modern technology: bathrooms, central heating, and electricity.

akg-images/Newscom.

Modern Housing for the Berlin Working Class Politicians saw to the building of “homes for heroes” across postwar Europe, and Berlin was one leader in constructing modern housing for the working class. With many veterans enraged by the war experience and with socialist revolution a looming threat, plans for entirely new housing with running water, indoor plumbing, and medical and social facilities, it was hoped, would help return men to peaceful civilian life with happy spouses. The pictured complex was for workers at Siemens electrical engineering enterprises, which had lost many of its patents as well as its global reach because of the war. Recouping in the 1920s allowed it to undertake such projects.

Despite government efforts to restore traditional family life, freer relationships and more open discussions of sex characterized the 1920s. Middle-class youths of both sexes visited jazz clubs and attended movies together. Revealing bathing suits, short skirts, and body-hugging clothing emphasized women’s sexuality, seeming to invite men and women to replenish the postwar population. British scientist Marie Stopes published the best seller *Married Love* in 1918, and Dutch author Theodor van de Velde produced the wildly successful *Ideal Marriage: Its Physiology and Technique* in 1927. Both authors described sex in glowing terms and offered precise information about birth control and sexual physiology. One Viennese reformer promoted working-class marriage as “an erotic-comradely relationship of equals” rather than the economic partnership of past centuries. Meanwhile, such writers as the Briton D. H. Lawrence and the American Ernest Hemingway glorified men’s sexual vigor in, respectively, *Women in Love* (1920) and *The Sun Also Rises* (1926). Mass culture’s focus on heterosexuality encouraged the return to normality after the troubling gender disorder of the recent past.

As images of men and women changed, people paid more attention to bodily improvement. The increasing use of toothbrushes and toothpaste, safety and electric razors, and deodorants reflected new standards for personal hygiene and grooming. A multibillion-dollar cosmetics industry sprang up almost overnight. Women went to beauty parlors regularly to have their short hair cut, dyed, straightened, or curled. They also tweezed their eyebrows, applied makeup, and even submitted to cosmetic surgery. Ordinary women “painted” their faces (something only prostitutes had done formerly) and competed in beauty contests. Instead of wanting to look plump and pale, people aimed to become thin and tan, often through exercise and playing sports. Consumers’ new focus on personal health coincided with industry’s need for a physically fit workforce mirroring the fitness of soldiers.

As prosperity returned in the mid-1920s, people could afford to buy more consumer goods. Middle- and upper-class families snapped up sleek modern furniture, washing machines, and vacuum cleaners. Other modern conveniences such as electric irons and gas stoves appeared in better-off working-class households. Installment buying, popularized from the 1920s on, helped people finance these purchases. Family intimacy increasingly depended on machines of mass communication like radios, phonographs, and even automobiles, which not only transformed private life but also shaped mass politics.

REVIEW QUESTION

What were the major political, social, and economic problems facing postwar Europe, and how did governments attempt to address them?

Mass Culture and the Rise of Modern Dictators

Wartime propaganda had aimed to unite all classes against a common enemy. In the 1920s, new technology made the process of integrating diverse groups into a single Western or mass culture easier. The tools of mass culture — primarily radio, film, and newspapers — expanded their influence in the 1920s. Some intellectuals saw the media's potential for creating an informed citizenry and thus strengthening democracy. At the same time, technology allowed authoritarian rulers and would-be dictators such as Benito Mussolini, Joseph Stalin, and Adolf Hitler to shape uniform political thought and to control citizens' behavior far beyond what previous rulers had been able to do.

Culture for the Masses

The media received a big boost from the war. Bulletins from the battlefront whetted the public's craving for news and real-life stories, and sales of nonfiction books soared. After years of deprivation, people were driven to achieve material success, and they devoured books about how to gain it. A biography of Henry Ford, telling his story of upward mobility and technological accomplishment, became a best seller in Germany. Phonographs, radio programs, and movies also widened the impact of a technology-driven national culture.

In the 1920s, film evolved from an experimental medium to a thriving international business in which large corporations set up theater chains and marketed movies worldwide. Films of literary classics and political events developed people's sense of a common heritage and were often sponsored by governments. Bolshevik leaders backed the inventive work of director Sergei Eisenstein, whose films *Battleship Potemkin* (1925) and *Ten Days That Shook the World* (1927–1928) presented a Bolshevik view of history to Russian and international audiences.

Films incorporated familiar elements from everyday life. The popular comedies of the 1920s made the flapper more visible to the masses, attracting some hundred million weekly viewers, the majority of them women. Films also played to postwar fantasies and fears. In Germany, the influential hit *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (1919) depicted frightening events in an insane asylum as horrifying symbols of state power. Popular detective and cowboy films portrayed heroes who could fix the disordered world of murder, crime, and injustice. The plight of gangsters appealed to veterans, who had been exposed to the cheap value of modern life in the trenches. Those who had fought in faraway places appreciated films featuring transnational characters and deserts and other exotic settings; newsreels showed athletic, soldier-like bodies in sporting events such as boxing.

Like film, radio evolved from an experimental medium to an instrument of mass culture during the 1920s. Developed from the wireless technology of Italian inventor Guglielmo Marconi, the radio quickly became an affordable consumer item, allowing the public concert or lecture to penetrate the individual's private living space. Specialized programming for men (such as sports reporting) and for women (such as advice on home management) attracted listeners. Through radio, disabled veterans found ways to participate in public events and keep up to date. By the 1930s, radio helped politicians to reach the masses wherever they might be — even alone at home.

Cultural Debates over the Future

Cultural leaders in the 1920s either were obsessed with the horrendous experience of war or envisioned a fresh, utopian future that would erase the past. German artists, especially, produced bleak or violent scenes. The sculpture and woodcuts of German artist Käthe Kollwitz, whose son had died in the war, portrayed bereaved parents, starving children, and other heart-wrenching antiwar images (see the chapter-opening image). Others thought that Europeans needed to search for answers in far-off cultures. Seeing Europe as decadent, some turned to the spiritual richness of Asian philosophies and religions. An “Asiatic fever” seemed to grip intellectuals, including the British writer Virginia Woolf, who drew on ideas of reincarnation in her novel *Orlando* (1928), and the filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein, who modeled new techniques of film shots (montage) on Japanese calligraphy.

Other artists used satire and contempt to express postwar rage at civilization’s wartime failure. George Grosz (1893–1959), stunned by the war’s carnage, produced works marked by nonsense and shrieking expressions of alienation. Grosz’s paintings and cartoons of maimed soldiers and brutally murdered women reflected his self-proclaimed desire “to bellow back.” In the postwar years, the modernist practice of shocking audiences became more savage while portrayals of seedy everyday life flourished in cabarets and theaters in the 1920s and reinforced veterans’ beliefs in civilian decadence.

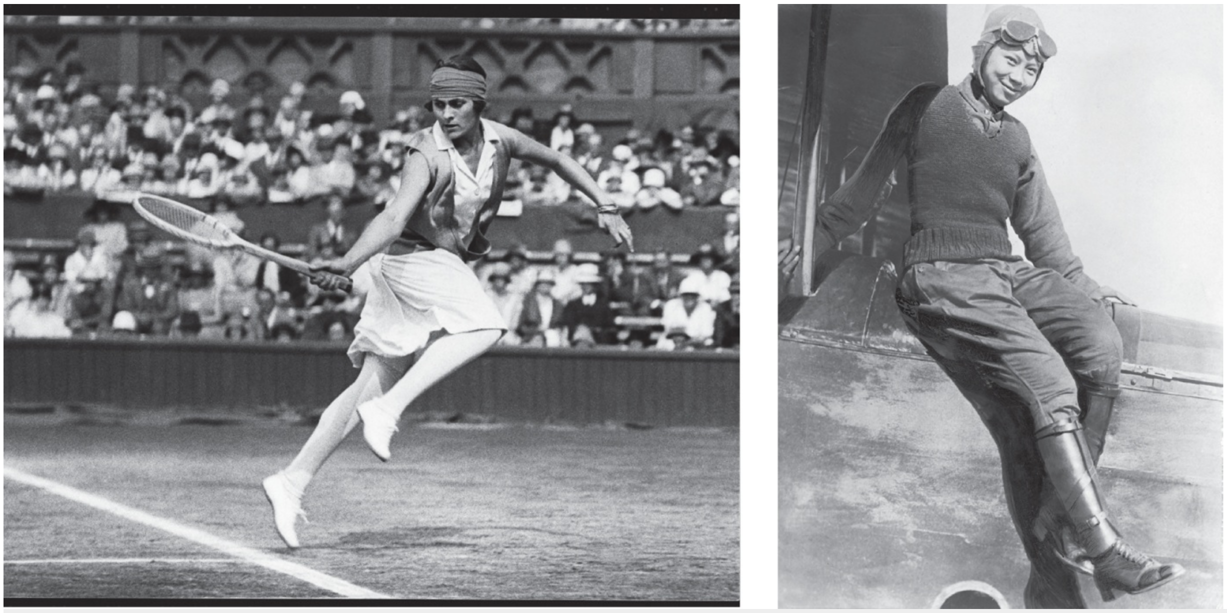
The art world itself became a battlefield, especially in defeated Germany, where it mirrored the Weimar Republic’s belligerent politics. Popular writers such as veteran Ernst Jünger glorified life in the trenches and called for the militarization of society. In contrast, Erich Maria Remarque, also a veteran, cried out for an end to war in his controversial novel *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1928). This international best seller depicted the shared life of enemies on the battlefield, thus aiming to overcome the national hatred aroused by wartime propaganda. Remarque’s novel was part of a flood of popular, and often bitter, literature appearing on the tenth anniversary of the war’s end. It coincided with an interest in “Great War tourism” such as visiting battlefields.

The postwar arts produced many a utopian fantasy turned upside down; dystopias of life in a war-traumatized Europe multiplied. In the bizarre stories of Franz Kafka, who worked by day in a large insurance company in Prague, the world is a vast, impersonal machine. His novels *The Trial* (1925) and *The Castle* (1926) show the hopeless condition of individuals caught between the cogs of society’s relentlessly turning gears. His themes echoed for civilian life the helplessness that soldiers had felt at the front. As the prewar way of life collapsed in the face of political and technological innovation, other writers depicted the complex, sometimes nightmarish inner life of individuals.

Irish writer James Joyce portrayed this interior self as built on memories and sensations, many of them from the war. Joyce’s *Ulysses* (1922) presents the fast-moving inner lives of its characters in the course of a single day. In one of the most celebrated passages in *Ulysses,* a long interior monologue traces a woman's lifetime of erotic and emotional sensations. The technique of using a character's thoughts to propel a story was called stream of consciousness. Virginia Woolf, too, used this technique in her novel *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925). For Woolf, the war had dissolved the solid society from which absorbing stories and fascinating characters were once fashioned. Her characters experience fragmented conversations and incomplete relationships. Woolf's novel *Orlando* also reflected the postwar attention to women. In the novel, the hero Orlando lives hundreds of years and in the course of his long life is eventually transformed into a woman.

There was another side to the postwar story, however — one based on the promise of technology. Before the war, avant-garde artists had celebrated the new, the futuristic, and the utopian. After the war, like Jules Amar crafting prostheses for shattered limbs, many postwar artists were optimistic that technology could make an entire wounded society whole. The aim of art, observed one of them, "is not to decorate our life but to organize it." German artists, calling themselves the Bauhaus (after the idea of a craft association, or *Bauhütte*), created streamlined office buildings and designed functional furniture and utensils, many of them inspired by forms from "untainted" East Asia and Africa. Russian artists, temporarily caught up in the communist experiment, optimistically wrote novels about cement factories and created ballets about steel.

Artists directed their interest in technology to the most modern of all countries — the United States. Hollywood films, glossy advertisements, and the bustling metropolis of New York tempted careworn Europeans. They loved films about the Wild West or the supposedly carefree “modern girl.” They were especially attracted to jazz, the improvisational music developed by African Americans. Performers like Josephine Baker (1906–1975) and Louis Armstrong (1901–1971) became international sensations when they toured Europe’s capital cities. Like jazz, the New York skyscraper pointed to the future, not to the grim wartime past.



Left: Hulton Deutsch/Getty Images; right: Walter Gircke/ullstein bild Dtl./Getty Images.

The “Modern Girl” aka the Flapper Many women’s lives changed during the war as numbers of them became heads of households, worked in factories, and often felt liberated from traditional restraints. The phenomenon of the “modern girl” was worldwide, as evidenced in the image of this Chinese woman who piloted the newest of technologies — a major ingredient of “modernity.” Likewise Lili de Alverez, Spanish tennis champ, took part in global sporting competitions, including autoracing. At Wimbledon she shockingly pioneered the “divided skirt,” or culottes, the precursor of shorts in some women’s sports. These changes occurred as male artists created images of grotesque young women or their mutilated dead bodies.

The Communist Utopia

Communism also promised a shining future and a modern, technological culture. As inexperienced Bolsheviks met powerful resistance, however, they became even more authoritarian and violent. In the early 1920s, peasant bands called Green Armies revolted against the Bolshevik policy of war communism that confiscated their crops. Industrial production stood at only 13 percent of prewar levels, and millions of refugees clogged the cities and roamed the countryside. In the early spring of 1921, workers in Petrograd and sailors at the naval base at Kronstadt revolted, protesting the privileged standard of living that Bolshevik supervisors enjoyed. They called for "soviets without communists" — that is, a worker state without elite leaders.

The Bolsheviks had many of the rebels shot, but the Kronstadt revolt pushed Lenin to institute reform. His New Economic Policy (NEP) returned parts of the economy to capitalist methods that allowed peasants to sell their grain and others to trade consumer goods freely. Although the state still controlled large industries and banking, the NEP encouraged people to produce and even, in the spirited slogan of one official, "get rich." As a result, consumer items and food became more available; some peasants and merchants prospered. The rise of these wealthy "NEPmen," who bought and furnished splendid homes, broke the Bolshevik promise of a classless utopia.

Further protests erupted within Communist ranks. At the 1921 party congress, a group called the Worker Opposition objected to the Party's takeover of economic control from worker organizations and pointed out that the NEP was not a proletarian program for workers. Lenin suppressed the Worker Opposition and began purging opponents — a practice that would become a deadly feature of communist rule. The Communist Party set up classes to improve the literacy rate — which had been only 40 percent on the eve of World War I. They could then make communism a cultural reality by encouraging people in such habits as keeping a diary of one's political development. To create social equality between the sexes, which had been part of the Marxist vision of the future, the state made birth control, abortion, and divorce readily available. As commissar for public welfare, **Aleksandra Kollontai** (1872–1952) promoted birth-control education for adults and day care for children of working parents. To encourage literacy, she wrote simply worded novels about love and work in the new socialist state for ordinary readers.

The bureaucracy swelled to promote modern ways, and *hygiene* and *efficiency* became watchwords, as they were in the rest of Europe. Agencies such as the Zhenotdel ("Women's Bureau") taught women about sanitary housekeeping, while efficiency experts aimed to replace backwardness with American-style technological modernity. The short-lived government agency Proletkult tried to develop proletarian culture through such undertakings as workers' universities, a workers' theater, and workers' publishing. Poet Vladimir Mayakovsky wrote verse praising his communist passport and essays promoting tooth brushing, while composers punctuated their music with the sound of train or factory whistles. As with war communism, many resisted attempts to change everyday life and culture. In Islamic regions of central Asia, incorporated from the old Russian Empire into the new communist one, Bolsheviks urged Muslim women to become "modern by removing their veils," but Muslims often attacked both Zhenotdel workers and women who followed their advice.

Lenin suffered a debilitating stroke in the spring of 1922, and amid ongoing cultural experimentation and factional fighting, this architect of the Bolshevik Revolution died in January 1924. The party congress changed the name of Petrograd to Leningrad and elevated the deceased leader into a secular god. Joseph Stalin (1879–1953), who served in the powerful post of general secretary of the Communist Party, was the chief mourner at Lenin's funeral, using the occasion to hand out good jobs. He advertised his role in joining Russian and non-Russian regions into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1923. Concerned with Stalin's influence and ruthlessness, Lenin in his last will and testament had asked that "the comrades find a way to remove Stalin." Stalin, however, prevailed and discredited his chief rival, Trotsky, as an unpatriotic internationalist. Simultaneously, Stalin organized the Lenin cult, which included perpetual public display of Lenin's embalmed corpse. By 1929, Stalin had achieved widespread control of the USSR.

Fascism on the March in Italy

In Italy, the rise to power of political journalist Benito Mussolini (1883–1945), who had turned from socialism to the radical right, kept the war alive. Italians raged when the Allies at Paris refused to honor their territorial promises to Italy for entering the war, and peasants and workers protested their economic plight during the slump of the early 1920s. Many Europeans blamed parliaments and constitutions for their troubles, so Italians backed Mussolini when he gathered veterans and unemployed men into a personal army (the Black Shirts) to overturn parliamentary government. In 1922, his supporters, known as the Fascists, started a march on Rome, forcing King Victor Emmanuel III (r. 1900–1946) to make Mussolini prime minister.

Keystone-France/Getty Images.

Mussolini and the Black Shirts Mussolini always struck a tough military pose, even when singing, as he reportedly was in this photo taken in the 1920s with his Black Shirt supporters. Once in power, Mussolini continued the militarization of society that had begun during World War I, instilling a cult of obedience and submission to state authority that he viewed as more important than fancy theories of politics and government. Militarization also flourished in scouting, chorus lines of synchronized dancers, marching bands, and political movements such as Hitler's as well as Mussolini's.

Like the Bolsheviks, Mussolini promised an efficient military utopia and the restoration of men's warrior status. The Black Shirts attracted many young men who felt cheated of wartime glory and many veterans who missed the vigor of military life. The fasces, an ancient Roman symbol depicting a bundle of sticks wrapped around an ax with the blade exposed (representing both unity and force), served as the movement's emblem and provided its name: **fascism**. Unlike Marxism, fascism scoffed at rational ideology: “Fascism is not a church,” Mussolini announced. “It is more like a training ground.” The Fascist Party was defined by deeds — specifically its promotion of male violence and its attacks on parliamentary rule (see Terms of History on page 944).

Mussolini criminalized any criticism of the state and used violence against opponents in parliament. Bands of men from the Fascist Party attacked striking workers, using their favorite tactic of forcing castor oil (which caused diarrhea) down the throats of socialists, causing chaos in neighborhoods, and even murdering rivals. Yet the sight of the Black Shirts marching through the streets like disciplined soldiers signaled to many Italians that their country was orderly and modern. Large landowners and businessmen approved the Fascists' attacks on strikers and therefore financed the movement. Their generous funding allowed Mussolini to build a large staff by hiring the unemployed, creating the illusion that the Fascists could rescue the economy when no one else could.

Like a wartime leader, Mussolini used mass propaganda to build support for a kind of military campaign to remake Italy. Peasant men huddled around radios to hear him call for a “battle of wheat” to enhance farm productivity. Peasant women adored him for appearing to value motherhood. In the cities the government launched sleek architectural projects and used public relations promoters to advertise its achievements. The modern city became a stage set for Fascist Party spectacles captured by newsreel cameras and broadcast by radio. Mussolini claimed that he made the trains run on time, and this triumph of modern technology fanned people's hopes that he could restore order, albeit violently.

Mussolini added traditional values and prejudices to his modern order. An atheist himself, he recognized the importance of Catholicism in Italian life. In 1929, the Lateran Agreement between the Italian government and the church made the Vatican an independent state under papal sovereignty. The government recognized the church's right to determine marriage and family policy; in return, the church ended its criticism of Fascist Party tactics. Mussolini also outlawed labor unions, replacing them with organized groups of employers, workers, and professionals to settle grievances and determine conditions of work. Mussolini drew praise from business leaders and professionals when he announced cuts in women's wages and a ban on women in the professions. Mussolini aimed to confine women to low-paying jobs as a way to reinvigorate men.

Mussolini's numerous admirers across the West included Adolf Hitler, who throughout the 1920s had been building a paramilitary group of storm troopers alongside a political organization called the National Socialist German Workers' Party (the Nazi Party). During his brief stint in jail for the 1923 Beer Hall Putsch, Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf* ("My Struggle"); in the book, he expressed both his vicious anti-Semitism and his recipe for manipulating the masses. Hitler was fascinated by Mussolini's legal accession to power and his triumph over all opposition. Late in the 1920s, however, the conditions that had allowed Mussolini to rise to power in 1922 no longer existed in Germany. Although the Nazi Party was becoming a strong political instrument, Weimar democracy was functioning better as the decade wore on.

TERMS OF HISTORY

Fascism

Fascism was, along with communism and liberalism, one of the dominant ideologies of the twentieth century. It began in the 1920s as Benito Mussolini's movement in Italy, taking its name from *fasces* — a Latin word for the bundle of rods with hatchet symbolizing Roman magisterial authority. Under Mussolini, the concept placed the value of the national community above that of individuals and the laws and rights that protected them.

The term was then broadened to apply generally to the various authoritarian political parties (such as the Nazis) and their leaders, who came to power in Italy, Germany, Spain, eastern Europe, and other parts of the world before World War II. As an outgrowth of World War I, fascism applauded violence and military struggle on the state's behalf and denied the value of peace and pacifism. Fascism was also explicitly and fundamentally antidemocratic: both Mussolini and Adolf Hitler loudly rejected democratic values, with Mussolini arguing that the twentieth century would be the century of "authority" and of the "state" — not the century of democracy and hard-won consensus, which he saw as outmoded.

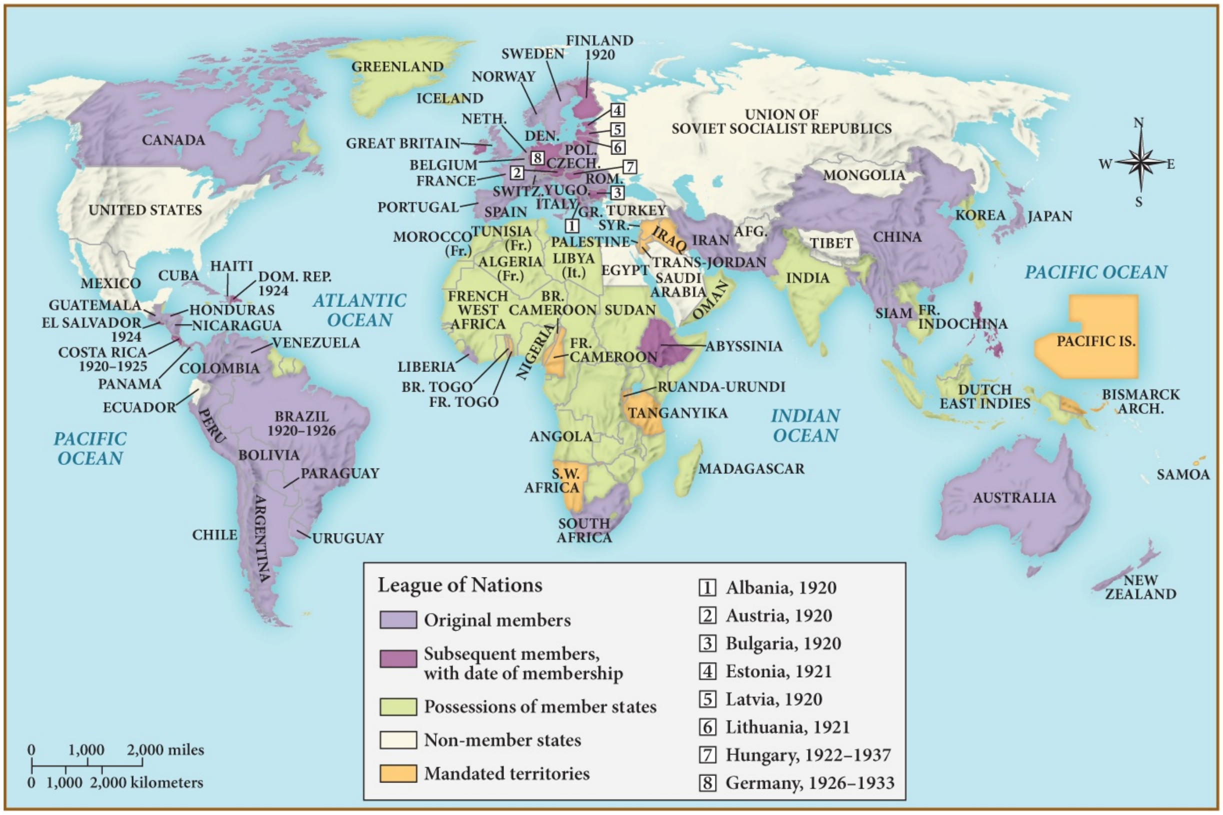
The expansion of fascism as a general political concept passed through several phases, moving from a "rooting" stage of growth and mobilization to the seizure and exercise of brutal state power, to a violent expansion that culminated in radical action such as war and genocide. The rooting stage required popular support, which Fascist Party leaders solicited through programs with mass appeal: just after World War I, Mussolini issued a First Fascist Program that included votes for women, the eight-hour day, taxation of war profits, confiscation of church lands, and workers' participation in industrial management. Once in power, however, Fascists cast aside the principles that had won them popular support. By 1935, fascism had come to focus on the powers of one charismatic leader: Mussolini in Italy, Hitler of Germany, and Francisco Franco of Spain, in their military-garbed persons, became living embodiments of the all-powerful state. Japan later joined the fascist Axis powers after its attack on the United States in 1941, in part because Japan's military had come to embrace the same violence-driven ambitions of an all-powerful state.

Underlying fascist actions was the core belief that racial superiority fostered a strong national community. Fascists argued that a regimented society would strengthen the “master race,” with Germany and Japan slaughtering millions toward that end. Believing that militarization strengthens the state and transforms the people, fascists also eagerly pursued war as an important end in itself. Through regimentation, militarization, and violent action, fascists sought to eliminate those deemed inferior or subversive and caused the emergence of an idealized “man of steel.”

Today, the term *fascist* has lost its clear definition and is regularly used to characterize any opponent with whom one disagrees. Similar use is made of terms like *socialist* and *liberal* — words that once had a precise meaning but now have become random epithets used as intensely negative insults.

REVIEW QUESTION

How did the postwar atmosphere influence cultural life and encourage the trend toward dictatorship?



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAPPING THE WEST

Europe and the World in 1929

The map reflects the partitions and nations that came into being as a result of war and revolution, while it obscures the increasing movement toward throwing off colonial rule as well as the suffering that war, revolution, and empire entailed. The high point of empire was still unfolding with the mandate system and the 1930s drive by Germany, Italy, and Japan, all of which searched for land and resources to fuel growth.

Analyzing the Map: Observe the League of Nations membership as depicted in the map. What common bonds, if any, united these member nations?

Making Connections: From the map and your knowledge of nineteenth-century history, can you suggest which nation or nations would be the dominant powers in the League of Nations?

Conclusion

The year 1929 was to prove just as fateful as 1914 had been. In 1914, World War I began an orgy of death and the destruction of major dynasties. For four years, the war promoted military technology, fierce nationalism, and the control of everyday life by bureaucracy. As dynasties fell, the Peace of Paris treaties of 1919–1920 left Germans bitterly resentful. In eastern and central Europe the creation of new states by the treaties failed to guarantee a peaceful future. Massive migrations produced additional chaos, as refugees fled political upheaval such as that in Russia and as some new nations expelled minority groups. Colonies, including the mandates, organized broader resistance.

War furthered the development of mass society. It leveled social classes on the battlefield and in the graveyard, standardized political thinking through wartime propaganda, and extended many political rights to women. Production techniques, improved during wartime, were used in peacetime for manufacturing consumer goods. Technological innovations — from the prostheses built by Jules Amar to air transport and radio transmission — became available. Modernity in the arts intensified, probing the nightmarish war that continued to haunt the population.

By the end of the 1920s, the war had so militarized the population that strongmen had come to power in several countries, including the Soviet Union and Italy, with Adolf Hitler waiting in the wings in Germany. These strongmen and their followers kept alive the wartime glorification of violence. Many Westerners were impressed by the tough, modern efficiency of Fascists and Communists who made parliaments and citizen rule seem out of date, even effeminate. When the U.S. stock market crashed in 1929 and economic disaster circled the globe, authoritarian solutions and militarism looked irresistibly appealing. What followed was a series of catastrophes even more devastating than those of World War I.

Chapter 25 Review

Key Terms and People

Be sure you can identify the term or person and explain its historical significance.

total war
cult of the offensive
Schlieffen Plan
Fourteen Points
soviets
V. I. Lenin
Bolshevik Revolution
Weimar Republic
Peace of Paris
war guilt clause
League of Nations
mandate system
Aleksandra Kollontai
Benito Mussolini
fascism

Review Questions

1. In what ways was World War I a total war?
2. Why did people rebel during World War I, and what turned rebellion into outright revolution in Russia?
3. What were the major outcomes of the postwar peacemaking process?
4. What were the major political, social, and economic problems facing postwar Europe, and how did governments attempt to address them?
5. How did the postwar atmosphere influence cultural life and encourage the trend toward dictatorship?

Making Connections

1. How did the experience of war shape postwar mass politics?
2. What social changes from World War I carried over into the postwar years, and why?
3. How did postwar artistic and cultural innovations build on the modern movements that developed between 1890 and 1914?
4. What changes did the war bring to relationships between European countries and their colonies?

Important Events

1913–1925	Suffrage for women expands in much of Europe
1914	*August:* World War I begins
1916	Irish nationalists stage Easter Uprising against British rule
1917	*March:* Revolution in Russia overturns tsarist autocracy
	April: United States enters World War I
	November: Bolshevik Revolution in Russia
1918	*November:* Armistice ends fighting of World War I; revolutionary turmoil throughout Germany; kaiser abdicates
1918–1922	Civil war in Russia
1919	Weimar Republic is established
1919–1920	Paris Peace Conference redraws map of Europe
1922	Ireland gains independence; Fascists march on Rome; Mussolini becomes prime minister; Joyce, *Ulysses*; USSR established; Hitler builds Nazi Party
1924	Lenin dies; Stalin and Trotsky contend for power
1924–1929	Period of general economic prosperity and stability
1929	*October:* Stock market crash in United States

Consider three events

Joyce, *Ulysses* (1922), Fascists march on Rome (1922), and period of general economic prosperity and stability (1924–1929). How do these events illustrate the complexities of postwar life?

Suggested References

Readers of history and scholars continue to explore the gripping and tragic events of World War I. Hanna’s work captures the often heartrending relationship between the battlefront and home front, while Matera’s study provides an example of the tragic aftermath in the colonies.

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[i] World War I Document Archive: http://www.lib.byu.edu/%7Erdh/wwi

[i] Primary source.

Chapter 26

The Great Depression and World War II

1929–1945

akg-images/Newscom.

Nazis on Parade By the time Hitler came to power in 1933, Germany was mired in the disorder and suffering of the Great Depression. Hated by Communists, Nazis, and conservatives alike, the reigning Weimar Republic at the time had few supporters and the economic slump was the last straw. The mere sight of Nazi soldiers marching with military precision comforted people that all would be well — no matter that they were actually stirring up the public disorder they claimed to repair. After Hitler came to power in 1933, the marching continued in the streets but especially in massive Nazi Party rallies. Hitler exercised for hours strengthening his right arm so that he could hold the Nazi salute for extended periods of time and thus appear a mighty leader.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

The Great Depression

How did the Great Depression affect society and politics?

Totalitarian Triumph

What role did violence play in the Soviet and Nazi regimes?

Democracies on the Defensive

How did the democracies' responses to the twin challenges of economic depression and the rise of fascism differ from those of totalitarian regimes?

The Road to Global War

How did the aggression of Japan, Germany, and Italy create the conditions for global war?

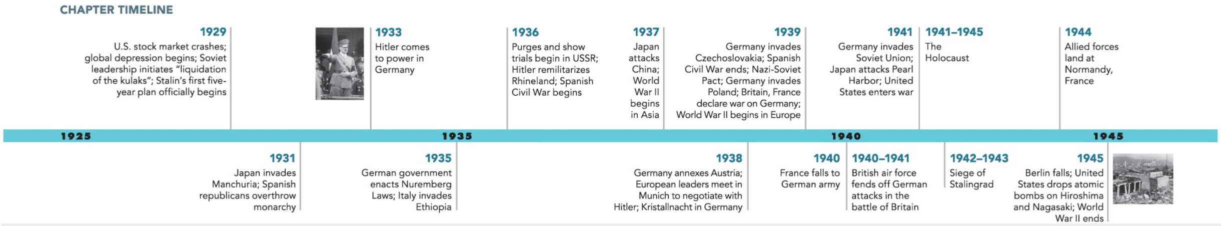
World War II, 1939–1945

How and where was World War II fought, and what were its major consequences?

When Etty Hillesum moved to Amsterdam from the Dutch provinces in 1932 to attend law school, an economic depression gripped the world. A resourceful young woman, Hillesum pieced together a living as a housekeeper and part-time language teacher so that she could continue her studies. Absorbed in her everyday life, she took little note of Adolf Hitler's spectacular rise to power in Germany, even when he demonized her fellow Jews as responsible for the economic slump and for most other problems Germany faced. In 1939, the outbreak of World War II awakened her to the reality of what was happening. The German conquest of the Netherlands in 1940 led to the persecution of Dutch Jews, bringing Hillesum to note in her diary: “What they are after is our total destruction.” The Nazis started relocating Jews to camps in Germany and Poland. Hillesum went to work for Amsterdam’s Jewish Council, which was forced to organize the transport of Jews to death camps. Changing from self-absorbed student to heroine, she did what she could to help other Jews and began carefully recording the deportations. When she and her family were captured and deported in turn, she smuggled out letters from the transit camps along the route to Poland, describing the inhumane conditions and brutal treatment of the Jews. “I wish I could live for a long time so that one day I may know how to explain it,” she wrote. Etty Hillesum never got her wish: she died at Auschwitz in November 1943.

The economic recovery of the late 1920s came to a halt with the U.S. stock market crash in 1929, which launched a worldwide economic depression and the march toward another world war. Economic distress attracted many people to military-style strongmen for solutions to their problems. Among these dictators was Adolf Hitler, who called on the German masses to restore the national glory that had been damaged by defeat in 1918. He urged Germans to scorn democratic rights and root out those he considered to be inferior people: Jews, Slavs, and Sinti and Roma (once abusively called Gypsies), among others. Militaristic and fascist regimes spread to Spain, Poland, Hungary, Japan, and countries of Latin America, crushing representative institutions. In the Soviet Union, Joseph Stalin justified the killing of millions of citizens as necessary for the USSR’s industrialization and the survival of communism. For millions of hard-pressed people in the 1930s, dictatorship had great appeal as did, for some, the revival of militarism.

Elected leaders in the democracies reacted cautiously to both economic depression and the dictators’ aggression. Mass media made leaders following democratic principles appear timid alongside dictators dressed in uniforms and bellowing decisive orders. Only the German invasion of Poland in 1939 pushed the democracies to strong action, as World War II erupted in Europe. By 1941, the war had spread across the globe with the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and many other nations united in combat against Germany, Italy, Japan, and their allies. Tens of millions would perish in this war because both technology and ideology had become more deadly than they had been just two decades earlier. More than half the dead were civilians, among them Etty Hillesum, killed for being Jewish.


CHAPTER TIMELINE
1929
U.S. stock market crashes; global depression begins; Soviet leadership initiates “liquidation of the kulaks”; Stalin’s first five-year plan officially begins
1933
Hitler comes to power in Germany
1936
Purges and show trials begin in USSR; Hitler remilitarizes Rhineland; Spanish Civil War begins
1937
Japan attacks China; World War II begins in Asia
1939
Germany invades Czechoslovakia; Spanish Civil War ends; Nazi-Soviet Pact; Germany invades Poland; Britain, France declare war on Germany; World War II begins in Europe
1941
Germany invades Soviet Union; Japan attacks Pearl Harbor; United States enters war
1941–1945
The Holocaust
1944
Allied forces land at Normandy, France
1925
1935
1940
1945
1931
Japan invades Manchuria; Spanish republicans overthrow monarchy
1935
German government enacts Nuremberg Laws; Italy invades Ethiopia
1938
Germany annexes Austria; European leaders meet in Munich to negotiate with Hitler; Kristallnacht in Germany
1940
France falls to German army
1940–1941
British air force fends off German attacks in the battle of Britain
1942–1943
Siege of Stalingrad
1945
Berlin falls; United States drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; World War II ends

akg-images/Newscom; Everett Collection

CHAPTER FOCUS

What were the main economic, social, and political challenges of the years 1929–1945, and how did governments and individuals respond to them?

The Great Depression

The U.S. stock market crash of 1929 and economic developments around the world triggered the Great Depression of the 1930s. Rural and urban folk alike suffered as tens of millions lost their jobs and livelihoods. The whole world felt the depression's impact: commerce and investment in industry fell off, social life and gender roles were upset, and the birthrate plummeted. From peasants in Asia to industrial workers in Germany and the United States, the Great Depression shattered lives worldwide.

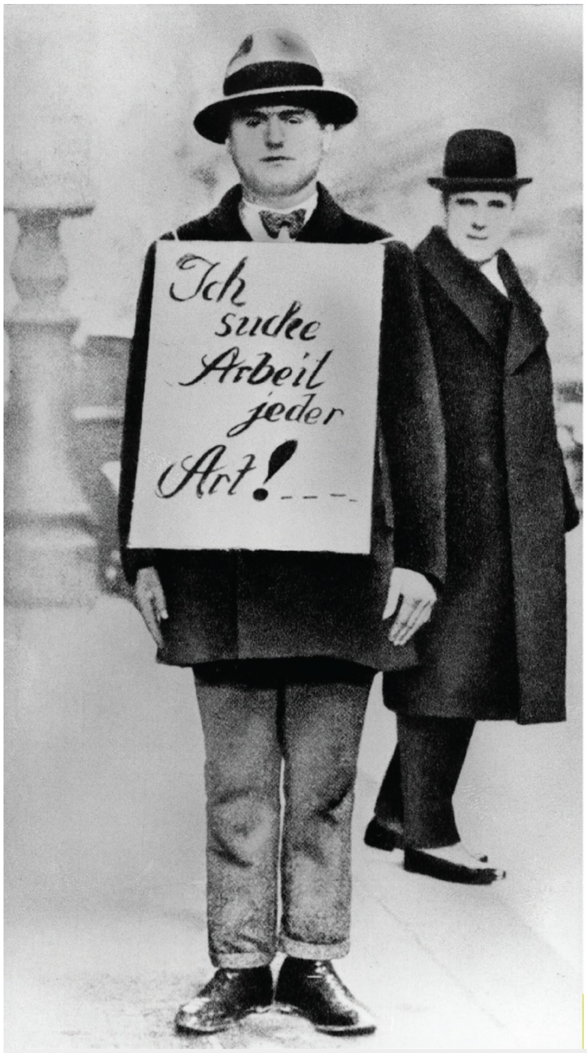
Economic Disaster Strikes

In the 1920s, millions of individual Americans, as well as institutions, had not only invested their money but also borrowed funds to make these investments in the soaring stock market. They used easy credit to buy shares in popular companies based on electric, automotive, and other new technologies. By the end of the decade, the Federal Reserve Bank — the nation's central bank, which controlled financial policy — tried to slow speculation by limiting credit availability, which then caused brokers to demand that clients immediately pay back the money they had borrowed to buy stock. As stocks were sold to raise the necessary cash, the market collapsed. Between early October and mid-

November 1929, the value of businesses listed on the U.S. stock exchange dropped from $87 billion to $30 billion. For individuals and for the economy as a whole, it was the beginning of catastrophe.

The crash helped bring on a global depression that unfolded over the course of several years. The United States had financed the international economic growth of the previous five years through loans, so when the suddenly strapped U.S. banks cut back on loans and called in debts, it undermined businesses worldwide. Jobs dwindled and a decline in consumer buying slowed the world economy, including the young businesses of eastern Europe.

The Great Depression left few sectors of the world economy unscathed, but government actions made the depression worse. To try to spur their economies, governments cut budgets and set high tariffs against foreign goods that raised prices for ordinary people; these policies discouraged the consumer spending and international trade needed to spark the economy. Officials in charge of the flow of global money that promoted commerce desperately guarded their own supplies of gold. Unemployment soared: Great Britain — with its outdated textile, steel, and coal industries — had close to three million unemployed in 1932. By 1933, almost six million German workers, or about one-third of the workforce, had lost their jobs (see Primary Source Analysis).


Ich suche Arbeit jeder Art!

ullstein bild Dtl./Getty Images.

Unemployed in Germany (1932) “I’m looking for work of any kind,” this respectably dressed unemployed man announces on his sign. Germans were among those hardest hit by the Great Depression, and when demagogues pointed to such sights as evidence that democracy did not work, it helped pull down the rule of constitutions, representative government, and guaranteed rights.

Agricultural prices had been declining for several years because of technological advances and abundant harvests around the world. With their incomes slashed, millions of small farmers had no money to buy the chemical fertilizers and motorized machinery they needed to remain competitive. Creditors confiscated farms. Eastern and southern European peasants, who had pressed for the redistribution of land after World War I, could not afford to operate their newly acquired farms, and they, too, went under.

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

A Family Copes with Unemployment

Austria and Germany were incredibly hard hit by the economic depression. The trauma was made worse because of the catastrophic defeat and dismemberment of both the Austrian and German empires as a result of World War I. In 1931, sociologists visited a small industrial town called Marienthal, an hour outside of Vienna, to report on the psychological and physical condition of the hundreds of families left penniless by the closing of the textile mills.

The father was sitting on a low stool with a pile of worn-out children's shoes in front of him that he was trying to mend with roofing felt. The children were sitting together motionless on a box, in stockinged feet, waiting for their shoes to be finished. The father explained with embarrassment, "… On Sundays I have to patch the shoes up a bit so that the children can go to school again on Monday." He held up the completely dilapidated shoes of the eldest boy. "I just don't know what I can do with these. On holidays he can't go out of the house any more…."

The youngest child caught our attention. His face was feverish and puffy and swollen around the nose. He breathed heavily with his mouth open. The mother explained: "He always has a cold. He ought to have his tonsils and adenoids out, but we can't afford the trip to the hospital…." The father told us that things had been going terribly badly these last few days. All they had been able to buy was bread, and not enough of that. The children kept coming into the kitchen asking for another piece; they were always hungry. His wife sat in the kitchen crying.

Source: Marie Jahoda et al., eds., *Marienthal: The Sociography of an Unemployed Community*, trans. John Reginall and Thomas Elsaesser (1933; repr. Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1971), 87–88.

QUESTION TO CONSIDER

How does the situation of this Austrian family illustrate why Europeans might have willingly followed Nazi and Fascist politicians in the 1930s?

Social Effects of the Depression

The Great Depression had complex effects on society. First, life was not uniformly bleak, and despite the slump, modernization continued. Bordering English slums, one traveler in the mid-1930s noticed, were “filling stations and factories that look like exhibition buildings, giant cinemas and dance halls and cafés, bungalows with tiny garages, cocktail bars, Woolworth’s [and] swimming pools.” Municipal and national governments continued road construction and sanitation projects. New factories manufactured synthetic fabrics, automobiles, and electrical products such as stoves. With government assistance, eastern European industry developed: Romanian industrial production, for example, increased by 55 percent between 1929 and 1939. Second, the majority of Europeans and Americans had jobs throughout the 1930s, and people with steady employment benefited from a drastic drop in prices. Service workers, managers, and business magnates often prospered. In contrast, towns with heavy industry often saw more than half the population out of work, spreading fear across the population, including those employed.

Economic catastrophe upset gender relations and weakened social ties. Women often found low-paying jobs doing laundry and cleaning house, while unemployed men sometimes stayed home all day and took over housekeeping chores. Some, however, felt that this “women’s work” demeaned their masculinity, and as many women became breadwinners, albeit for low wages, men could be seen standing on street corners begging — a change in gender expectations that fed discontent. Young men in cities faced severe unemployment; with nothing to do but loiter in parks, they became ripe for movements like Nazism. Demagogues everywhere attacked democracy’s failure to stop the collapse of traditional life, clearing the way for Nazi and Fascist politicians who promised to create jobs and thus restore male dignity.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

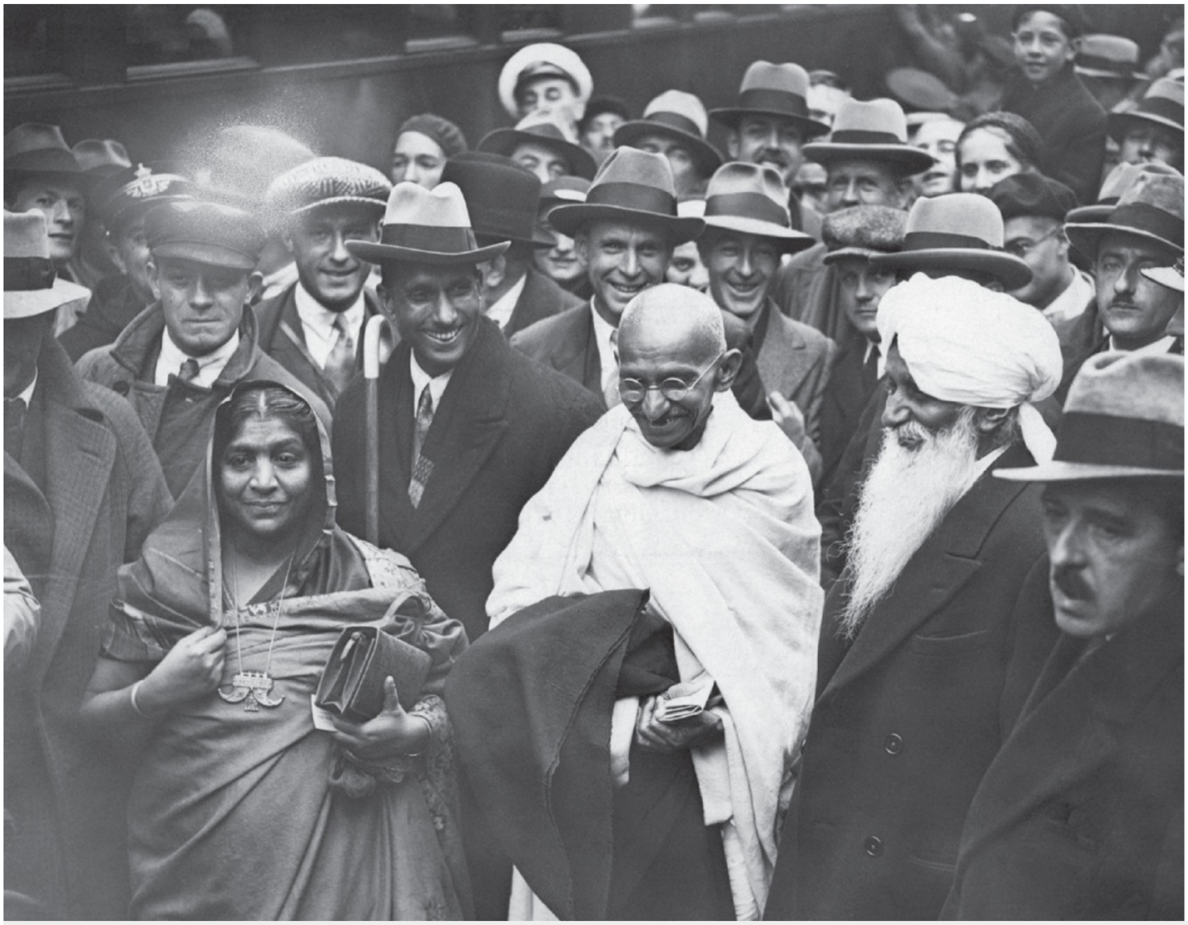
You are a young person living in a German city who was lucky enough to have a good factory job in 1930 when suddenly you become unemployed because of the economic downturn. What would you do after losing your job? What would your attitude be about work and about the state of the world? What political position would attract you? What factors would affect your choice of political party? Is your gender at all related to your choices and attitudes?

Politicians drew attention to the declining birthrates. In difficult economic times, people chose to have fewer children than ever before. In addition, compulsory education, enforced more strictly after the war, reduced the income once earned by children, who now cost their families money instead of earning it. Family-planning centers opened, receiving many clients, and knowledge of birth control spread across all classes. Leaders worried most, however, about a collapse in military readiness if “superior” peoples failed to breed and “inferior” peoples did. Racism took a particularly violent form in eastern Europe, where political parties blamed Jewish bankers for farm foreclosures and Jewish civil servants (of whom there were actually very few) for inadequate relief programs. Population concerns alongside economic misery produced rising animosity, especially ethnic hatred and anti-Semitism.

The Great Depression beyond the West

The depression increased discontent in European empires and beyond. World War I and postwar investment had produced economic growth, a rising population, and explosive urbanization in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The depression, however, cut the demand for copper, tin, and other raw materials and for the finished products made in urban factories worldwide. Rising agricultural productivity drove down the price of foodstuffs like rice and coffee, a disaster for colonial peoples who had been forced to grow a single cash crop. Just as in Europe, however, the economic picture in the colonies was uneven. For instance, established Indian industries such as the textile business gained strength, with India no longer needing British cloth.

Economic distress intensified anticolonial action. Colonial farmers withheld produce like cocoa from imperial trade, and colonial workers went on strike to protest the wage cuts imposed by imperial landlords. In India, millions of working people, including hundreds of thousands of veterans, joined with the upper-class Indians, who had organized to gain rights from Britain in the late nineteenth century. Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869–1948), called Mahatma (“great-souled”), emerged as the charismatic leader for Indian independence. Trained in England as a Western-style lawyer, Gandhi preached Hindu self-denial and rejected British love of material wealth. He wore simple clothing made of thread he had spun himself and advocated **civil disobedience** — deliberately but peacefully breaking the law — a tactic he claimed to have taken from the British suffragists and from the teachings of spiritual leaders like Jesus and Buddha (see Terms of History on page 958). Gandhi aimed to end Indian deference to the British, who jailed him repeatedly and tried to split the Indian independence movement by promoting Hindu-Muslim antagonism. Instead, commitment to independence in India grew.



George Rinhart/Getty Images.

Gandhi Visits England, 1931 Mohandas K. Gandhi, an English-trained lawyer, was central to making the Indian independence movement a mass phenomenon. He made Indians see the superior ideals in their own culture in contrast to those of the West. The West, he maintained, including the United States, valued only money. Gandhi riveted his audiences, addressing women and children as well as men. In 1931, accompanied by poet and anti-imperialist activist Sarojini Naidu, Gandhi set out from France to attend a meeting in England on reform in India.

One can see that Gandhi lived his rejection of British ways.

The end of the Ottoman Empire following World War I led to efforts to build modern, independent nations in the Middle East. Mustafa Kemal (1881–1938), who later took the name Atatürk (“first among Turks”), led the Turks to found an independent republic in 1923 and to craft a capitalist economy. In an effort to Westernize Turkish culture and promote the new Turkish state, Kemal moved the capital from Constantinople to Ankara in 1923, officially changed the name Constantinople to the Turkish name Istanbul in 1930, mandated Western dress for men and women, introduced the Latin alphabet, and abolished polygamy. In 1936, Turkish women received the vote and were made eligible to serve in the parliament. Persia, which changed its name to Iran in 1935, similarly loosened the European grip on its economy by updating its government and by forcing the renegotiation of oil contracts to keep Western countries from taking the oil for virtually nothing.

Anticolonial activism thrived in French colonies, too, but the government made few concessions. Like all other imperial countries during the depression, France depended increasingly on the profits it could take from its empire; therefore, its trade with its colonies increased as trade with Europe lagged. France also depended on the growing colonial population for sheer numbers. One official estimated what colonial numbers meant for national security: “One hundred and ten million strong, France can stand up to Germany.” Ho Chi Minh, founder of the Indochinese Communist Party, rallied his people to protest French imperialism, but in 1930, the French government brutally crushed the peasant uprising he led. Needing their empires, Britain and France increased the number of troops stationed around the world. As a result, fascism spread largely unchecked in Europe during the 1930s.

TERMS OF HISTORY

Civil Disobedience

Civil disobedience, as a term, has several variations. It has been called “noncooperation,” “passive resistance,” and “nonviolent resistance,” among other terms. British suffragists, who in the early twentieth century chained themselves to the gates of Parliament, have been seen as practicing civil disobedience. Further, when in prison, they went on hunger strikes and when force-fed and released from prison they turned around and disobeyed the law again in the name of equality for women. Later practitioners of civil disobedience were U.S. African American activists in the 1950s and 1960s who sat in at lunch counters, integrated schools, and marched for justice despite arrests, beatings, and murder.

Mohandas Gandhi, who for many decades practiced nonviolent resistance, began his career as an English-trained lawyer — that is, as an official enmeshed in the rule of law. Nonetheless he constantly broke British law in the name of higher values. Most famously, in 1930, he led a 240-mile march of Indian subjects of Britain to the Indian coast in order to break the law forbidding South Asian natives from harvesting salt. The British had criminalized salt-harvesting to give itself a product that it could tax, thus raising funds for itself and raising prices for South Asian consumers.

Those who practiced nonviolent resistance or civil disobedience were hardly “passive” resisters or cowardly ones. In the case of Gandhi and his followers, police and soldiers clubbed, injured, tortured, and imprisoned them, demanding commitment and bravery. Such resisters in fact had to be strong based on their development and practice of soul force or truth force on which Gandhi founded his movement. Truth was the foundation of nonviolent resistance; it opposed falsehood, violence, and hatred, thus making satyagraha (truth force) as a practice that was the opposite of all that was evil and material. Gandhi deployed his soul force against the British, who, he maintained, represented greed, sensuality, and barbarism.

Gandhi wrote copiously of the relationship between nonviolent resistance and the wide world of human behavior. Among other things, he saw ahimsa (do no harm) as the means to reach satyagraha or its implementation. He rejected anger toward one’s enemy or harasser and proposed several codes of behavior that would detoxify human society. In all these and other regards, nonviolent resistance was a complex concept deeply rooted not just in Indian spirituality but in many of the world's most important religious and philosophical principles. It soared in usefulness in the twentieth century among various elements of the world's population, contrasting fully with the growth of militarism, mass slaughter, and the massive development of ever more powerful weapons for inflicting harm to the human race.

REVIEW QUESTION

How did the Great Depression affect society and politics?

Totalitarian Triumph

Representative government collapsed in many countries under the sheer weight of social and economic crisis. After 1929, Mussolini in Italy, Stalin in the USSR, and Hitler in Germany were able to mobilize vast support for their regimes. Desperate for economic relief, many citizens supported political violence as key to restoring well-being. Some scholars have classified the fascist, Nazi, and communist regimes of the 1930s as totalitarian. The term *totalitarianism* refers to highly centralized systems of government that attempt to control society through a single party and police terror. Gaining support in the Great War's aftermath, totalitarian governments broke with liberal principles of freedom, rights, and the rule of law and came to wage war on their own citizens. Still, important differences existed, especially between fascist and communist states. Whereas communism denounced private ownership of property and economic inequality, fascism supported them as crucial to national might.

The Rise of Stalinism

In the 1930s, **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953) led the transformation of the USSR from a rural society into an industrial power. Stalin ended Lenin's New Economic Policy, which had allowed individuals to profit from trade and agriculture, and in 1929, he laid out the first of several bold **five-year plans** for industrializing the country. Without an end to economic backwardness, Stalin warned, "the advanced countries … will crush us." He thus established economic planning — that is, government direction of the economy used on both sides in World War I and increasingly adopted around the world. Between 1928 and 1940, the number of Soviet workers in industry, construction, and transport grew from 4.6 million to 12.6 million and factory output soared. Stalin’s first five-year plan helped make the USSR a leading industrial nation.

A new bureaucratic elite implemented the plans, and despite limited rights to change jobs or even move from place to place, skilled workers received privileges in their new industrial role. Communist Party officials received additional rewards such as country homes, good food, and luxurious vacations. New or unskilled workers enjoyed no such benefits. Newcomers from the countryside were herded into barracks or tents and subjected to dangerous factory conditions. Despite the hardships, many took pride in their new skills. “We mastered this profession — completely new to us — with great pleasure,” a female lathe operator recalled. More often workers fresh from the countryside lacked the technical skills necessary to accomplish goals of the five-year plans, so official lying about productivity became part of the economic system. The attempt to turn an illiterate peasant society into an advanced industrial economy in a single decade brought suffering, but people tolerated hardship to achieve a communist society.

Stalin demanded more grain from peasants both to feed the urban workforce and to provide exports whose sale abroad would finance industrialization and military modernization. Some peasants resisted government demands by withholding produce from the market, prompting Stalin to demand a “liquidation of the kulaks.” The word *kulak*, which literally means “fist,” was a negative term for prosperous peasants, but in practice it applied to anyone who opposed Stalin’s agricultural plans. Party workers began searching villages, seizing grain, and forcing villagers to identify the kulaks among them. One Russian remembered believing the kulaks were “bloodsuckers, cattle, swine, loathsome, repulsive: they had no souls; they stank.” Denounced as “enemies of the state,” whole families were robbed of their possessions, left to starve, or even murdered outright. Confiscated kulak land formed the basis for the new collective farms, or kolkhoz, where the remaining peasants were forced to share facilities. Traditional peasant life was brought to a violent end.

Failure across the economy followed. Factory workers, farmers, and party officials alike were too inexperienced with advanced industrialization to meet quotas. The experiment with collectivization, combined with the murder of farmers, resulted in a drop in the grain harvest from eighty-three million tons in 1930 to sixty-seven million in 1934. As grain was sold to pay for foreign machinery and other equipment, Soviet citizens starved. Stalin blamed the failure on anticommunist “wreckers” and instituted **purges** — that is, widespread arrests, imprisonments in labor camps, and executions — to rid society of these “villains.”

The state purges touched all segments of society, starting with engineers who were condemned for causing low productivity. Beginning in 1936, the government next charged prominent Bolshevik leaders with conspiring to overthrow Soviet rule. In a series of “show trials” — trials based on trumped-up charges, fabricated evidence, and coerced confessions — Bolshevik leaders were tortured and forced to confess in court. Most of those found guilty were shot. Some of the top leaders seemed to accept their fate, seeing the purges as good for the future of socialism. Just before his execution, one Bolshevik loyalist wrote to Stalin praising the “great and bold political idea behind the general purge.”

The spirit of purge swept through society. One woman poet described the scene in towns and cities: “Great concert and lecture halls were turned into public confessionals.… Beating their breasts, the ‘guilty’ would lament that they had ‘shown political short-sightedness’ and ‘lack of vigilance’ … and were full of ‘rotten liberalism.’” In 1937 and 1938, military leaders were arrested and executed without public trials; some ranks were entirely wiped out. Although the massacre of military leaders appeared suicidal at a time when Hitler threatened war, thousands of high military posts became open to new talent. Stalin would not have to worry about an officer corps wedded to old ideas, as had happened in World War I. Simultaneously, the government expanded the system of prison camps, founded under Lenin, into an extensive network stretching several thousands of miles from Moscow to Siberia. In the Gulag — an acronym for the government department that ran the camps — unknown numbers died annually as a result of the insufficient food, inadequate housing, and twelve- to sixteen-hour days of crushing physical labor. Regular beatings and murders of prisoners rounded out Gulag life, with estimates of those killed during Stalin’s reign of violence ranging between nine and fifty million.

In the 1930s, toleration in Soviet social life ended. The birthrate in the USSR, like that in the rest of Europe, declined rapidly. The Soviet Union needed to replace the millions of people lost since 1914. To meet this need, Stalin restricted access to birth-control information and abortion. Lavish wedding ceremonies came back into fashion, divorces became difficult to obtain, and the state made homosexuality a crime. Whereas Bolsheviks had once attacked the family as a capitalist institution, propaganda now referred to the family as a "school for socialism." At the same time, women in rural areas made gains in literacy and received improved health care. Positions in the lower ranks of the party opened to women as the purges continued, and more women were accepted into the professions.

Avant-garde experimentation in the arts also ended under Stalin. He called artists and writers "engineers of the soul" and, recognizing their influence, controlled their output through the Union of Soviet Writers. The union not only assigned housing, office space, equipment, and secretarial help but also determined the types of books authors could write. In return, the "comrade artist" adhered to the official style of "socialist realism," derived from the focus on the common worker as hero. Although some writers and artists went underground, others found ways to adjust their talents to the state's demands. The composer Sergei Prokofiev, for example, composed scores both for the delightful *Peter and the Wolf* and for Sergei Eisenstein's 1938 film *Alexander Nevsky*, a work that flatteringly compared Stalin to the medieval rulers of the Russian people. Aided by adaptable artists, workers, and bureaucrats, Stalin stood triumphant as the 1930s drew to a close. He was, as two different workers put it, "our beloved Leader" and "a god on earth."

Hitler's Rise to Power

A different but ultimately no less violent system emerged when **Adolf Hitler** and his followers put an end to democracy in Germany. Since the early 1920s, Hitler had harangued the German masses to destroy the Weimar Republic and drummed a message of anti-Semitism and the rebirth of the German "race." When the Great Depression struck Germany in 1929, his Nazi Party began to outstrip its rivals in elections, thanks in part to financial support from big business. Media tycoon Alfred Hugenberg helped, constantly slamming the Weimar government as responsible for the disastrous economy and for the loss of German pride after World War I. Nazi supporters took to the streets, attacking young Communist groups who just as vigorously defended the new Soviet experiment. Hugenberg's newspapers always reported such incidents as the work of Communist thugs who had assaulted blameless Nazis, thus building sympathy for similar Nazi thugs among the middle classes.

Parliamentary government practically ground to a halt, adding to unrest. The Reichstag, or German assembly, failed to approve emergency plans to improve the economy, first because its members disagreed over policies and second because Nazi and Communist Party deputies disrupted its sessions to prevent democracy from working. The Reichstag's inability to act discredited democracy among the German people. To make parliamentary government look even more incapable of providing basic law and order, Hitler's followers rampaged unchecked through the streets and attacked especially Communists, but also Jews and Social Democrats. Many Germans thought it was time to replace democratic government with a bold new leader who would attack such lawlessness military style — that is, without concern for constitutions, laws, or individual rights. It was time for war at home.

People in every age group and class supported Hitler, though like Stalin, he especially attracted young people (see Contrasting Views on pages 962–963). In 1930, 70 percent of Nazi Party members were under forty, and many considered war exciting, reminiscent of the games they played as children during World War I. They believed that a better world was possible under Hitler's command. The largest number of supporters came from the industrial working class, but many white-collar workers and members of the lower middle class also joined the party in percentages out of proportion with their numbers in the population. The inflation that had wiped out savings left them especially open to Hitler's promises of revenge against hated scapegoats. In the deepening economic crisis, the Nazi Party, which had received little more than 2 percent of the vote in 1928, won almost 20 percent in the Reichstag elections of 1930 and more than twice that in 1932.

Hitler used modern propaganda techniques to build up his following. Nazi Party members passed out thousands of recordings of Hitler's speeches, and teenagers painted their fingernails with swastikas. Nazi rallies were carefully planned displays in which Hitler's rage spoke to that of the crowds, who saw him as their vastly superior *Führer* ("leader"). In actuality, Hitler regarded the masses with contempt, and in *Mein Kampf* he discussed how to deal with them:

> The receptivity of the great masses is very limited, their intelligence is small. In consequence of these facts, all effective propaganda must be limited to a very few points and must harp on those in slogans until the last member of the public understands what you want him to understand.

Hitler’s media techniques were so successful that they continue to influence political campaigns today, particularly in the use of simple messages often filled with hate or conspiracy theories. In the 1932 elections, Nazis did well, making their leader a logical choice as chancellor. Influential conservative politicians favored Hitler for Nazi brutality against Communists and as someone they could easily control. When Hitler was invited to become chancellor in January 1933, he accepted.

CONTRASTING VIEWS

Nazism and Hitler: For and Against

Today, Hitler is uniformly regarded as a dictator while his followers are seen as perpetrating great harm on German and other societies, especially by causing the deaths of tens of millions of people. In the 1930s, however, there was a division of opinion about Nazism and Hitler in some cases even before the coming of the Third Reich and its deadly programs.

1. An Author Opposes Nazism

Journalist, playwright, and novelist Lion Feuchtwanger was an early critic of Nazism, tagging it as a movement operating against the goals of democracy and clear thinking. Luckily, when the Nazis came to power in early 1933, Feuchtwanger was on a tour of the United States. The Nazis ransacked his house and burned his writings. On his return to Europe, Feuchtwanger went into exile but was temporarily imprisoned in France when the Nazis invaded. He eventually escaped to the United States, where he continued to write. This critique of Nazism dates from early 1931.

The war [World War I] liberated the barbarian instincts of the individual and society to a degree that was previously unimaginable. National Socialism has skilfully organized the barbarity. Among the intellectuals it is called OBG: Organized Barbarity of Germany.

Anti-logical and anti-intellectual in its being and ideology, National Socialism strives to depose reason and install in its place emotion and drive — to be precise, barbarity. Just because intellect and art are transnational, National Socialism distrusts and hates them to the extreme….

Source: Lion Feuchtwanger, “How Do We Struggle against a Third Reich,” January 21, 1931, in Anton Kaes et al., eds., *Weimar Republic Sourcebook* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 167.

2. Hitler Defends National Socialist Street Activism

Before and after the Nazis took power, storm troopers took to the streets at night, engaging in brawls, beating up Communists (who fought as well), and generally making their noisy presence felt. Their activism reassured some people that something was being done to protect Germany, while others believed that the Nazis were a menace. In this speech to the Industry Club in January 1932, Hitler explained the paramilitary activity and praised the storm troopers.

I know quite well, gentlemen, that when National Socialists march through the streets and suddenly in the evening a tumult and commotion arises, then the bourgeois draws back the window-curtain, looks out, and says: Once more my night’s rest disturbed: no more sleep for me. Why must the Nazis always be so provocative and run about the place at night? Gentlemen, if everyone thought like that, then no one’s sleep at night would be disturbed, it is true. But then the bourgeois today could not venture out into the street. If everyone thought in that way, if these young folk had no ideal to move them and drive them forward, then certainly they would gladly be rid of these nocturnal fights. But remember that it means sacrifice when today many hundreds of thousands of SA and SS men of the National Socialist movement every day have to mount their trucks, protect meetings, undertake marches, sacrifice themselves night after night, and then come back in the gray dawn either to workshop and factory or as unemployed to take the pittance of the dole…. Believe me, there is already in all this the force of an ideal — a great ideal! And if the whole German nation today had the same faith in its vocation as these hundreds of thousands, if the whole nation possessed this idealism, Germany would stand in the eyes of the world otherwise than she stands now!

Source: Adolf Hitler, “Address to the Industry Club,” January 27, 1932, in Anton Kaes et al., eds., *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 141.

3. A Professor against Hitler

Victor Klemperer was a professor of literature and a Protestant, though his father had been a Jewish rabbi. Once Hitler came to power, Klemperer, a veteran of World War I who was married to an “Aryan” woman, found himself unable to publish his writings and dismissed from his teaching position. During the Third Reich, he kept a journal tracking not only his own mounting difficulties but also the emigration, dismissals, poverty, and suicides of his family and friends. He had clear opinions about Hitler, whom he listened to on the radio, and firm beliefs about the Nazis and

Communists.

November 11, 1933 … more than forty minutes of Hitler. A mostly hoarse, strained, agitated voice, long passages in the whining tone of the sectarian preachers…. "Jews!" want to set nations of millions at one another's throat. I want only peace, I have risen from the common people. I want nothing for myself…. etc. in no proper order, impassioned; every sentence mendacious, but I almost believe unconsciously mendacious. The man is a blinkered fanatic.

November 14, 1933 … All Germany prefers Hitler to the Communists. And I see no difference between either of the two movements; both are materialistic and lead to slavery.

Source: Victor Klemperer, *I Will Bear Witness: A Diary of the Nazi Years, 1933–1941*, trans. Martin Chalmers (New York: Random House, 1998), 41–42.

4. Praise for Nazis

A year after Hitler came to power, Paula Müller-Otfried, a former deputy to the Reichstag who had opposed both communism and liberalism, sent out this New Year's card.

When I wrote a year ago and saw only a glimmer of hope, I could not possibly have believed … my plea would be so richly fulfilled…. The vast majority of the *Volk* joyfully summoned the national regime, with its drive to purify public life, to combat unemployment, hunger, and need…. We prayed and the answer arrived. May God grant our rulers wisdom. May the "steel-hardened man" for whom we cried out a year ago … retain his power.

Source: Quoted in Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics* (New York: St. Martin's, 1987), 234.

5. Hitler in Prayers

Children in Germany recited the following bedtime prayer, addressed not to God but to Hitler. It expressed a clear view of who Hitler was and what he meant to Germany.

Führer, my Führer, sent to me from God, protect and maintain me throughout my life. Thou who has saved Germany from Deepest need, I thank thee today for my daily bread. Remain at my side and never leave me, Führer, my Führer. My Faith. My light. *Heil, mein Führer!*

Source: Quoted in Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics* (New York: St. Martin's, 1987), 287.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. What are the positive qualities attributed to Nazis and their leader?
2. What are the major criticisms of Hitler and the Nazis by the opposition?
3. To what do you attribute the different opinions about Hitler and the Nazis?
4. What aspects of pro-Nazi ideas made them so persuasive and appealing?

The Nazification of German Politics

Millions of Germans celebrated Hitler's ascent to power. "My father went down to the cellar and brought up our best bottles of wine.... And my mother wept for joy," one German recalled. "Now everything will be all right." Yet instead of being easy to control, Hitler took command brutally, quickly closing down representative government with an ugly show of force. Tens of thousands of his paramilitary supporters — the Stürmabteilung (SA), or "storm troopers" — paraded through the streets with blazing torches. When the Reichstag building was gutted by fire in February 1933, Nazis used the fire as the excuse for suspending civil rights, censoring the press, and prohibiting meetings of other political parties. Hitler had always claimed to hate democracy and rival political opinions, declaring of parties other than his own: "I have set myself one task, namely to sweep those parties out of Germany." Communists especially were beaten, arrested, and murdered en masse.

The storm troopers' violence silenced democratic politicians but made those who participated in the violence feel part of a glorious whole. At the end of March, intimidated Reichstag delegates let pass the **Enabling Act**, which suspended the constitution for four years and allowed Nazi laws to take effect without parliamentary approval. Middle-class Germans approved the Enabling Act as a way to advance the creation of a *Volksgemeinschaft* ("people's community") of like-minded, racially pure Germans — Aryans, the Nazis named them. Heinrich Himmler headed the elite Schutzstaffel (SS), Hitler's "protection squadron," and he commanded the Reich's political police system. These and the Gestapo, the secret police force run by Hermann Goering, had vast powers to arrest people and either execute them or imprison them in concentration camps, the first of which opened at Dachau, near Munich, in March 1933. The Nazis filled it and later camps with political enemies like Communists, and then with Jews, homosexuals, and others said to be enemies of the Volksgemeinschaft.

Hitler deliberately blurred authority in the government and his political party to encourage confusion and competition. He then settled disputes, often with violence. When Ernst Roehm, leader of the SA and Hitler's longtime collaborator, called for a "second revolution" to end the business and military elites' continuing influence on top Nazis, Hitler ordered Roehm's assassination. The bloody Night of the Long Knives (June 30, 1934), during which hundreds of SA leaders and innocent civilians were killed, strengthened the support of the conservative upper classes for the Nazi regime. They saw that Hitler would deal ruthlessly with those favoring a leveling-out of social privilege. Nazism's terrorist politics served as the foundation of Hitler's Third Reich — a German empire grandly advertised as the successor to the First Reich of Charlemagne and the Second Reich of Bismarck and William II.

New economic programs, especially those putting people back to work, were crucial to the survival of Nazism. The Nazi government pursued **pump priming** — that is, stimulating the economy through government spending on tanks and airplanes and on public works programs such as building the highway system (Autobahn). Unemployment declined from a peak of almost six million in 1932 to 1.6 million by 1936. The Nazi Party closed down labor unions, and government managers determined work procedures and set pay levels, rating women's jobs lower than men's regardless of the level of expertise required. Nazi programs produced large budget deficits, but Hitler planned to conquer and loot neighboring countries to cover the costs.

Nazi officials devised policies to control everyday life, including gender roles. In June 1933, a bill took effect that encouraged Aryans (those people defined as racially pure German) to marry and have children. The bill provided for loans to Aryan newlyweds, but only if the wife left the workforce. The loans were forgiven on the birth of the pair's fourth child. The ideal woman gave up her job, gave birth to many children, and completely surrendered her will to that of her husband, allowing him to feel powerful once more. A good wife "joyfully sacrifices and fulfills her fate," one Nazi leader explained.

The government also controlled culture, destroying the creativity of the Weimar years. Although 70 percent of households had radios by 1938, programs were severely censored. Books like Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* were banned, and in May 1933, a huge book-burning ceremony rid libraries of works by Jews, socialists, homosexuals, and modernist writers. In the Hitler Youth, which boys and girls over age ten were required to join, children learned to report those adults they suspected of disloyalty to the Third Reich, even their own parents. People boasted that they could leave their bicycles out at night without fear of robbery, but their world was filled with informers — some 100,000 of them on the Nazi payroll. In general, the improved economy led many to see Hitler working an economic miracle while restoring pride in Germany and strengthening the Aryan community. For hundreds of thousands if not millions of Germans, however, Nazi rule in the 1930s brought anything but harmony and community.

Nazi Racism

The Nazis defined Jews as an inferior “race” dangerous to the superior Aryan “race” and responsible for most of Germany’s problems, including defeat in World War I and the economic depression. The reasons for targeting Jews, Hitler declared in a 1938 speech, were “based on the greatest of scientific knowledge.” In compulsory films shown to schoolchildren and more casually to adults, Nazis cited Gregor Mendel’s work with pea plants to assert the genetic dangers their fellow Jewish citizens posed. Mendel’s idea of recessive characteristics, according to Nazis, meant that even a blonde, blue-eyed couple might produce, in their words, “a Jew” if one parent had a Jewish ancestor decades or even a century or more earlier (see Chapter 22). In the rhetoric of Nazism, Jews were “vermin,” “abscesses,” and “Bolsheviks.” Age-old enemies, they biologically weakened the race as they plotted Germany’s destruction — all of which, given scientific knowledge then and now, was of course utterly false. Thus Hitler’s concept of building community involved pointing to these fellow citizens as enemies within and unifying Germans around hatred of them. Nazis branded Jews both as evil businessmen and as working-class Bolsheviks locked in a global conspiracy to annihilate the German race.

Nazis insisted that terms such as *Aryan* and *Jewish* (a religious category) were scientific racial classifications that could be determined by physical characteristics such as the shape of the nose. In 1935, the government enacted the **Nuremberg Laws**, legislation that deprived Jews of citizenship and prohibited marriage between Jews and other Germans. Abortions and birth-control information were readily available to enemy outcast groups, including Jews, Slavs, Sinti and Roma, and mentally or physically disabled people, but were forbidden to women classified as Aryan. In the name of improving the Aryan race, doctors helped organize the T4 project, which used carbon monoxide poisoning and other means to kill large numbers of people — 200,000 handicapped and elderly — late in the 1930s. The murder of the disabled aimed to eliminate those whose “racial inferiority” endangered the Aryans. These murders prepared the way for even larger mass exterminations in the future.

In the 1930s, Jews were forced into slave labor, evicted from their apartments, and limited in purchases of clothing and food. In 1938, a Jewish teenager, reacting to the harassment inflicted on his parents, killed a German official. In retaliation, Nazis and other Germans attacked some two hundred synagogues, smashed windows of Jewish-owned stores, ransacked apartments of known or suspected Jews, and threw more than twenty thousand Jews into prisons and camps. The night of November 9–10 became known as Kristallnacht, or the Night of Broken Glass. Faced with such relentless persecution, more than half of

Germany's 500,000 Jews had emigrated by the outbreak of World War II in 1939. Their enormous emigration fees helped finance Germany's economic recovery, while neighbors and individual Nazis used anti-Semitism to justify stealing Jewish property and taking the jobs Jews were forced to leave. Through theft, the Nazi establishment was on its way to great wealth.

REVIEW QUESTION

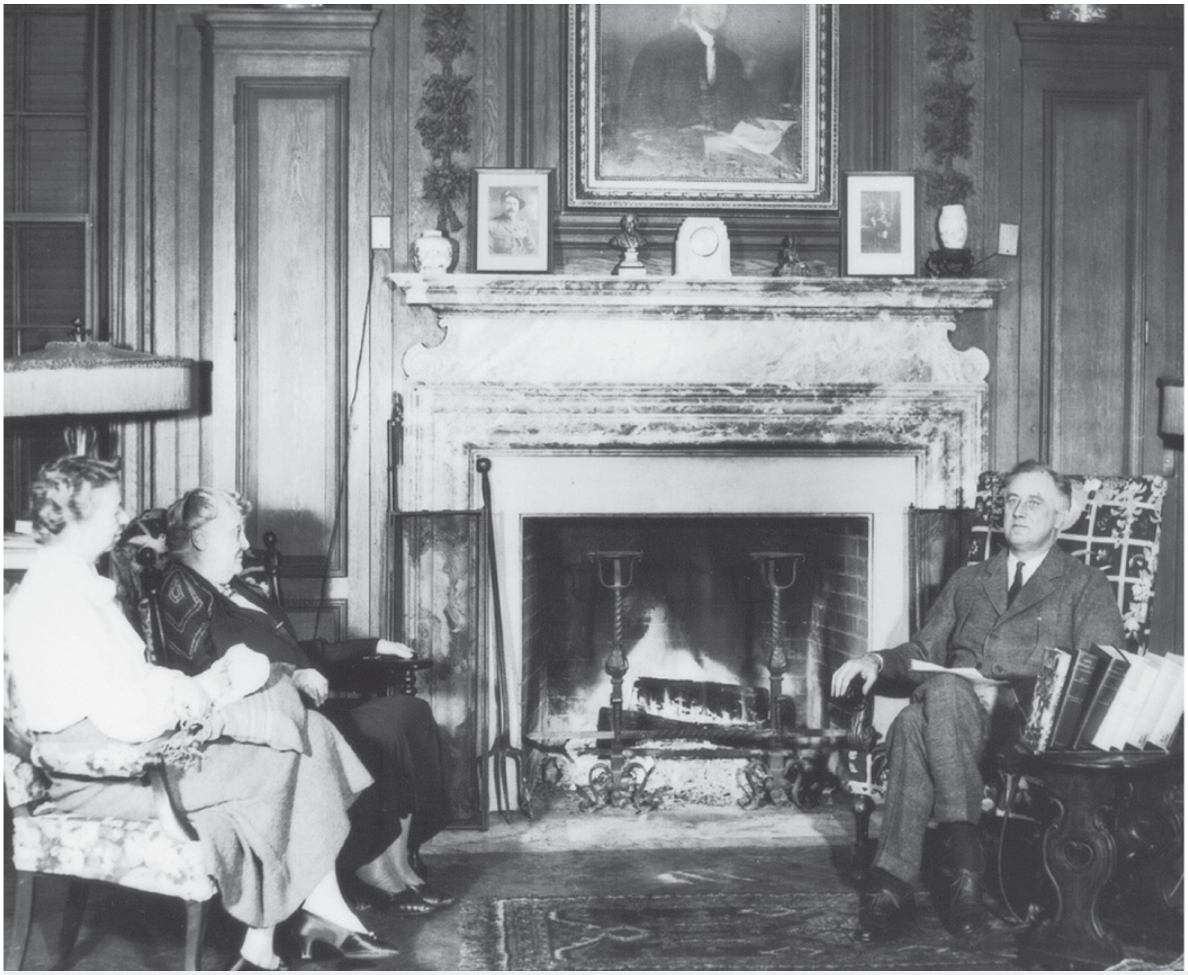
What role did violence play in the Soviet and Nazi regimes?

Democracies on the Defensive

Nazism, communism, and fascism offered bold new approaches to modern politics. These ideologies maintained that democracy was effeminate and that it wasted precious time in building consensus among citizens. Totalitarian leaders' military style aimed to make representative government and the democratic values of the United States, France, and Great Britain appear feeble — a sign that these societies were on the decline. Dictatorships put democracies on the defensive for aiming to restore prosperity while still upholding individual rights and the rule of law.

Confronting the Economic Crisis

As the depression wore on through the 1930s, some governments experimented with ways to solve social and economic crises in a democratic fashion. In the early days of the economic slump, U.S. president Herbert Hoover (1874–1964) had opposed direct help to the unemployed and even ordered the army to drive away jobless veterans who had marched on Washington, D.C. With unemployment close to fifteen million, Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945), the wealthy governor of New York, defeated Hoover in the presidential election of 1932 on the promise of relief and recovery. Roosevelt, or FDR as he became known, pushed through a torrent of legislation: help for businesses, price supports for hard-pressed farmers, and public works programs for the unemployed. The Social Security Act of 1935 set up a fund to which employees and employers contributed. It provided retirement benefits for workers, unemployment insurance, and payments to dependent mothers, their children, and people with disabilities.



Keystone/Getty Images.

A Fireside Chat with FDR President Franklin Delano Roosevelt was a master of words, inspiring Americans during the Great Depression and World War II. Aware of its growing power in making politicians look dynamic, the press never showed that Roosevelt was actually confined to a wheelchair (after being paralyzed by polio). Instead, FDR became a symbol of U.S. resolve and might. Here he addresses the nation over a radio hookup on August 23, 1938, while First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt and the president’s mother, Sara, observe — a far different image from that of Hitler and Mussolini.

Programs such as these in the United States advanced the welfare state, in which the government fosters a certain level of economic well-being for individuals and businesses. Although his “New Deal” angered business people and the wealthy, Roosevelt maintained widespread support. Like other successful politicians of the 1930s, he was an expert at using the new mass media, especially in his broadcasts by radio. Unlike Mussolini and Hitler, however, Roosevelt’s public statements promoted rather than attacked basic rights and democratic government. The participation of First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt sharply contrasted with the antiwoman ideology of Nazis and Fascists, and the Roosevelts insisted that human rights must not be surrendered in difficult times. “We Americans of today … are characters in the living book of democracy,” FDR told a group of teenagers in 1939. “But we are also its author.” Racial violence continued to cause great suffering in the United States, and the economy did not fully recover, yet Americans’ faith in democracy survived.

Sweden developed its own program for solving economic and population problems, assigning the government a central role in promoting social well-being and economic democracy. Sweden devalued its currency to make Swedish exports more attractive on the international market, and addressed the population problem with government programs, but without the racism and coercion of Nazism. Alva Myrdal, a leading member of Sweden’s parliament, believed that boosting childbirth depended both on the economy and on individual well-being. It was undemocratic, she maintained, that “the bearing of a child should mean economic distress” to parents. Acting on Myrdal’s advice, the government introduced prenatal care, free childbirth in a hospital, a food relief program, and subsidized housing for large families. By the end of the decade, almost 50 percent of all mothers in Sweden received government aid, most effectively in the form of a **family allowance** to help cover the costs of raising children. Because all families — rural and urban, poor or prosperous — received these social benefits, there was widespread approval for these government programs.

The most powerful democracy, the United States, had withdrawn from world leadership by refusing to participate in the League of Nations, leaving Britain and France with greater responsibility for international peace and well-being than their post–World War I resources could sustain. When the Great Depression hit, British prime minister Ramsay MacDonald, though leader of the Labour Party, reduced payments to the unemployed, and Parliament denied unemployment benefits to women despite their contributions to the unemployment fund. To protect jobs, the government imposed huge tariffs on imported goods, but tariffs only further depressed trade and prosperity. Finally, in 1933, as the economy worsened, the government began massive programs of slum clearance, new housing construction, and health insurance for the needy. British leaders resorted to pump priming only when all else had failed.

Depression struck later in France, but the country endured a decade of public strife in the 1930s. Deputies with opposing solutions to the economic crisis frequently came to blows in the Chamber of Deputies, Parisians took to the streets to protest the government's budget cuts, and Nazi-style paramilitary groups flourished, attracting the unemployed, students, and veterans to the anti-democracy cause. In February 1934, the paramilitary groups joined Communists and other outraged citizens in riots around the parliament building. “Let’s string up the deputies,” chanted the crowd. “Let’s beat in their faces, let’s reduce them to a pulp.” The right-wing enemies of democratic government, however, lacked both sufficient support and a charismatic leader like Hitler or Mussolini.

Shocked into action, French liberals, socialists, and Communists established an antifascist coalition known as the **Popular Front**. Until that time, such a merging of groups had been impossible because Stalin had directed Communists across Europe not to cooperate with other political parties. As fascism attracted followers around the world, however, Stalin allowed Communists to join efforts to protect democracy. For just over a year in 1936–1937 and again briefly in 1938, the French Popular Front led the government, with Socialist leader Léon Blum as premier. Like American New Dealers and Swedish reformers, the Popular Front instituted social-welfare programs, including family subsidies. Blum appointed women to his government (though women in France were still not allowed to vote). In June 1936, the French government guaranteed workers two-week paid vacations, a forty-hour workweek, and the right to bargain collectively. Working people would long remember Blum as the man who improved their living standards and provided them with the right to vacations.

During its brief life, the Popular Front offered citizens a youthful but democratic political culture. “In 1936 everyone was twenty years old,” one man recalled, evoking the atmosphere of idealism. To express their opposition to fascism, the French celebrated democratic holidays like Bastille Day with new enthusiasm. Not everyone liked the Popular Front, however. Bankers and industrialists sent their money out of the country in protest, leaving France financially strapped. “Better Hitler than Blum” was the slogan of the upper classes. Simultaneously Blum’s government lost crucial liberal support for refusing to aid the fight against fascism in Spain because of antiwar sentiment. The collapse of the antifascist Popular Front showed the difficulties that democratic societies had competing with militarism during hard economic times.

Fledgling democracies in central Europe, hit hard by the depression, also struggled for economic survival and representative government, but with little success. In 1932, Engelbert Dollfuss came to power in Austria, dismissing the parliament and ruling briefly as a dictator. Despite his authoritarian stance, Dollfuss would not submit to the Nazis, who stormed his office and assassinated him in 1934 in an unsuccessful coup attempt. In Hungary, where outrage over the Peace of Paris remained intense, a crippled economy allowed right-wing general Gyula Gömbös to take over in 1932. Gömbös reoriented his country’s foreign policy toward Mussolini and Hitler. He stirred up anti-Semitism and ethnic hatreds and left considerable pro-Nazi feeling after his death in 1936. In democratic Czechoslovakia, the Slovaks, who were poorer than the urbanized Czechs, built a strong Slovak Fascist Party as the appeal of fascism grew during the Great Depression, discrediting democracy.

Cultural Visions in Hard Times

Responding to the hard times and political menace, cultural leaders in the democracies captured the spirit of everyday struggle. Some sympathized with the situations of factory workers, homemakers, and shopgirls straining to support themselves and their families; others looked to interpret the lives of the ever-growing number of unemployed. Artists portrayed the inhuman, regimented side of modern life. In 1931, French director René Clair's film *Give Us Liberty* likened the routine of prison to work on a factory assembly line. In the film *Modern Times* (1936), the Little Tramp character created by **Charlie Chaplin** is a factory worker so molded by his monotonous job that he assumes anything, even a coworker's body, needs mechanical adjustment.

Media portrayed women alternately as the cause and as the cure for society's problems. *The Blue Angel* (1930), a German film starring Marlene Dietrich, contrasted a powerfully seductive woman with an impractical, bumbling professor, showing how mixed-up gender roles could destroy men — and civilization. Such films worked to strengthen fascist claims. In comedies and musicals, by comparison, heroines pulled their men out of the depths of despair. In such films as *Keep Smiling* (1938), the British comedienne Gracie Fields portrayed spunky working-class women who remained cheerful despite the challenges of living in hard times. To drive home their antifascist, pacifist, or proworker beliefs, writers created realistic studies of human misery and the threat of war that haunted life in the 1930s. The British writer George Orwell described the unemployed in the north of England and published an account of atrocities committed during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). German writer Thomas Mann, a Christian, was so outraged at Hitler's ascent to power that he went into voluntary exile. Mann's series of novels based on the Old Testament hero Joseph convey the struggle between humane values and barbarism. One volume praised Joseph's welfare state, in which the granaries were full and the rich paid taxes so that the poor might live decent lives. In *Three Guineas* (1938), one of her last works, English writer Virginia Woolf attacked militarism, poverty, and the oppression of women, claiming they were intertwined elements of the destructive culture, undermining Europe in the 1930s.

Scientists in research institutes and universities pointed out limits to human understanding — limits that seemed at odds with the grandiose claims of dictators. Astronomer Edwin Hubble in California determined in the early 1930s that the universe was an expanding entity and thus an unpredictably changing one. Czech mathematician Kurt Gödel maintained that all mathematical systems contain some propositions that are undecidable. The German physicist Werner Heisenberg developed the uncertainty, or indeterminacy, principle in physics. Scientific observation of atomic behavior, according to this theory, itself disturbs the atom and thereby makes precise formulations impossible. Even scientists, Heisenberg asserted, had to settle for statistical probability. Approximation, probability, and limits were not concepts that military dictators lived by.

Religious leaders helped foster a spirit of resistance to dictatorship among the faithful. Some prominent clergymen hoped for a re-Christianization of ordinary people so that they might choose religious values rather than fascist ones. The Swiss theologian Karl Barth encouraged opposition to the Nazis, teaching that religious people had to take seriously biblical calls for resistance to oppression. In his 1931 address to the world on social issues, Pope Pius XI (r. 1922–1939) condemned the failure of modern societies to provide their citizens with a decent, moral life. To critics, the proclamation seemed an endorsement of the heavy-handed intervention of the fascists. In Germany, nonetheless, German Catholics opposed Hitler, and religious commitment inspired many other individuals to challenge the rising tide of fascism and to protect Jews and others whose lives were now threatened.

REVIEW QUESTION

How did the democracies' responses to the twin challenges of economic depression and the rise of fascism differ from those of totalitarian regimes?

The Road to Global War

The economic crash intensified competition among the major powers and made external colonies more important than ever. Governments did not let up on the collection of taxes in the colonies. As Britain, France, and other imperial powers guarded their holdings, Hitler, Mussolini, and Japan's military leaders believed that their nation's destiny was to rule a far larger territory. At first, statesmen in Britain and France hoped that sanctions imposed by the League of Nations would stop these new aggressors. Other people, still traumatized by memories of the past war, wanted to turn a blind eye both to expansionism and to the fascist attack on the Spanish republic.

A Surge in Global Imperialism

The outsized ambitions of global imperialism in the 1930s produced another more lethal global war. The French, Dutch, British, and Belgians intensified their control over their colonies, while in Palestine European Jews continued to arrive and claim the area from local peoples, especially as Hitler enacted his harsh anti-Jewish policies in 1933. Japan's military and business leaders longed to control more of the Asian continent and saw China, the Soviet Union, and the Western powers as obstacles to the empire's fulfillment of its destiny.

Japan suffered from a weak monarchy in the person of Hirohito, just twenty-five years old when he became emperor in 1926, which led military and other groups to seek control of the government. Nationalists encouraged these leaders to pursue an expanded empire as key to ending the economic depression. A belief in racial superiority and in the right to take the lands of "inferior" peoples led Japanese officers in 1931 to blow up a train in the Chinese province of Manchuria, where Japanese businesses had invested heavily. The army made the explosion look like a Chinese plot and used it as an excuse to take over the territory, set up a puppet government, and push farther into China. As journalists called for Japan's aggressive expansion, Japan continued to attack China, angering the United States, on which Japan depended for natural resources and markets. Advocating Asian conquest as part of Japan's "divine mission," the military gained influence through expenditure of 47 percent of Japan's budget on arms.

The situation in East Asia affected international politics. The League of Nations condemned the invasion of Manchuria but imposed no sanctions. The league's condemnation outraged Japanese citizens and goaded the government to ally with Hitler and Mussolini. In 1937, Japan attacked China again, justifying its offensive as a first step toward liberating the region from Western imperialism. Hundreds of thousands of Chinese were massacred in the Rape of Nanjing — an atrocity so named because of the Japanese soldiers' brutality toward girls and women. President Roosevelt immediately announced a U.S. embargo on selling airplane parts to Japan and later drastically cut the flow of the crucial raw materials that supplied Japanese industry. Nonetheless, the Western powers, including the Soviet Union, did not effectively resist Japan's territorial expansion; many see the 1937 invasion as the true beginning of World War II.

Like Japanese leaders, Mussolini and Hitler called their countries "havenots” and demanded territory more in line with the other imperial powers. Though, like Japan, seriously lacking the resources to back up such a demand, Mussolini threatened “permanent conflict” to expand Italy’s borders. Hitler’s agenda included gaining **Lebensraum** (“living space”), to be taken from the “inferior” Slavic peoples and Bolsheviks, who would be moved to Siberia or serve as slaves. The two dictators along with Japan’s military elite portrayed themselves as peace-loving men who only aimed to benefit their country and humanity. Anticommunism, racism, and anti-democratic pronouncements appealed variously to elites across the West; Hitler’s anti-Semitism and anticommunism in particular had widespread support.

Germany and Italy now moved to plunder other countries openly. In the autumn of 1933, Hitler announced Germany’s withdrawal from the League of Nations. In 1935, he rejected the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles that limited German military strength. Germany had been rearming in secret for years, but now it started doing so openly. In 1935, Mussolini chose to invade Ethiopia, one of the few African states not already overwhelmed by European imperialism. “The Roman legionnaires are again on the march,” one soldier exulted. The poorly equipped Ethiopians resisted, but their capital, Addis Ababa, fell in the spring of 1936. Although the League of Nations voted to impose sanctions against Italy, Britain and France opposed an embargo with teeth in it — that is, one including oil — and thus kept the sanctions from being effective while also suggesting a lack of resolve to fight aggression. In March 1936, Hitler defiantly sent his troops into what was supposed to be a permanently demilitarized zone in the Rhineland bordering France. The inhabitants greeted the arrival with wild enthusiasm, and the

French, whose security was most endangered by this action, protested to the League of Nations instead of occupying the region, as they had done in the Ruhr in 1923. The British simply accepted the German military move. The Italian and German dictators thus appeared as powerful heroes, creating, as Mussolini announced in 1936, a dynamic “Rome–Berlin Axis.” Next to them, the politicians of France and Great Britain looked timid and weak.

The Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939

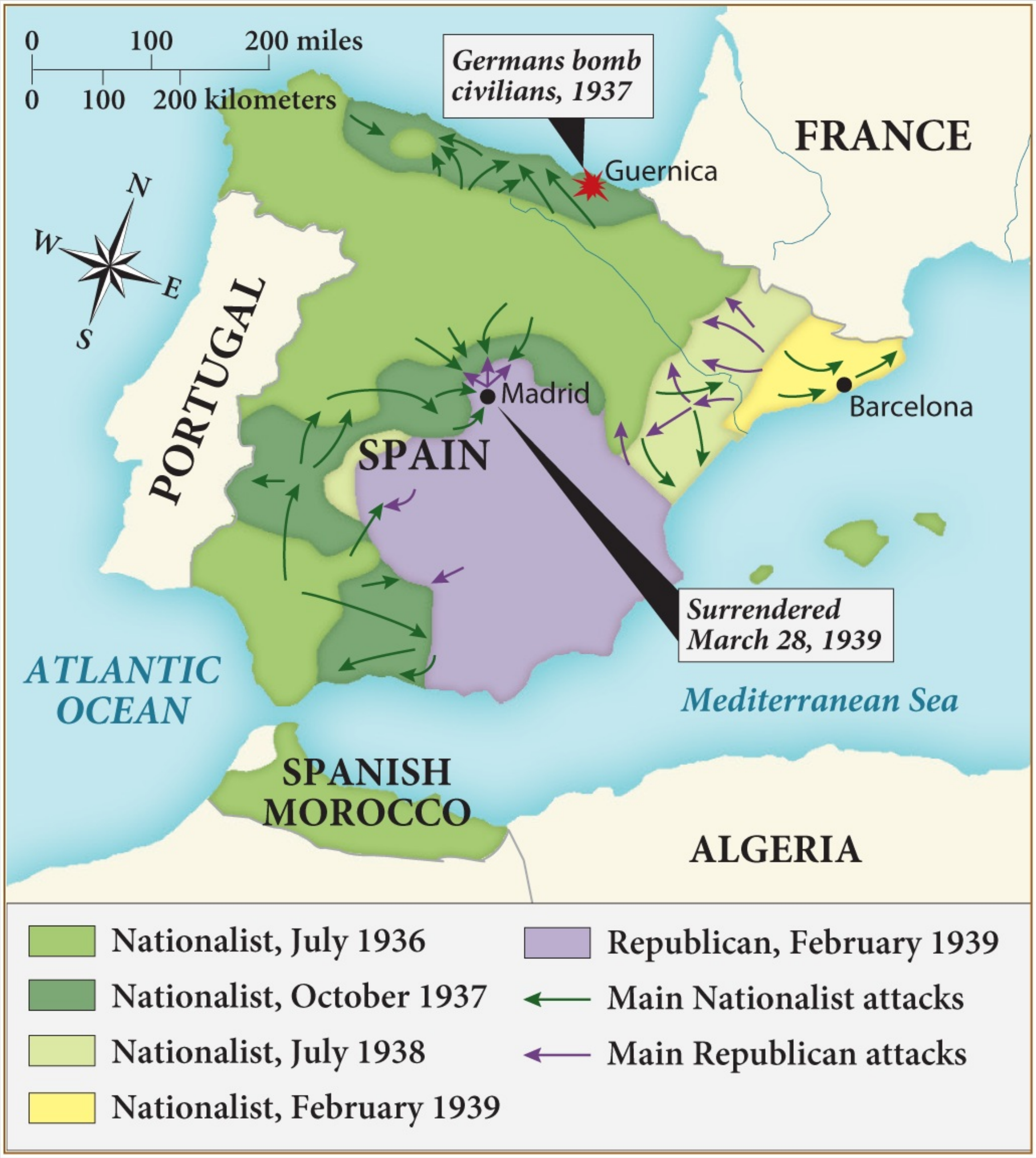
Spain seemed to be headed toward democracy when, in 1931, Spanish republicans overthrew the monarchy and the dictatorship that ruled in its name. For centuries, the Spanish state had backed the domination of large landowners and the Catholic clergy in the countryside. These ruling elites kept an impoverished peasantry in their grip, making Spain a country of economic extremes. People in industrial cities reacted enthusiastically to the end of the dictatorship and began debating the course of change, with constitutionalists, anarchists, Communists, and other splinter groups disagreeing on how to create a democratic nation. For republicans, the air was electric with promise. As one woman recalled: “We saw a backward country suddenly blossoming out into a modern state. We saw peasants living like decent human beings. We saw men allowed freedom of conscience.”

With little political experience, however, the republic had a hard time putting in place a political program that would gain support in the countryside. Instead of building popular loyalty by enacting land reform, the various antimonarchist factions disagreed on the kind of unified effort to mount against their reactionary opponents. In fact, from that point until their defeat they were often mortal enemies. Still, in 1936, growing monarchist opposition frightened the pro-republican forces into forming a Popular Front coalition to win elections and prevent the republic from collapsing.

Photo 12/Universal Images Group/Getty Images.

Declaration of the Spanish Republic 1931 The declaration of the Spanish Republic in 1931 was a momentous event, after years of monarchical and authoritarian government. People crowded into the streets, dancing, singing, and rejoicing at the promise of democracy and change. Democracy did not come easily and military leaders and their allies successfully mounted a coup in 1936, causing the inexperienced if committed defenders of the republic to search for help across Europe.

In response to the Popular Front victory, a group of army officers led by General **Francisco Franco** (1892–1975) staged an uprising against the republic in 1936. The rebels, who included monarchist landowners, the clergy, and the fascist Falange Party, soon had the help of fascists in other parts of Europe. Pro-republican citizens — male and female — fought back by forming armed volunteer units. In their minds, citizen armies symbolized republicanism, while professional troops supported the aristocratic rebels against democracy. As civil war gripped the country, the republicans generally held Madrid, Barcelona, and other commercial and industrial areas. The right-wing rebels took the agricultural west and south (Map 26.1).



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MAP 26.1 The Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939

Republican and antirepublican forces bitterly fought one another to determine whether Spain would be a democracy or an authoritarian state. Germany and Italy sent military assistance to the rebels, notably airplanes to experiment with bombing civilians, while volunteers from around the world arrived to fight for the republic. Defeating the ill-organized republican groups, General Francisco Franco instituted a pro-fascist government that killed many and sent others to jail and into exile.

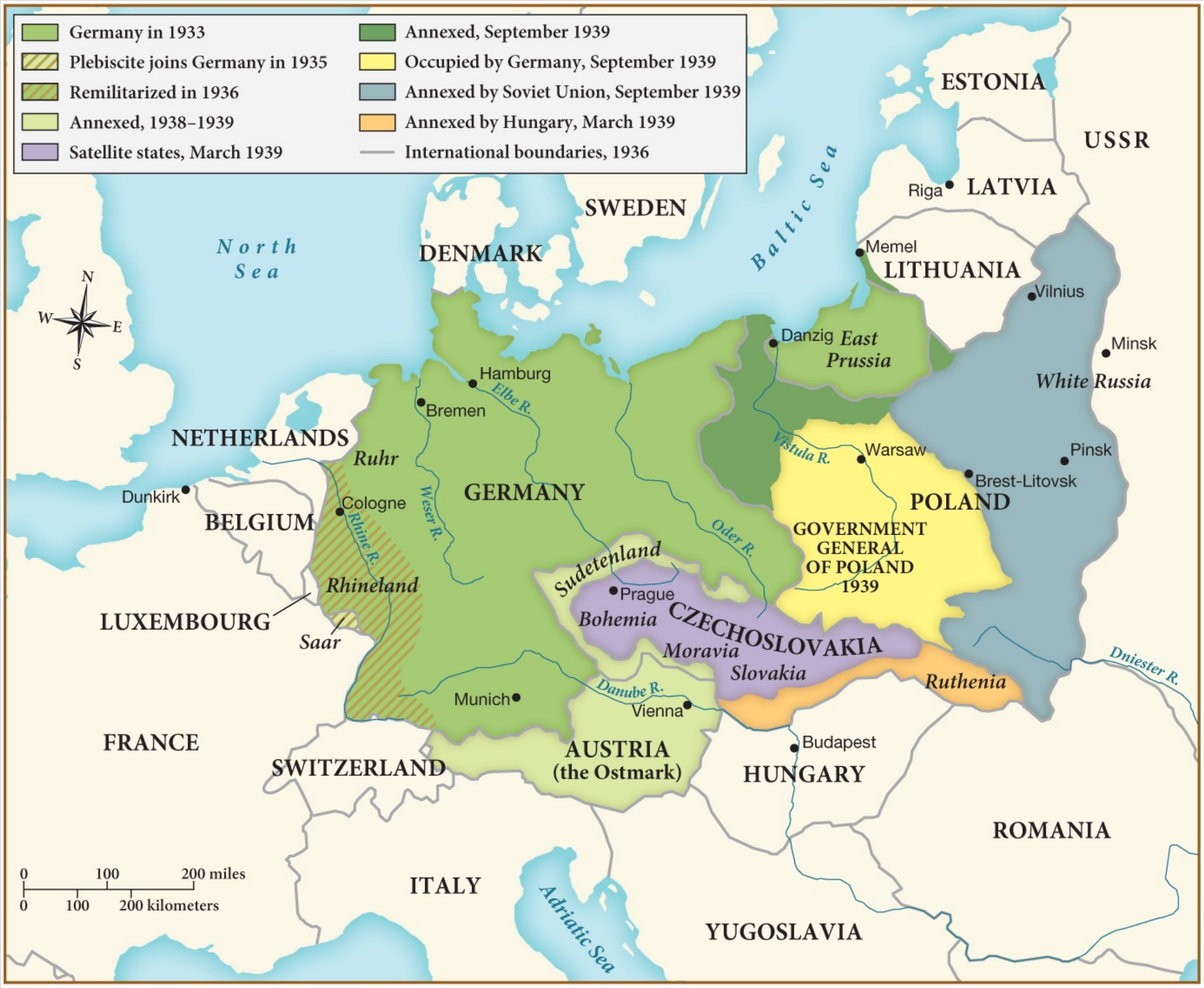
Spain became a training ground for World War II. Hitler and Mussolini sent military personnel in support of Franco, gaining practice in the terror bombing of civilians. In 1937, German planes attacked the town of Guernica, mowing down civilians in the streets. This useless slaughter inspired Pablo Picasso's memorial mural to the dead, *Guernica* (1937), in which the intense suffering is starkly displayed. The Spanish republic appealed everywhere for assistance, but only the Soviet Union answered. Britain and France refused to provide aid despite the outpouring of popular support for the cause of democracy. Instead, a few thousand volunteers from a variety of countries — including many students, journalists, and artists — fought for the republic. "Spain was the place to stop fascism," these volunteers believed. The aid Franco received helped his professional armies defeat the republicans in 1939, strengthening military authoritarianism in Europe. Tens of thousands who favored popular rule of one sort or another fled Franco's brutal revenge; remaining critics found themselves jailed or worse.

Hitler's Conquest of Central Europe, 1938–1939

Meanwhile Germany annexed Austria in 1938. Many Austrians had actually wished for a merger, or *Anschluss*, with Germany after the Paris peace settlement stripped them of their empire. So Hitler's troops simply entered Austria, and the joy of Nazi sympathizers there made the Anschluss appear a model of Wilsonian self-determination by unifying so-called Aryan peoples into one nation. The Nazi seizure of Austria's gold supply — far larger than that of Germany — financed the economy and military build-up, as Austria was declared a German province. Nazi thugs ruled once-cosmopolitan Vienna; an observer later commented on the scene: “University professors were obliged to scrub the streets with their naked hands, pious white-bearded Jews were dragged into the synagogue by hooting youths and forced to do knee-exercises and to shout ‘Heil Hitler’ in chorus.” Nazis gained additional support in Austria by attacking the stubborn problem of unemployment — especially among the young and out-of-work rural migrants to the cities. Factories sprang up overnight, eliminating some of the pain Austrians had suffered when their empire had been reduced to a small country after World War I.

With Austria firmly in his grasp, Hitler turned next to Czechoslovakia and its industrial wealth. Conquering this democracy looked more difficult, however, because Czechoslovakia had a large army, strong border defenses, and efficient armament factories. The Nazi propaganda machine swung into action, accusing Czechoslovakia of persecuting its German minority. By October 1, 1938, Hitler warned, Czechoslovakia would have to grant autonomy (amounting to Nazi rule) to the German-populated border region, the Sudetenland, or face a German invasion.

Hitler gambled correctly that the other Western powers would choose **appeasement**, the prevention of conflict by making concessions for grievances (in this case, the treatment of Germany in the Treaty of Versailles). As the October deadline approached, British prime minister Neville Chamberlain, French premier Edouard Daladier, and Mussolini met with Hitler at Munich and agreed not to oppose Germany’s claim to the Sudetenland. Appeasement was widely seen as positive at the time, especially to the British upper classes, many of whom preferred German fascists to Soviet “barbarians.” The Munich Pact prompted Chamberlain to announce that he had secured “peace in our time.” Having portrayed himself as a man of peace, Hitler waited until March 1939 to invade the rest of Czechoslovakia (Map 26.2). Whether the Munich Pact bought Hitler time to build his army and encouraged further aggression or whether it wisely provided France and Britain precious time to beef up their own armies remains heatedly debated.



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MAP 26.2 The Growth of Nazi Germany, 1933–1939

German expansion was rapid and surprising, as Hitler's forces and Nazi diplomacy achieved the annexation of several new states of central and eastern Europe despite the weaknesses and disorganization of his armies. Although committed to defending the independence of these states through the League of Nations and individual agreements with them, French and British diplomats were more concerned with satisfying Hitler in the mistaken belief that he was honorable and would keep his pledge not to claim more territory. Austrian and Czech gold and other resources alone significantly bolstered his Third Reich. What is the relationship between Germany's expansion during the 1930s and the terms of the Treaty of Versailles after World War I?

Stalin, excluded from the Munich deliberations and then rejected by the British as an ally, took action. To the astonishment of people in the West, on August 23, 1939, Germany and the USSR signed a nonaggression agreement. The **Nazi-Soviet Pact** provided that if one country became embroiled in war, the other country would remain neutral. Moreover, the two dictators secretly agreed to divide Poland and the Baltic states — Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania — at some future date. The Nazi-Soviet Pact ensured that, should war come, the democracies would be fighting a Germany that feared no attack on its eastern borders. The pact also allowed Stalin extra time to reconstitute his officer corps, which had been wiped out by the purges. In the belief that Great Britain and perhaps even France would remain passive, the Nazis now targeted Poland.

REVIEW QUESTION

How did the aggression of Japan, Germany, and Italy create the conditions for global war?

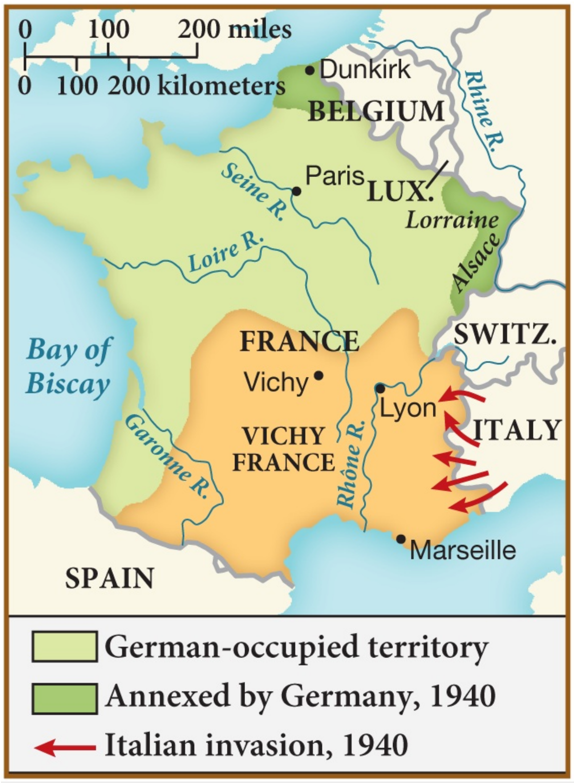
World War II, 1939–1945

World War II in Europe opened when Hitler launched an all-out attack on Poland on September 1, 1939. In contrast to 1914, no jubilation in Berlin accompanied the invasion; when Britain and France declared war two days later, the mood in those nations was similarly grim. Eventually, the fighting spread and mobilized civilians around the world. By the time World War II ended in 1945, millions were starving; countries lay in ruins; and unparalleled atrocities, including genocide, had killed six million Jews and another six million Slavs, Sinti and Roma, homosexuals, and other civilian targets of fascism combined.

The German Onslaught

German forces quickly defeated the ill-equipped Polish troops by launching a **Blitzkrieg** (“lightning war”), in which they concentrated airplanes, tanks, and motorized infantry with overpowering force and speed. Blitzkrieg suggested to Germans at home that the costs of gaining Lebensraum would be low. On September 17, 1939, the Soviets invaded Poland from the east. By the end of the month, the victors had divided the country according to the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Nazi propagandists frightened Germans into supporting the conflict because of the “warlike menace” of world Jewry that supposedly threatened the nation’s very existence.

In April 1940, Blitzkrieg crushed Denmark and Norway; the battles of Belgium, the Netherlands, and France followed in May and June. On June 5, Mussolini, eyeing future gains for Italy, invaded France from the southeast. The French defense and its British allies could not withstand the German onslaught. Trapped on the beaches of Dunkirk in northern France, 370,000 French and British soldiers were rescued by an improvised fleet of naval ships, fishing boats, and pleasure craft. The French government surrendered on June 22, 1940, leaving Germany to rule the northern half of the country, including Paris. In the south, named Vichy France after the spa town where the government sat, the aged World War I hero Henri Philippe Pétain was allowed to govern because of his pro-Nazi values. Stalin used the diversion in western Europe to annex the Baltic states.



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The Division of France, 1940

Britain now stood alone, installing as prime minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965), an early campaigner for resistance to Hitler. As Hitler ordered the bombardment of Britain in the summer of 1940, Churchill rallied the nation by radio to protect the ideals of liberty with “blood, toil, tears, and sweat.” In the battle of Britain — or Blitz, as the British called it — the German Luftwaffe (“air force”) bombed monuments, public buildings, weapons depots, and industry. In response, Britain poured resources into its highly successful code-breaking group called Ultra, further development of radar, and air weaponry, out-producing the Germans by 50 percent.

By the fall of 1940, German air losses led Hitler to abandon his plan for a naval invasion of Britain. Forcing Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria to join the enlarging group of Axis powers, Germany gained access to more food, oil, and other resources. He then made his fatal decision to break the Nazi-Soviet Pact and attack the Soviet Union — the “center of judeobolshevism,” he called it. In June 1941, three million German and other troops penetrated Soviet lines along a two-thousand-mile front; by July, they had rolled to within two hundred miles of Moscow. Using a strategy of rapid encirclement, German troops killed, captured, or wounded more than half the 4.5 million Soviet soldiers.

Amid success, Hitler blundered. Considering himself a military genius and the Slavic people inferior, he proposed attacking Leningrad, the Baltic states, and Ukraine simultaneously, even though his generals wanted to concentrate their efforts on Moscow. Driven by Stalin and local party members, the Soviet people fought back. The onset of winter turned Nazi soldiers into frostbitten wretches because Hitler had feared that equipping his army for Russian conditions would suggest to German civilians that a long and costly campaign lay ahead. Confident of a quick victory in the USSR, he switched German production from making tanks and artillery to making battleships and airplanes for war beyond the Soviet Union. Germany's poorly supplied armies fell victim not only to the weather but also to a shortage of equipment. Still Germany maintained an inflated view of its own power.

War Expands: The Pacific and Beyond

Meanwhile, the militarist Japanese government decided to settle matters once and for all with the United States, which was blocking Japan's access to resources in an attempt to stop its expansionism. On December 7, 1941, it launched an all-out attack on the United States at Pearl Harbor, a naval base in Hawaii, and then decimated a fleet of airplanes in the Philippines. Roosevelt immediately summoned the U.S. Congress to declare war on Japan. By the spring of 1942, the Japanese had conquered Guam, the Philippines, Malaya, Burma, Indonesia, Singapore, and much of the southwestern Pacific. Like Hitler's early conquests, the Japanese victories strengthened the military's confidence: "The era of democracy is finished," the foreign minister announced, marketing Emperor Hirohito as the monarch who would liberate Asians everywhere.

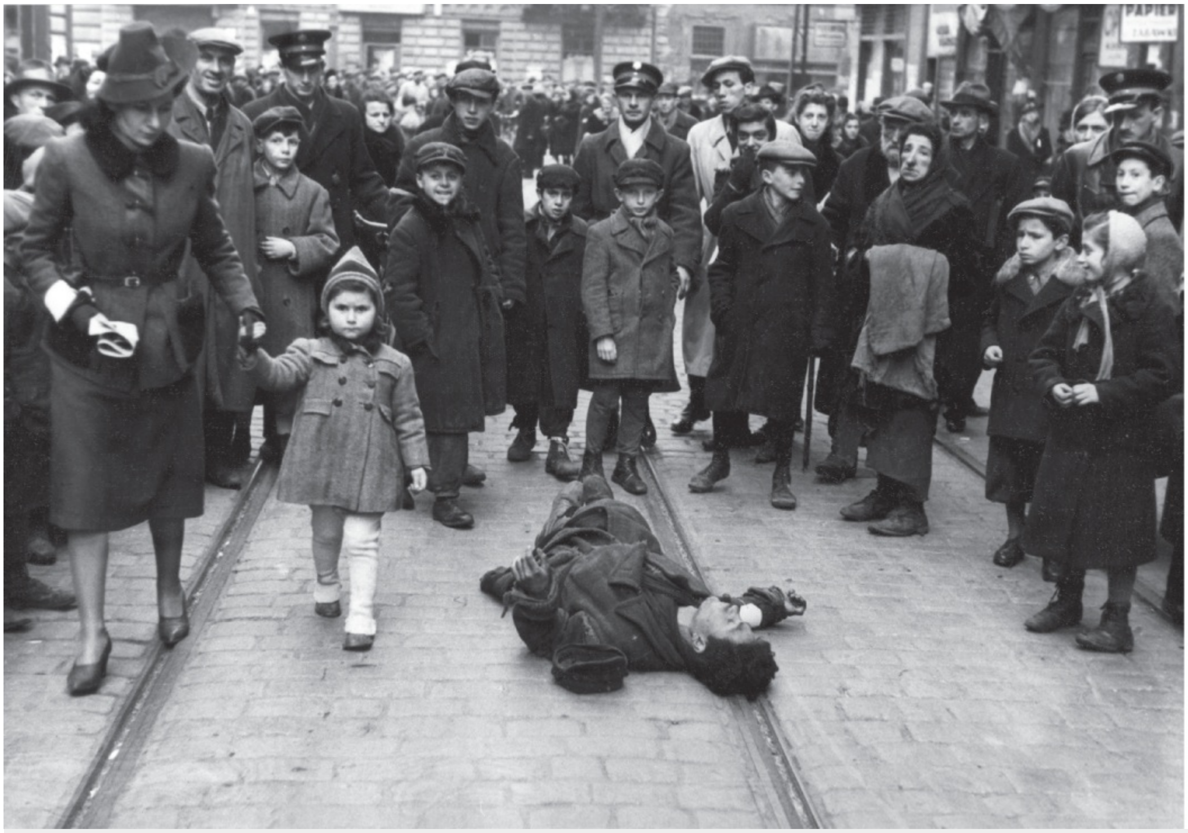
Germany quickly declared war on the United States; Mussolini followed suit. The United States was not prepared for a prolonged struggle at the time, partly because isolationist sentiment remained strong. The U.S. armed forces numbered only 1.6 million, and no plan existed for producing the necessary guns, tanks, and airplanes. In addition, the United States and the Soviet Union mistrusted each other. Yet despite these obstacles to cooperation, Hitler’s four enemies came together in the Grand Alliance of Great Britain, the Free French (an exile government in London led by General Charles de Gaulle), the Soviet Union, and the United States, along with twenty other countries — known collectively as the Allies. Against the Axis powers — Germany, Italy, and Japan — the Allies had advantages: greater manpower and resources, access to goods from global empires, Britain’s traditional naval strength, and its experience in combat on many continents. Allied leaders worked hard to wage effective war against the Axis powers, whose rulers were committed to global conquest at any price.

The War against Civilians

Far more civilians than soldiers died in World War II. The Axis powers and Allies alike bombed cities to destroy civilian will to resist: the Allied firebombings of Dresden and Tokyo killed tens of thousands of civilians. The British people, not British soldiers, were the target of the battle of Britain, and in Poland and Ukraine, the Nazi SS murdered hundreds of thousands of Polish citizens even as the Nazis faced labor shortages. Confiscated Polish land and homes were given to “racially pure” Aryans from Germany and other central European countries. In the name of collectivization, Soviet forces perpetuated the same violence in the same area of eastern Europe, which has been called the “Bloodlands” for the millions who died in the battle for land and food.

Nazi and Soviet officials saw literate people in conquered areas as potential or actual leaders of states that they wanted to destroy. A ploy of the Nazis was to test captured people’s reading skills, suggesting that those who could read would be given clerical jobs while those who could not would be relegated to hard labor. Those who could read, however, were lined up and shot. Because many in the German army initially rebelled at this inhuman mission, special Gestapo forces took up the charge of herding their victims into woods, to ravines, or even against town walls where they would be murdered en masse. The Japanese did the same in China, in Southeast Asia, and on the islands in the Pacific. The number of casualties in China alone has been estimated at thirty million, with untold millions murdered elsewhere.

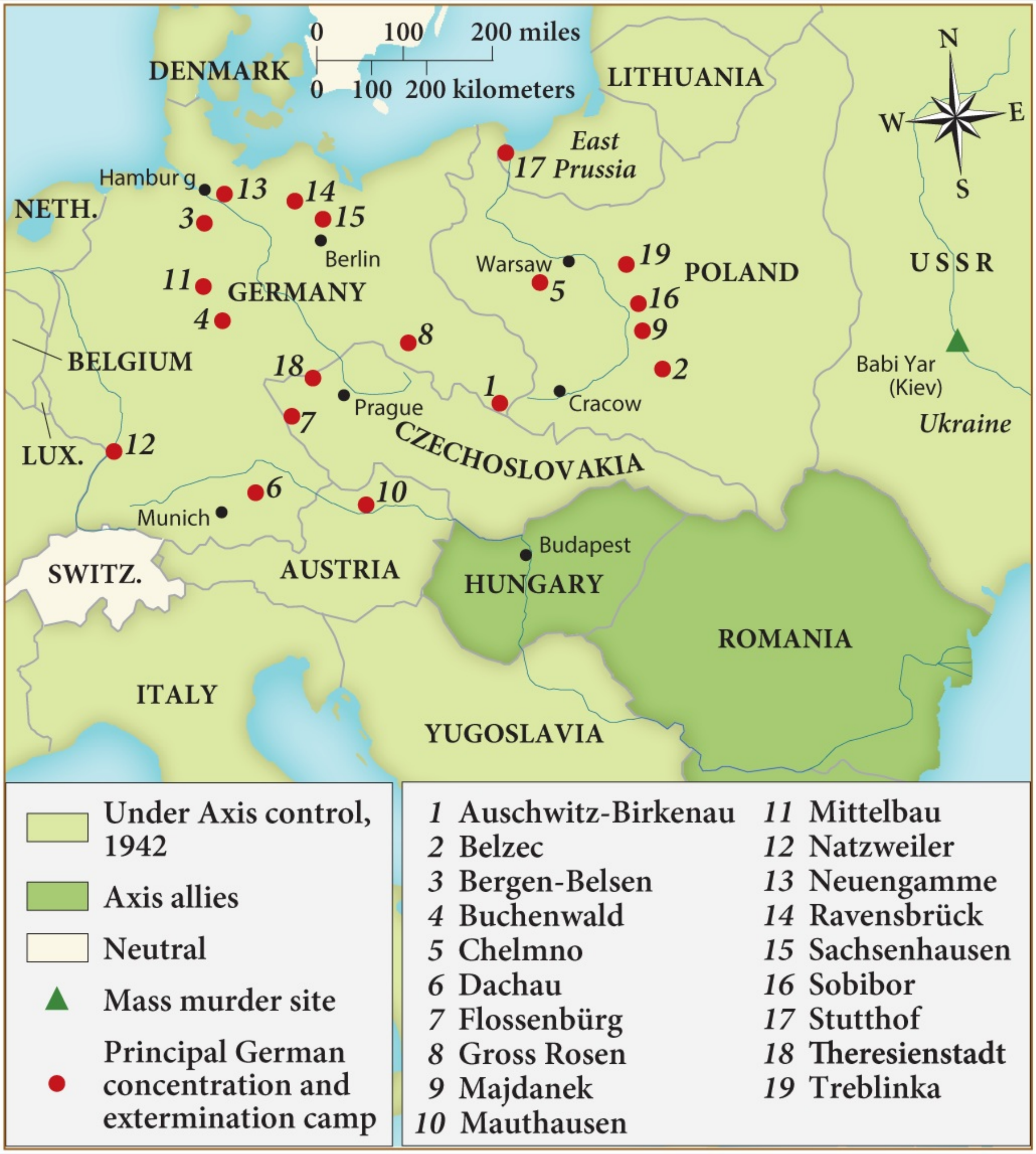
On the eve of war in 1939, Hitler had predicted “the destruction of the Jewish race in Europe.” The Nazis’ initial plan for reducing the Jewish population included driving Jews into urban ghettos and making them live on minimal rations until they died of starvation or disease. There was also direct murder. Around Soviet towns, the Nazis killed ten thousand or more at a time, often with the help of local anti-Semitic volunteers. In Jedwabne, Poland, some eight hundred citizens on their own initiative beat and burned their Jewish neighbors to death and took their property. The Holocaust was not simply a Nazi initiative but included other Europeans letting loose anti-Semitism and greed across the continent. The actual “Final Solution” — the Nazis’ plan to murder all of Europe’s Jews systematically — was about to unfold.



Galerie Bilderwelt/Getty Images.

Life in Warsaw Ghetto The occupying Nazis resettled Warsaw's Jews into a minuscule area of the city, in order, the Germans explained, to bring moral purification and to keep Germans from being infected by these "carriers of the bacteria of epidemics." Living with bare amounts of food, Warsaw's Jews died daily on the streets. Corpses were a regular sight for the average citizen — young or old.

An organized, technological system for transporting Jews to extermination sites was formalized at a meeting in Wannsee, Germany, in January 1942. Although Hitler did not attend the meeting at Wannsee, his responsibility for the Holocaust is clear: he discussed the Final Solution's progress, issued oral directives for it, and had made violent anti-Semitism a basis for Nazism from the beginning. Scientists, doctors, lawyers, government workers, and Nazi officials took initiative in making the Holocaust work. Six camps in Poland were developed specifically for the purposes of mass murder (Map 26.3). Using techniques developed in the T4 project, which killed disabled and elderly people, the camp at Chelmno initially gassed Christian Poles and Soviet prisoners of war. Specially designed crematoria for the mass burning of corpses started functioning in 1943. By then, Auschwitz had the capacity to burn 1.7 million bodies per year. About 60 percent of new arrivals — particularly children, women, and old people — were selected for immediate murder in the gas chambers; the other 40 percent labored until, utterly used up, they too were gassed.



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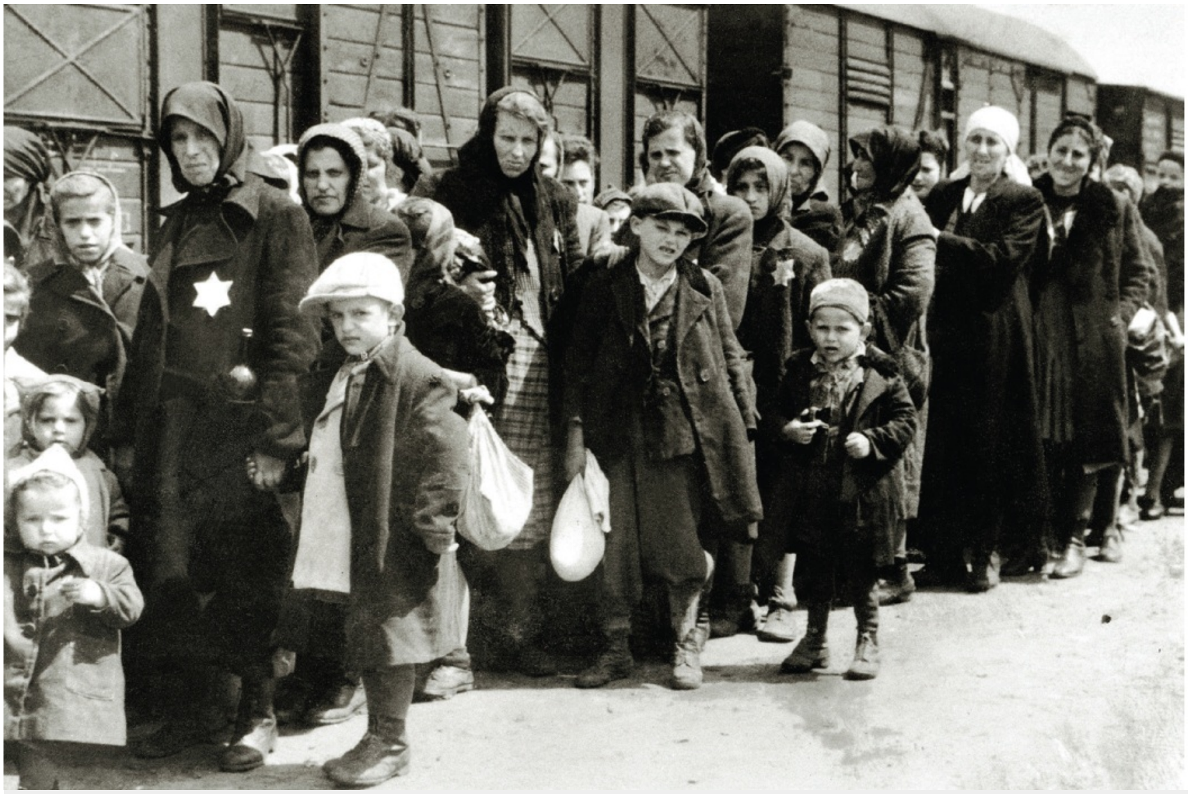
MAP 26.3 Concentration Camps and Extermination Sites in Europe

This map shows the major extermination sites and concentration camps in Europe, but the entire continent was dotted with thousands of smaller camps to which the victims of Nazism were transported. Some of these smaller camps were merely way stations on the path to ultimate extermination. In focusing on the major camps, historians often lose sight of the ways in which evidence of deportation and extermination blanketed Europe.

Victims from all over Europe were sent to extermination camps. In the ghettos of European cities, councils of Jewish leaders, such as the one in Amsterdam where Etty Hillesum worked, often chose those to be sent for "resettlement in the east" — a phrase used to mask the Nazis' true plans. For weakened, poorly armed ghetto inhabitants, open resistance meant certain death. When Jews bravely rose up against their Nazi captors in Warsaw in 1943, they were butchered. The Nazis also took pains to cloak the purpose of the extermination camps. Bands played to greet incoming trainloads of victims, and survivors later noted that the purpose of the camps was so unthinkable that potential victims were deceived. Those not chosen for immediate murder had their heads shaved and were disinfected. So began life in "a living hell," as one survivor wrote.

The camps were scenes of struggle for life in the face of torture and death. Overworked inmates usually received fewer than five hundred calories per day, far below the minimum needed to maintain good health. As diseases swept through the camps, doctors performed unbelievably cruel medical experiments with no anesthesia on pregnant women, twins, and other innocent people in the name of advancing "racial science." Despite the harsh conditions, however, some people preserved their spirit: prisoners forged new friendships, and women in particular observed religious holidays and celebrated birthdays. Thanks to those sharing a bread ration, wrote the Auschwitz survivor Primo Levi, "I managed not to forget that I myself was a man." In the end, six million Jews, the vast majority from eastern Europe — along with an estimated five to six million Slavs, Sinti and Roma, homosexuals, and countless others — were deliberately murdered in the Nazi genocidal fury. This vast crime perpetrated by apparently civilized people still shocks and outrages the world.



Prisma by Dukas Presseagentur GmbH/Schultz Reinhard/Alamy Stock Photo.

Families Arrive at Auschwitz-Birkenau Extermination and Concentration Camp, c. 1942 When Germany undertook the Holocaust and ethnic cleansing, children and their mothers of outcast groups were generally automatic victims, unless they seemed useful for medical experiments. Because this group of Jewish captives arriving from Hungary appears to contain no men, those already arranged in a segregated line were next moved to an area to disrobe and then proceeded to gas chambers to be murdered.

Societies at War

Even more than World War I, World War II depended on industrial productivity. The Axis countries remained at a disadvantage throughout the war despite their initial conquests, for the Allies consistently outproduced them. For example, in 1942, Great Britain and Russia produced collectively nearly fifty thousand aircraft while Germany produced around fifteen thousand. Even as Germany occupied the Soviet industrial heartland and besieged many of its cities, the USSR increased its production of weapons. Both Japan and Germany made the most of their lower output, especially in the use of Blitzkrieg. Vast quantities of stolen resources and of millions of slave laborers also helped, but both Japan's and Germany's belief in their racial superiority prevented them from accurately assessing the capabilities of enemies they held in contempt.

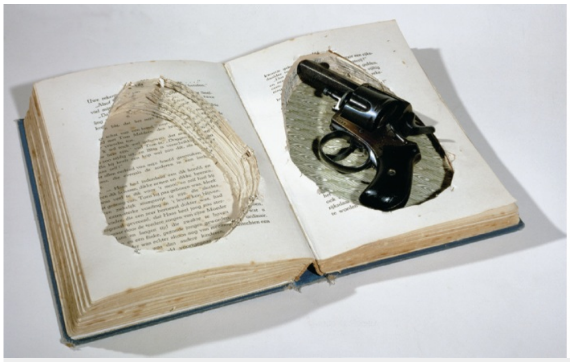
Allied governments were overwhelmingly successful in mobilizing civilians, especially women. In Germany and Italy, where government policy particularly exalted motherhood and kept women from good jobs, officials began to realize that women were desperately needed in the workforce, especially given the slaughter of so-called inferior peoples who might have helped out. Nazis changed their propaganda to emphasize the need for everyone to take a job, but their messages were not effective enough to convince women to take the low-paid work offered them. In contrast, Soviet women constituted more than half their nation's workforce by war's end, and 800,000 volunteered for the military, including service as pilots. As the Germans invaded, Soviet citizens moved entire factories eastward. In a dramatic about-face, the government encouraged devotion to the Russian Orthodox church as a way of boosting patriotism.

Even more than in World War I, civilians faced propaganda, censorship, and government regulation. People were glued to their radios for war news — much of it tightly controlled. The totalitarian powers often withheld news of military defeats and large casualty numbers in order to hold onto civilian support. Wartime films focused on aviation heroes and infantrymen as well as on the self-sacrificing working women and wives on the home front. In most countries, it was simply taken for granted that civilian needs had very low priority. Soviet children and old people were especially vulnerable, a high proportion of them among the one million residents who starved to death during the siege of Leningrad. Government specialists regulated the production and distribution of food, clothing, and household products, all of which were rationed and generally of lower quality than before the war. With governments standardizing such items as food, clothing, and entertainment, World War II furthered the development of mass society.

On both sides, propaganda and government policies promoted racial thinking. For long, the German government had published caricatures of Jews and Slavs — or the hated Judeo-Bolsheviks. Similarly, Allied propaganda during the war depicted Germans as perverts and the "Japs" as insectlike fanatics. The U.S. government forced citizens of Japanese origin into internment camps, while Muslims and minority ethnic groups in the Soviet Union were uprooted and relocated away from the front lines as potential Nazi collaborators. As in World War I, both sides drew colonized peoples into the war through forced labor and conscription into the armies. Some two million Indian men served the Allied cause, as did several hundred thousand Africans. As the Japanese swept through the Pacific and parts of East Asia, they, too, conscripted local men into their army.

From Resistance to Allied Victory

Resistance to fascism began early in the war. Having escaped from France to London in 1940, General Charles de Gaulle directed from a distance the Free French government and its forces — a mixed organization of troops of colonized Asians and Africans, soldiers who had escaped via Dunkirk, and volunteers from other occupied countries. Less well known than the Free French, many resisters in occupied Europe fought in Communist-dominated groups, some of which gathered information to aid the Allied invasion of the continent. Rural groups called partisans not only planned assassinations of traitors and German officers but also bombed bridges, rail lines, and military facilities. Although the Catholic church supported Mussolini in Italy and endorsed the Croatian puppet government's slaughter of a million Serbs, Catholic and Protestant clergy and their parishioners were among those who set up resistance networks, often hiding Jews and fugitives. The Polish resistance was extraordinarily active, attacking imported German and other settlers, for example, to replace evicted or murdered Poles.



Resistance Museum, Amsterdam, The Netherlands/ Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

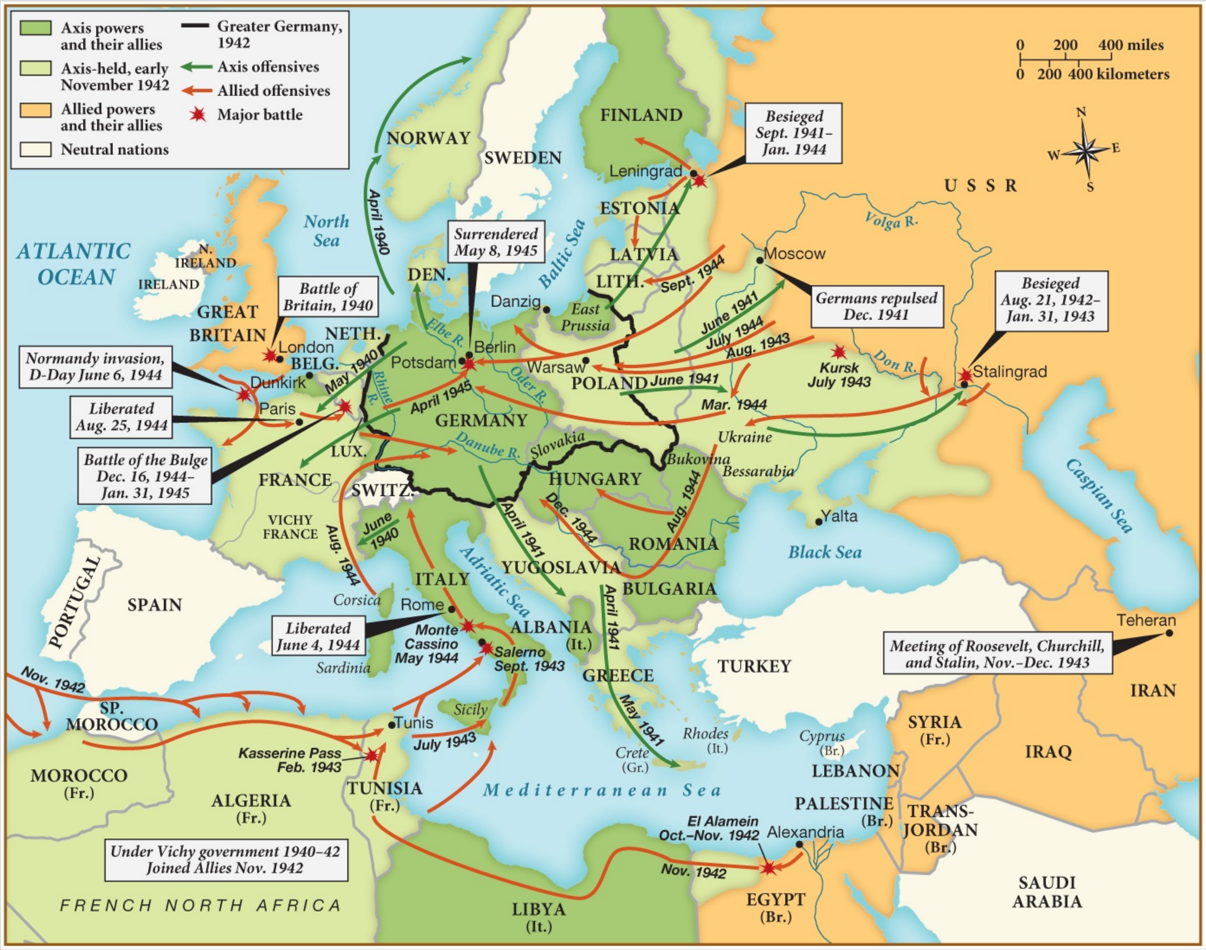
Hidden Revolver Resistance to Nazism took many forms, from the uprising in Warsaw to small acts of protest to assassinations of Nazi officers and collaborators. In a militarized state with informers everywhere, retaliation against Nazis sparked human ingenuity, whether in obtaining enough food or killing the enemy. Weapons were hidden in baby carriages, under clothing, or in books — as in this example from the Dutch resistance.

People also fought back through everyday activities. Homemakers circulated newsletters urging demonstrations at prisons where civilians were detained. In central Europe, hikers smuggled Jews and others over dangerous mountain passes. Danish villagers created vast escape networks, and countless thousands across Europe volunteered to be part of escape routes. Women resisters used stereotypes to good advantage, often carrying weapons to assassination sites in the correct belief that Nazis would rarely suspect or search them. “Naturally the Germans didn’t think that a woman could have carried a bomb,” explained one Italian resister. Resistance kept alive the liberal ideal of individual action in the face of tyranny.

Both subtle and dramatically visible resistance took place in the fascist countries. Couples in Germany and Italy limited family size in defiance of pro-birth policies. In July 1944, a group of German military officers, fearing their country’s military humiliation, tried but failed to assassinate Hitler — one of several such attempts. Wounded and shaken, Hitler mercilessly tortured and killed hundreds of conspirators, innocent friends, and family members. Some ask whether the assassination attempt came too late in the war to count as resistance. However, some five million Germans alone, and millions more of other nationalities, lost their lives in the last nine months of the war. Had

Hitler died even as late as the summer of 1944, the relief to humanity would have been considerable.

Amid civilian resistance, Allied forces turned the war against the Axis powers beginning with the battle of Stalingrad in 1942–1943 (Map 26.4). The German army sought Soviet oil through capturing this city. Months of ferocious house-to-house fighting ended when the Soviet army captured the ninety thousand German survivors in February 1943. Meanwhile, the British army in North Africa held against German troops under Erwin Rommel, a skilled practitioner of the new kind of mobile warfare. He aimed to capture the Suez Canal and thus gain access to Middle Eastern oil, but the Allies' code-breaking capacity ultimately helped them block a German capture of Egypt and take Morocco and Algeria in the fall of 1942. The Allies then landed in Sicily in July 1943, provoking a German invasion. The slow, bitter fight for the Italian peninsula lasted until April 1945, when Allied forces finally triumphed. After Italy's liberation, partisans shot Mussolini and his mistress and hung their dead bodies for public display.



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MAP 26.4 World War II in Europe and Africa

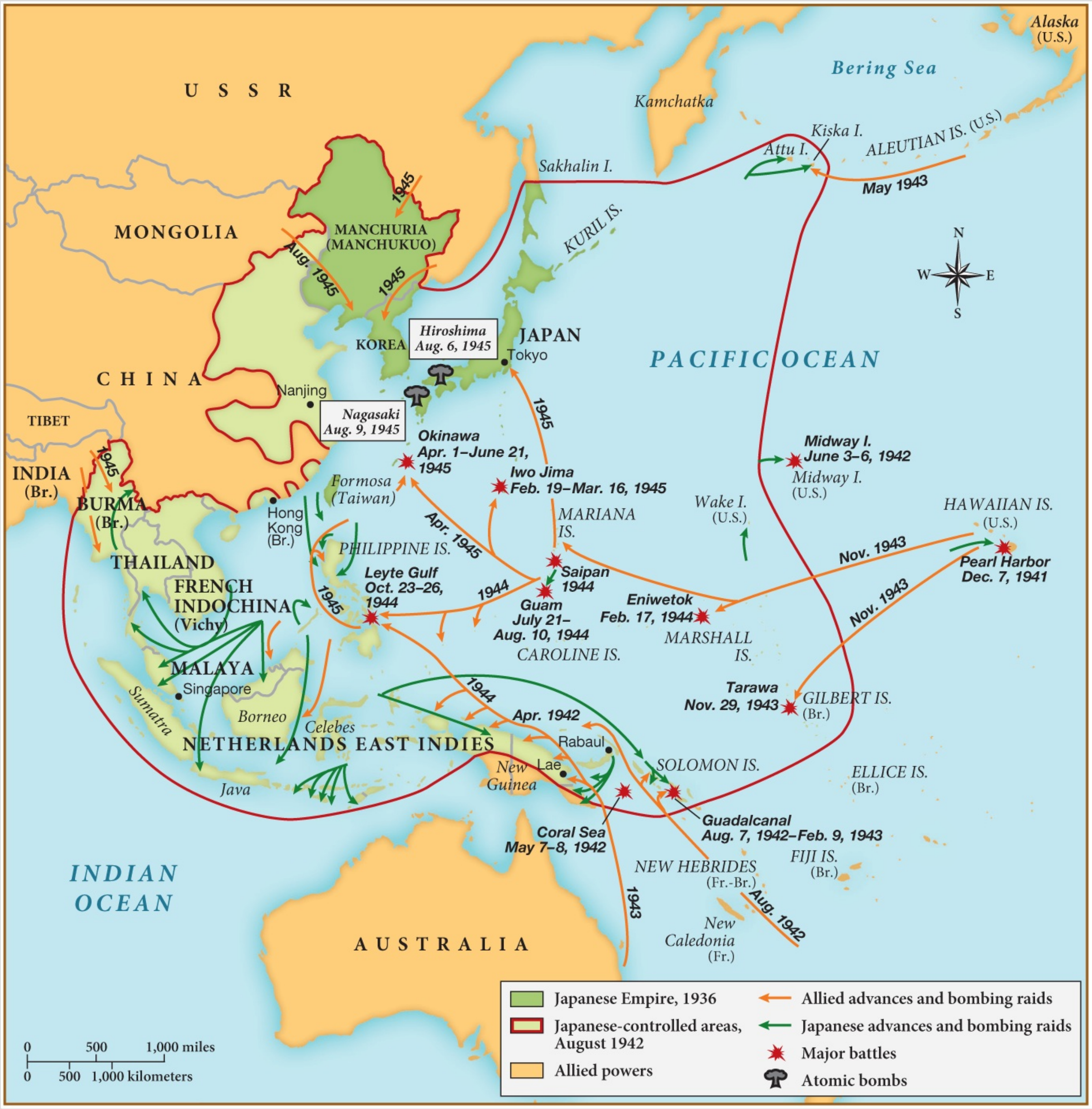
World War II inflicted massive loss of life and destruction of property on civilians, armies, and all the infrastructure — including factories, equipment, and agriculture — needed to wage total war. Thus, the war swept the European continent as well as areas in Africa colonized by or allied with the major powers. Ultimately the Allies crushed the Axis powers by moving from east, west, and south to inflict a total defeat.

The victory at Stalingrad marked the beginning of the Soviet drive westward, during which the Soviets bore the brunt of the Nazi war machine. From the air, Britain and the United States bombed German cities, but it was an invasion from the west that Stalin wanted from his allies. Finally, on June 6, 1944, known as D-Day, the combined Allied forces, under the command of U.S. general Dwight Eisenhower, attacked the heavily fortified French beaches of Normandy and then fought their way through the German-held territory of western France to help liberate Paris. The Soviets meanwhile recaptured the Baltic states and entered Poland, pausing for much needed supplies but also to fend off another German attack. The Germans took advantage of the distraction to put down an uprising of the Polish resistance in August 1944, which gave the Soviets a freer hand in eastern Europe after the war. Facing more than twice as many troops as on the western front, the Soviet army took Bulgaria and Romania at the end of August, then Hungary in 1945. British, Canadian, U.S., and other Allied forces simultaneously fought their way eastward to join the Soviets in squeezing the Third Reich to its final defeat.

As the Allies advanced, Hitler decided that Germans deserved to perish. He thus refused all negotiations that might have spared them further death and destruction. As the Soviet army took Berlin, Hitler and his wife, Eva Braun, committed suicide. Although many soldiers remained loyal to the Third Reich, Germany finally surrendered on May 8, 1945.

Still, the battles continued. The Allies had followed a “Europe first” strategy in conducting the war. In 1940 and 1941, Japan had ousted the Europeans from many colonial holdings in Asia, but the Allies turned the tide in 1942 by destroying some of Japan’s formidable navy in battles at Midway Island and Guadalcanal (Map 26.5). Allied forces stormed one Pacific island after another, gaining bases from which to cut off the importation of supplies and to launch bombers toward Japan itself.

Short of men and weapons, the Japanese military resorted to kamikaze tactics, in which pilots deliberately crashed their planes into Allied ships, killing themselves in the process. In response, the Allies stepped up their bombing of major cities, killing more than 100,000 civilians in their spring 1945 firebombing of Tokyo. The Japanese leadership still ruled out surrender.



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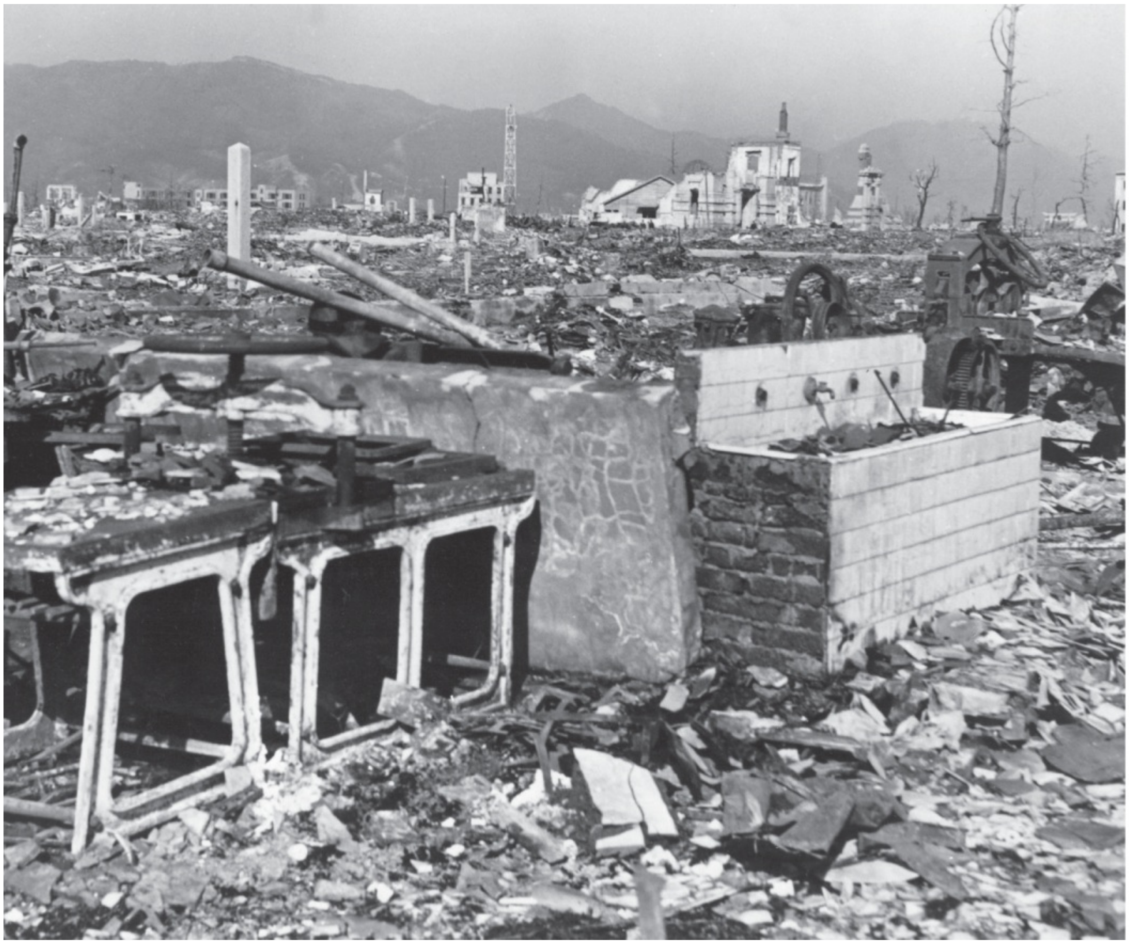
MAP 26.5 World War II in the Pacific

As in Europe, the early days of World War II gave the advantage to the Axis power Japan as it took the offensive in conquering islands in the Pacific and territories in Asia — many of them colonies of European states. Britain countered by mobilizing a vast Indian army, while the United States, after the disastrous losses at Pearl Harbor and in the Philippines, gradually gained the upper hand by costly assaults, island by island. The Japanese strategy of fighting to the last person instead of surrendering when a loss was in sight was one factor in President Truman's decision to drop the atomic bomb in August 1945.

Meanwhile a U.S.-based international team of more than 100,000 workers, including scientists and technicians, had been working on the Manhattan Project, the code name for a secret project to develop an atomic bomb. The Japanese practice of dying almost to the man rather than surrendering caused Allied military leaders to calculate that defeating Japan might cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of Allied soldiers (and even more Japanese). On August 6 and 9, 1945, the U.S. government therefore unleashed the new atomic weapons on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing 140,000 people instantly; tens of thousands later died from burns, wounds, and other afflictions (see Environment Matters). Hardliners in the Japanese military wanted to continue the war, but on August 14, 1945, Japan surrendered.

ENVIRONMENT MATTERS

Hiroshima, 1945



Everett Collection

This photo captures what little remained of the city of Hiroshima after the United States dropped an atomic bomb on August 6, 1945. Without the bomb, the U.S. military foresaw a long and costly struggle to defeat Japan, but it did not sufficiently calculate damage done to human health and well-being, including damage done to the environment. Thick soot filled the air, as did radiation, and traveled far from the blast site. The blast put a hole in the ozone layer, while radiation seeped into rivers and oceans. Leukemia and other cancers afflicted citizens. Now, scientists, environmentalists, and peace activists give more attention to the results of any subsequent nuclear war and judge that, among other things, nuclear blasts could create another Ice Age affecting the world.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. What are the destructive outcomes of nuclear weapons, and how do you rank them in importance?
2. What is the overall historical importance of nuclear energy?

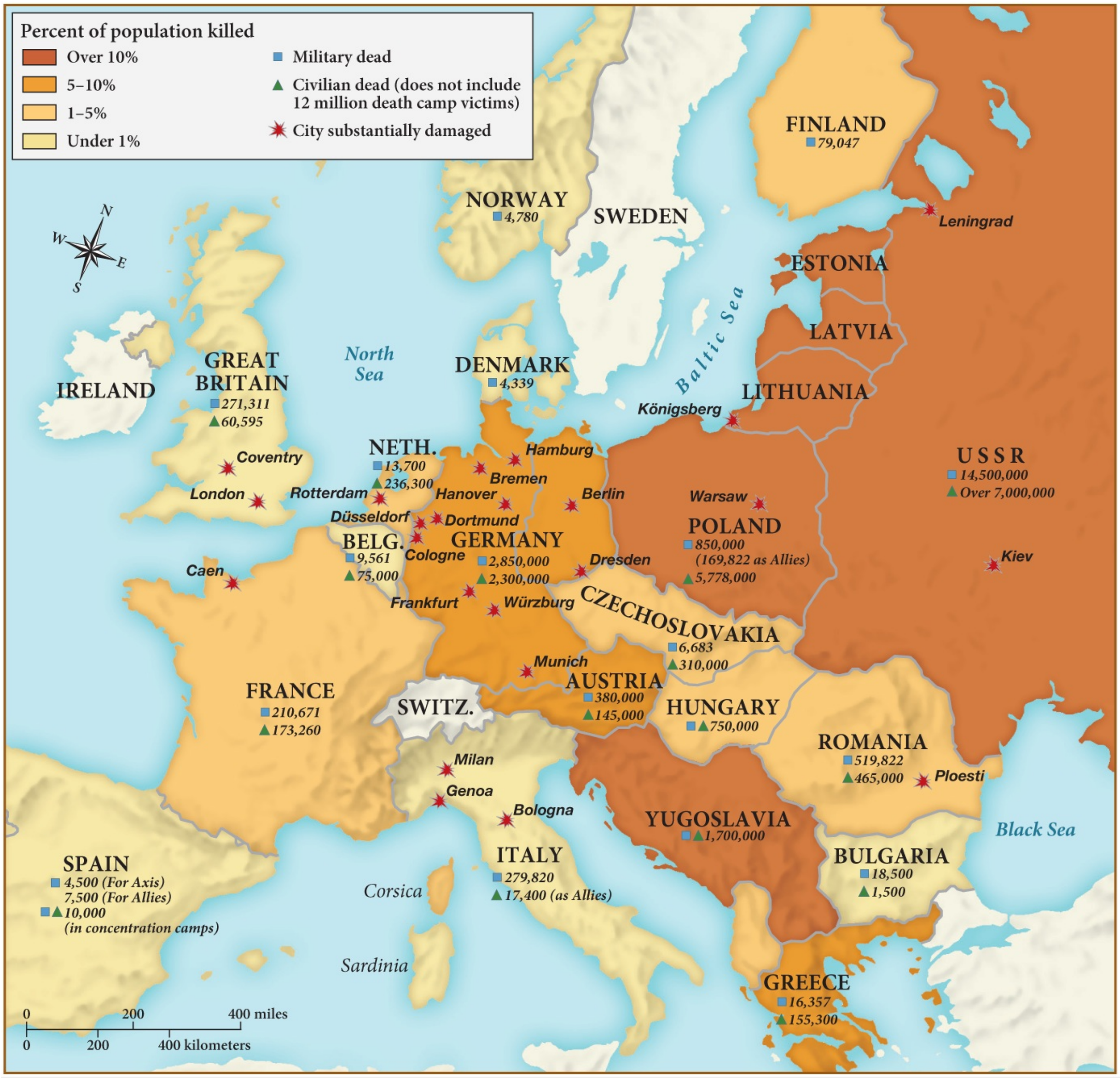
An Uneasy Postwar Settlement

Unlike World War I, this war saw neither a celebrated peace conference nor a formal agreement among all the Allies about the final terms for peace. Instead, wartime agreements among members of the Grand Alliance about the future reflected their differences while aiming to guide the postwar years. In 1941, Roosevelt and Churchill crafted the Atlantic Charter, which condemned aggression, endorsed collective security, and supported the right of all people to choose their governments. Not only did the Allies back these ideals, but so did colonized peoples to whom, Churchill said, the charter was not meant to apply. In October 1944, Churchill and Stalin agreed on the postwar distribution of territories. The Soviet Union would control Romania and Bulgaria, Britain would control Greece, and they would jointly oversee Hungary and Yugoslavia. These agreements went against Roosevelt's faith in collective security, self-determination, and open doors in trade. In February 1945, the "Big Three" — Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin — met in the Crimean town of Yalta. Roosevelt advocated for the formation of the United Nations to replace the League of Nations as a global peace mechanism, and he supported future Soviet influence in Korea, Manchuria, and the Sakhalin and Kuril islands. The last meeting of the Allied leaders, with President Harry S. Truman replacing Roosevelt, who had died in April, took place at Potsdam, Germany, in the summer of 1945. At Potsdam, the leaders agreed to give the Soviets control of eastern Poland, to transfer a large stretch of eastern Germany to Poland, and to finalize a temporary four-way occupation of Germany that would include France as one of the supervising powers.

These agreements could hardly undo the war’s grim legacy. The Great Depression had inflicted global suffering, while World War II left up to 100 million dead, more than fifty million refugees without homes, and one of the most abominable moral legacies in human history. Conscripted into armies or into labor camps for war production, colonial peoples in Vietnam, Algeria, India, and elsewhere were in full rebellion or close to it. The war weakened and even destroyed standards of decency and truth. Democratic Europe had succumbed to continuous wartime values, and it was this Europe that George Orwell captured in his novel *1984* (1949). Orwell had worked for the wartime Ministry of Information (called the Ministry of Truth in the novel) and made up phony war news and threats for civilian audiences. Truth hardly mattered, and words changed meaning during the war to sound better: *battle fatigue* substituted for *insanity*, and *liberating* a country could mean invading it and slaughtering its civilians. Hungry, careworn people walking in ragged clothing along grimy streets characterized both wartime London and Orwell’s fictional state of Oceania. Millions cheered the demise of Nazi evil in 1945, but for Orwell, bureaucratic domination depended on continuing conflict. Indeed, as Allied powers competed for territory at the war’s end, a new struggle called the cold war was beginning.

REVIEW QUESTION

How and where was World War II fought, and what were its major consequences?



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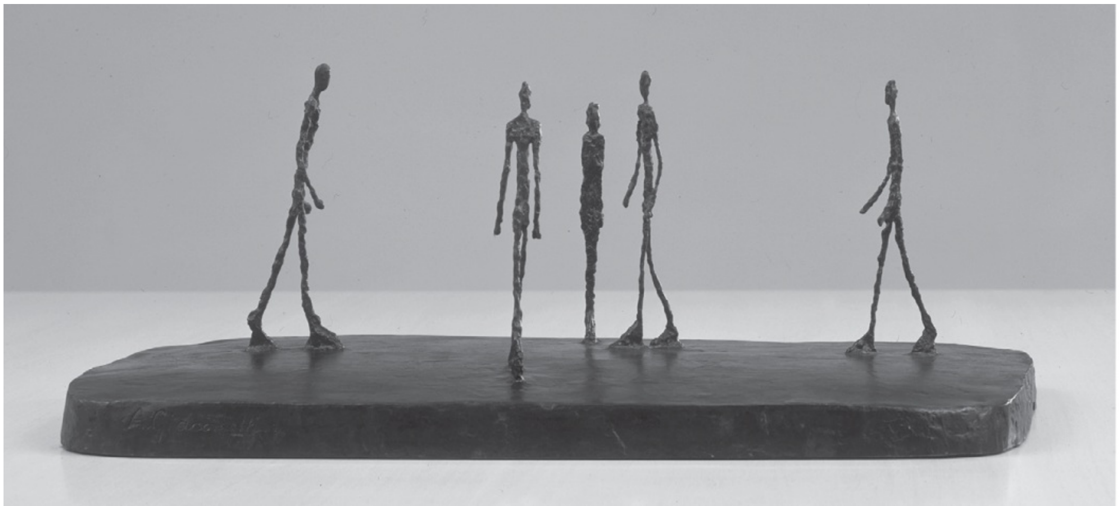
MAPPING THE WEST

Europe at War's End, 1945

The damage of World War II left scars that would last for decades. Major German cities were bombed to bits, while the Soviet Union suffered an unimaginable toll of perhaps as many as forty-five million deaths due to the war alone. In addition to the vast civilian and military losses shown on this map, historians estimate that no less than twelve million people were murdered in the Nazi death camps. Everything from politics to family life to individual character needed rebuilding, adding to the chaos. (From *The Hammond Atlas of the Twentieth Century* [London: Times Books, 1996], 102.)

Analyzing the Map: Describe the distribution of casualties across Europe, and explain the causes of such a distribution.

Making Connections: Compare the distribution of casualties in World War II with that in World War I. What are the differences, and what information from battlefront and other relevant maps accounts for any differences?



The Square II, 1948–1949. Bronze, 23 x 63.5 x 43.5 cm. Photo: Jens Ziehe/bpk, Bildagentur/Museum Berggruen, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany/Art Resource, NY/Art © Alberto Giacometti Estate/Licensed by ARS, New York, NY.

Alberto Giacometti, *The Square II* (1948–1949) Swiss artist Alberto Giacometti began making sculptures featuring thin, elongated figures in the 1940s. They appear to be moving forward, striving and active, but at the same time their spareness evokes the skeletal shape of concentration camp survivors. What kind of statement do you see Giacometti making about the times? Do you agree with Giacometti's statement as you have characterized it?

Conclusion

The Great Depression, which brought fear, hunger, and joblessness to millions, created a setting in which dictators thrived because they promised to restore economic prosperity by destroying democracy and representative government. Desperate people believed the promises of these dynamic new leaders — Mussolini, Stalin, and Hitler — and often embraced their conspiracy theories and the brutality of their regimes. In the USSR, Stalin's program of rapid industrialization cost the lives of millions as he inspired Communist believers to purge enemies — real and imagined. The democracies' focus on economic recovery and preserving the rule of law while still haunted by memories of World War I allowed Hitler, Mussolini, and their millions of supporters to menace Europe unchallenged. At the same time, Japan embarked on a program of conquest aimed at ending Western domination in Asia and taking more of Asia for itself. The coalition of Allies that finally formed to stop the Axis powers of Germany, Italy, and Japan was an uneasy alliance among Britain, Free France, the Soviet Union, and the United States. World War II ended European dominance. Europe's economies were shattered, its colonies were on the verge of independence, and its peoples were starving and homeless.

The costs of a bloody war — one waged against civilians as much as armies — taught the victorious powers different lessons. The United States, Britain, and France were convinced that a minimum of citizen well-being was necessary to prevent a recurrence of fascism. The devastation of the USSR's population and resources made Stalin increasingly obsessed with national security and compensation for Nazi-inflicted destruction. Britain and France faced the end of their imperial might, confirming Orwell’s insight that the war had utterly transformed society. The militarization of society and the deliberate murder of millions of innocent citizens like Etty Hillesum were tragedies that permanently injured the West’s claims to being an advanced civilization. Nonetheless, backed by growing supplies of sophisticated weaponry, the United States and the Soviet Union used their opposing views on a postwar settlement to justify threatening one another — and the world — with another horrific war.

Chapter 26 Review

Key Terms and People

Be sure you can identify the term or person and explain its historical significance.

civil disobedience
Joseph Stalin
five-year plans
purges
Adolf Hitler
Enabling Act
pump priming
Nuremberg Laws
family allowance
Popular Front
Charlie Chaplin
Lebensraum
Francisco Franco
appeasement
Nazi-Soviet Pact
Blitzkrieg

Review Questions

1. How did the Great Depression affect society and politics?
2. What role did violence play in the Soviet and Nazi regimes?
3. How did the democracies’ responses to the twin challenges of economic depression and the rise of fascism differ from those of totalitarian regimes?
4. How did the aggression of Japan, Germany, and Italy create the conditions for global war?
5. How and where was World War II fought, and what were its major consequences?

Making Connections

1. Compare fascist ideas of the individual with the idea of individual rights that inspired the American and French Revolutions.
2. What connections can you make between the Great Depression and the coming of World War II?
3. What were the major differences between World War I and World War II?
4. What explains the bleak view of writers like George Orwell after the definitive Allied victory over the Axis powers?

Important Events

1929	U.S. stock market crashes; global depression begins; Soviet leadership initiates “liquidation of the kulaks”; Stalin’s first five-year plan officially begins
1931	Japan invades Manchuria; Spanish republicans overthrow monarchy
1933	Hitler comes to power in Germany
1935	German government enacts Nuremberg Laws; Italy invades Ethiopia
1936	Purges and show trials begin in USSR; Hitler remilitarizes Rhineland; Spanish Civil War begins
1937	Japan attacks China
1938	Germany annexes Austria; European leaders meet in Munich to negotiate with Hitler; Kristallnacht in Germany
1939	Germany invades Czechoslovakia; Spanish Civil War ends; Nazi-Soviet Pact; Germany invades Poland; Britain and France declare war on Germany; World War II begins
1940	France falls to German army
1940–1941	British air force fends off German attacks in the battle of Britain
1941	Germany invades Soviet Union; Japan attacks Pearl Harbor; United States enters war
1941–1945	The Holocaust
1942–1943	Siege of Stalingrad
1944	Allied forces land at Normandy, France
1945	Berlin falls; United States drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; World War II ends

Consider three events

Global depression begins (1929), Stalin's first five-year plan officially begins (1929), and Hitler comes to power in Germany (1933). How did the global depression contribute to the initial success of Hitler and Stalin?

Suggested References

This grim period in human history has yielded an ever-growing crop of excellent books, some of them coldly examining the worst aspects of the Great Depression and World War II and others looking at resistance, survival, and intellectual breakthroughs. Studies of Stalin and Hitler are legion.

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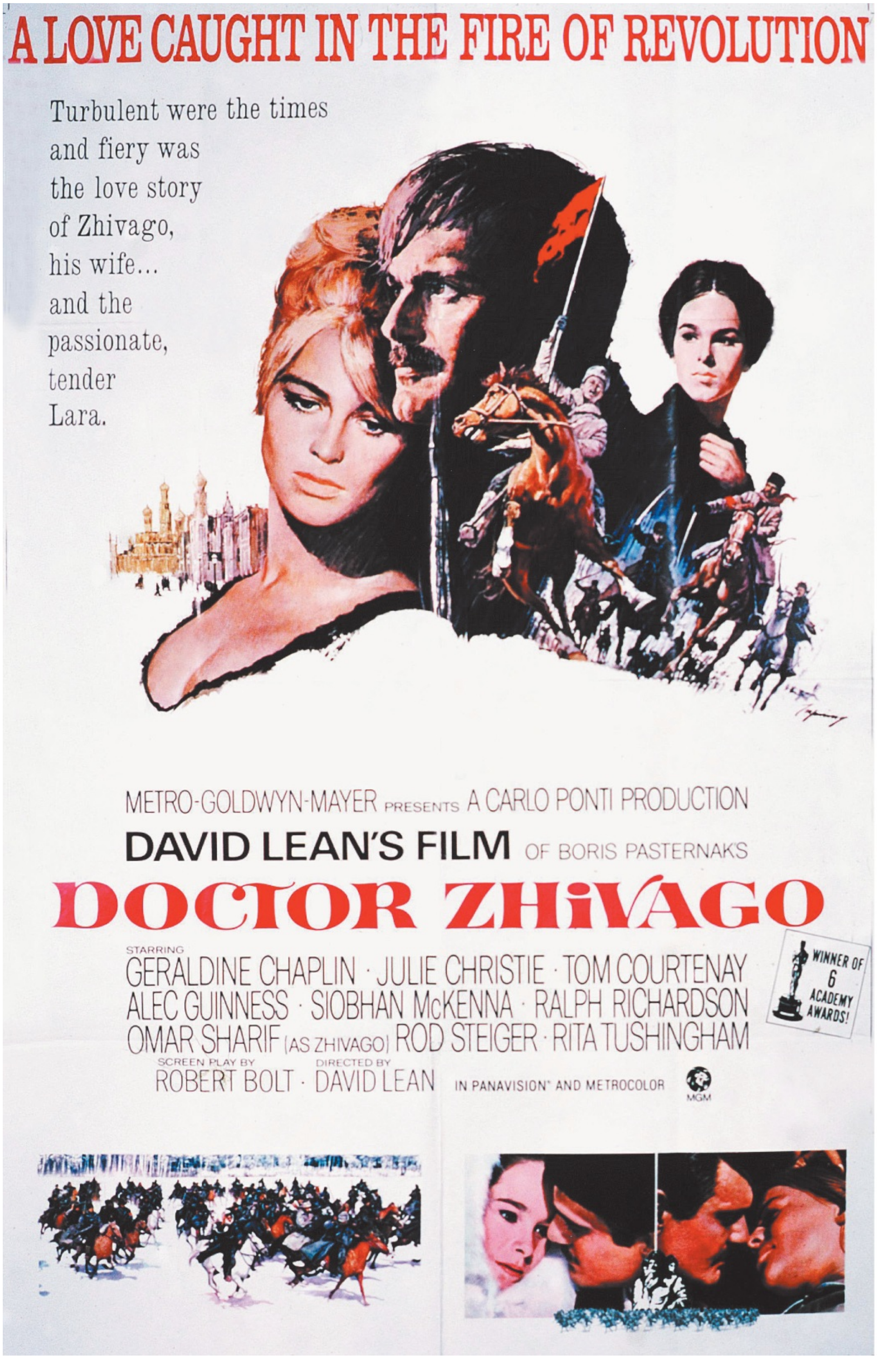
CHAPTER 27

The Cold War and the Remaking of Europe

1945–1960s


A LOVE CAUGHT IN THE FIRE OF REVOLUTION
Turbulent were the times
and fiery was
the love story
of Zhivago,
his wife…
and the
passionate,
tender
Lara.
METRO-GOLDWYN-MAYER PRESENTS A CARLO PONTI PRODUCTION
DAVID LEAN'S FILM OF BORIS PASTERNAK'S
DOCTOR ZHIVAGO
STARRING
GERALDINE CHAPLIN · JULIE CHRISTIE · TOM COURTENAY
ALEC GUINNESS · SIOBHAN McKENNA · RALPH RICHARDSON
OMAR SHARIF (AS ZHIVAGO) ROD STEIGER · RITA TUSHINGHAM
SCREEN PLAY BY ROBERT BOLT · DIRECTED BY DAVID LEAN
IN PANAVISION AND METROCOLOR
MGM
WINNER OF 6 ACADEMY AWARDS!

MGM/Kobal/Shutterstock.

***Doctor Zhivago* Poster** As soon as Boris Pasternak's forbidden novel *Doctor Zhivago* was published in Italy in 1957, Hollywood's MGM studio went after the rights for the film. Finally completed in 1965, the movie was a cold war blockbuster — an epic of life and love in postrevolutionary Russia. The opening scene, invented for the movie, was a grim Soviet factory, while the story itself was more or less symbolized in this advertising poster highlighting two incredibly attractive people who fall in love and are torn apart by the crushing Bolshevik system.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

World Politics Transformed

What were the major events in the development of the cold war?

Political and Economic Recovery in Europe

What factors drove recovery in western Europe and in eastern Europe?

Decolonization in a Cold War Climate

What were the results of decolonization?

Daily Life and Culture in the Shadow of Nuclear War

How were everyday culture and social life part of the cold war?

Late in 1945, with the USSR still reeling from the devastation of World War II, Soviet poet Boris Pasternak began a new project — *Doctor Zhivago*, a novel about a thoughtful medical man caught up in the whirlwind of the Russian Revolution. Like others in the USSR, Pasternak expected the postwar era to usher in, as he put it, “a great renewal of Russian life.” So he struggled on with his complex epic even as cold war tensions unfolded between the United States and the USSR. In 1953, Joseph Stalin’s sudden death raised Pasternak’s hopes for his masterpiece to receive a warm reception; those hopes were dashed, however, when the Soviets forbade the book’s publication.

A determined Pasternak bypassed the Soviet authorities and secretly arranged for *Doctor Zhivago* to be published first in 1957 in Italy — then an anti-Soviet ally of the United States in the cold war. The book became a best seller, showing its readers that the Russian Revolution was far from perfect and so angering the Soviet leadership that Stalin's successor, Nikita Khrushchev, forced Pasternak to decline the Nobel Prize for Literature awarded him in 1958. The cold war, however, allowed *Doctor Zhivago* to live on when the famed Hollywood studio MGM turned it into a blockbuster film (1965), seen by tens of millions. By that time, Pasternak had died — a victim of cold war persecutions that haunted the world long after the calamitous years of war and genocide had ended.

Following World War II, people in Europe, Japan, and much of East Asia and Southeast Asia were starving and homeless. Evidence of genocide and other inhumanity was everywhere, and nuclear annihilation menaced the world. The old international order was gone, replaced by the rivalry of the United States and the Soviet Union for control of Europe, whose political, social, and economic order was shattered. The nuclear arsenals of these two *superpowers* — a term coined in 1947 — grew massively in the 1950s, but the enemies did not fight outright. Thus, their terrifying rivalry was called the **cold war**. The cold war, whose seeds were planted decades earlier, divided the West and led to persecution in many regions, including the wealthy and secure United States.

At the same time, the defeat of Nazism inspired cautious optimism and a revival of thoughtful reflection like that of Pasternak. Heroic effort had defeated fascism, and that defeat raised hopes that a new age would begin. Atomic science promised advances in medicine, and nuclear energy was seen as a replacement for coal and oil. The creation of the

United Nations in 1945 heralded an era of international cooperation. Around the globe, colonial peoples won independence from European masters, while in the United States the civil rights movement grew in strength. The welfare state expanded, and by the end of the 1950s, economic rebirth had made much of Europe more prosperous than ever before. An "economic miracle" had occurred, bringing many Europeans and Americans the highest standard of living they had ever known, including quantities of new consumer goods and simple pleasures such as seeing technicolor films like *Doctor Zhivago*.

The postwar period became one of ongoing redefinition as the experience of total war transformed both society and the international order. New terms arose in the 1950s, dividing the globe into the first world (the West, or capitalist, bloc of countries); the second world (the East, or socialist, bloc); and the third world (countries emerging from imperial domination). This last term, *third world*, was meant as a favorable comparison of emerging nations to the Third Estate — that is, the noble citizens who energized the French Revolution — but is now considered an insult.

As the world's people redefined themselves, the superpowers took the world to the brink of nuclear disaster. From the dropping of the atomic bomb on Japan in 1945 to the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, fear and personal anguish like that suffered by Pasternak gripped much of the world, even in the midst of prosperity and Europe's rebirth.

CHAPTER TIMELINE

1945
Cold war begins

1947
India and Pakistan win independence from Britain

1948
State of Israel is established

1949
Mao Zedong leads Communist revolution in China; Simone de Beauvoir publishes *The Second Sex*

1950
Korean War begins

1953
Stalin dies; Korean War ends

1954
Brown v. Board of Education prohibits segregated schools in the United States; Vietnamese forces defeat French at Dien Bien Phu

1956
General Abdel Nasser nationalizes Suez Canal; uprising in Hungary against USSR

1957
Boris Pasternak publishes *Doctor Zhivago*; USSR launches *Sputnik*; Treaty of Rome establishes European Economic Community (Common Market)

1958
Fifth Republic begins in France

1962
United States and USSR face off in the Cuban missile crisis

1945 1949 1953 1955 1959 1963

MGM/Kobal/Shutterstock

CHAPTER FOCUS

How did the cold war shape the politics, economy, social life, culture, and international concerns of post–World War II Europe?

World Politics Transformed

World War II ended Europe's global leadership. Many countries lay in ruins in the summer of 1945, and conditions would deteriorate before they improved. Though victorious, bombed and bankrupt Britain could not feed its people, and continuing turmoil destroyed the lives of millions in central and eastern Europe. In contrast, the United States, whose territory was virtually untouched in the war, emerged as the world's sole economic giant, while the Soviet Union, despite suffering immense devastation, remained a military powerhouse. Occupying Europe as part of the victorious alliance, the two superpowers used Germany — at the heart of the continent and its politics — to divide Europe in two. By the late 1940s, the USSR had imposed Communist rule throughout most of eastern Europe as it gained control of the territory that the Nazis had desired for German settlement. Western Europeans found themselves at least partially controlled by the very U.S. economic power that helped them rebuild, especially because the United States maintained air bases and nuclear weapons sites on their soil. The new age of bipolar politics — that is, a politics dominated by the two antagonistic superpowers — made Europe its testing ground, with the rest of the world choosing sides.

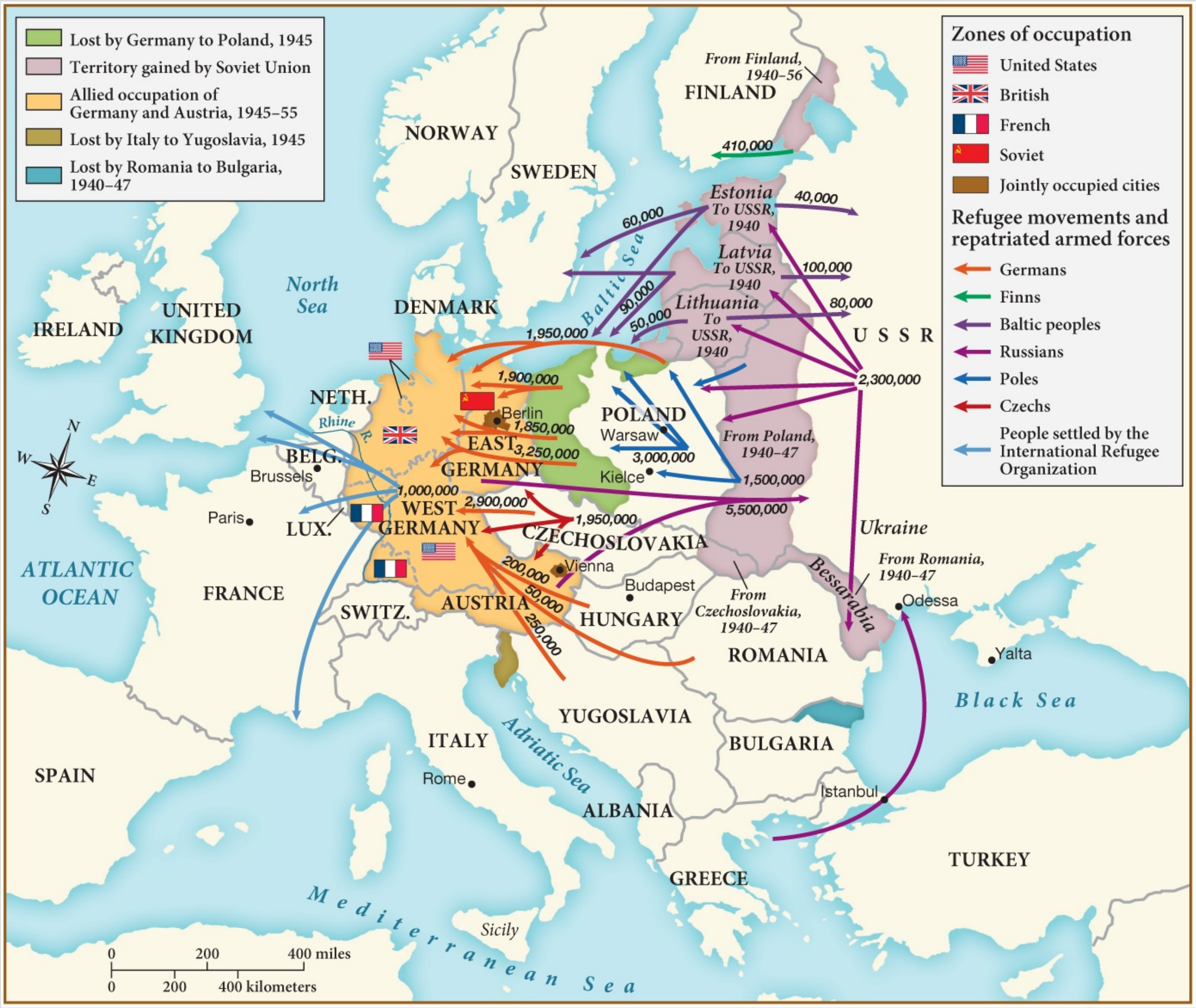
Chaos in Europe

Unlike the often stationary trench warfare on the western front in World War I, armies in World War II had fought a war of movement on the ground and in the air. Massive bombing had leveled thousands of square miles of territory, and whole cities were clogged with rubble. On the Rhine River, almost no bridge remained standing; in the Soviet Union, seventy thousand villages and more than a thousand cities lay in shambles. Everywhere people were suffering. In the Netherlands, the severity of Nazi occupation left many in the Dutch population close to death, relieved only by a U.S. airlift of food. To control scarce supplies, Italian bakers sold bread by the slice. Allied troops in Germany were the major source of food: “To see the children fighting for food,” remarked one British soldier handing out supplies, “was like watching animals being fed in a zoo.” The German population as a whole was so traumatized that faith healers and astrologists flourished, while pervasive sightings of ghosts and accusations of witchcraft testified to the extreme mental distress. Unlike the post–World War I era, the period through the late 1940s saw no mass uprisings, as people were too absorbed by the struggle for both physical and psychological survival to rebel.

Roger-Viollet/Getty Images.

Polish Refugees after World War II These Polish refugees are among the lucky ones to the extent that they are safe and dry and look fairly well cared for. Given the Nazi and to some extent Russian determination to enslave and exterminate Poles as among the inferior peoples not worth keeping alive, they are especially lucky even to have survived the lethal war fought across their homeland and its equally lethal aftermath of homelessness, rape, robbery, and starvation. They are just returning, however, in August of 1946, more than a year after the war’s end.

Tens of millions of refugees suffered the most, as they wandered a continent where the dangers of assault, robbery, and ethnic violence were great. An estimated thirty million Europeans, many of them settlers of German ethnicity, were forcibly expelled from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary (Map 27.1). The USSR lobbied hard for the return of several million Soviet prisoners of war and forced laborers, and the Allies transported masses of Soviet refugees home. The Allies slowed the process when they learned that Soviet leaders had ordered the execution of many of the returnees for being "contaminated" by Western ideas.



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MAP 27.1 The Impact of World War II on Europe

European governments, many of them struggling to provide food and other necessities for their populations, found themselves responsible for hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of new refugees. Simultaneously, millions of prisoners of war, servicemen, and slave laborers were returned to the Soviet Union, many of them by force. This situation unfolded amid political instability and even violence. What does the movement of peoples shown on the map suggest about social conditions in post–World War II Europe?

Survivors of the concentration camps discovered that their suffering had not ended with Germany's defeat. Many returned home diseased and disoriented, while others had no home to return to because their property had been confiscated. Anti-Semitism — official policy under the Nazis — persisted as people's justification for stealing Jewish property and refusing to restore jobs to Jewish refugees. In the summer of 1946, a vicious crowd in Kielce, Poland, assaulted some 250 Jewish survivors, killing at least forty. Many survivors fled to the port cities of Italy and other Mediterranean countries, eventually leaving Europe for Palestine, where Zionists had been settling for half a century.

New Superpowers: The United States and the Soviet Union

Only two countries remained powerful in 1945: the United States and the Soviet Union. The United States was now the richest nation in the world. Its industrial output had increased by a remarkable 15 percent annually between 1940 and 1944. By 1947, the United States controlled almost two-thirds of the world's gold bullion and more than half of the world's commercial shipping. Continued spending on industrial and military research bolstered postwar prosperity. In contrast to post–World War I isolationism, Americans embraced global leadership. Many had learned about the world while tracking the war's progress. Despite widespread fear of nuclear annihilation, a wave of suburban housing development and consumer spending kept the economy buoyant. A baby boom exploded from the late 1940s through the early 1960s in response to prosperity.

The Soviets also emerged from the war with a well-justified sense of accomplishment. Despite horrendous losses — now estimated to be as many as forty-five million deaths in the war itself — they had resisted the most massive onslaught ever launched against a nation. Many Europeans and Americans acknowledged the extraordinary Soviet contribution to Hitler's defeat. Ordinary Soviet citizens believed that the victory would lead to improvement in everyday conditions. Rumors spread among the peasants that the collective farms would be divided and returned to them as individual property. “Life will become pleasant,” one writer prophesied. “There will be much coming and going, and a lot of contacts with the West.” The Stalinist goals of industrialization and defense against Nazism had been won, and thus many Soviets, among them Boris Pasternak, anticipated an end to decades of hardship and repression.

Stalin took a different view and moved ruthlessly to reassert control. In 1946, his new five-year plan set increased production goals and mandated more stringent collectivization of agriculture. For him, rapid recovery meant more work, not less, and more order, not greater freedom. Stalin also turned his attention to the low birthrate, a result of wartime male casualties and women's long, arduous working days. He introduced an intense propaganda campaign emphasizing that women should hold down jobs and also fulfill their "true nature" by producing many children. A new round of purges began in which people were told once again that enemies among them were threatening the state. Jews were especially targeted, and in 1953, the government announced that doctors — most of them Jews — had long been assassinating Soviet leaders, murdering newborns and patients in hospitals, and plotting to poison water supplies. Hysteria gripped the nation, and people feared for their lives. "I am a simple worker and not an anti-Semite," one Moscow resident wrote, "but I say … it's time to clean these people out." With this rebirth of Stalinism's conspiracy theories, an atmosphere of fear returned to feed the cold war.

The Cold War

1945–1949	USSR establishes satellite states in eastern Europe
1947	Truman Doctrine announces American commitment to contain communism; Marshall Plan provides massive aid to rebuild Europe
1948–1949	Soviet troops blockade Berlin; United States airlifts provisions to Berliners
1949	West Germany and East Germany are formed; Western nations form North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); Soviet bloc establishes Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON); USSR tests its first nuclear weapon
1950–1953	Korean War
1950–1954	U.S. senator Joseph McCarthy leads hunt for American communists
1953	Stalin dies

1955	USSR and eastern-bloc countries form military alliance, the Warsaw Pact
1956	Khrushchev denounces Stalin in “secret speech” to Communist Party Congress; Hungarians revolt unsuccessfully against Soviet domination
1959	Fidel Castro comes to power in Cuba
1961	Berlin Wall is erected
1962	Cuban missile crisis

Origins of the Cold War

The cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union, germinating since the Bolshevik Revolution and then blossoming in 1945, would afflict the world for more than four decades. No peace treaty officially ended World War II to document mistaken policies, as in the Peace of Paris of 1919–1920. Yet many historians see a dangerous rivalry, going back at least that far, of U.S., British, and French hostility to the Soviets because of communists’ abolition of private property and Russia’s withdrawal from World War I. Others stress Stalin’s aggressive policies, notably the 1939 Nazi-Soviet Pact and Soviet expansionism.

Suspicion persisted among the Allied leadership during the war: Stalin had witnessed allied lack of response to aggression in the 1930s and assumed that Churchill and Roosevelt were deliberately letting the USSR bear the brunt of Germany’s rampage across the continent as part of their anticommunist policy. He rightly viewed Churchill in particular as interested primarily in preserving Britain’s imperial power, no matter what the cost in Soviet lives. At the time, some Americans believed that dropping the atomic bomb on Japan would also frighten the Soviets and discourage them from making any more land grabs. In addition, the new U.S. president, Harry Truman, cut off aid to the USSR almost the instant the last gun was fired, fueling Stalin's suspicions and leading to the takeover of eastern Europe as a permanent "buffer zone" of dependent European states. Across the Atlantic, members of the U.S. State Department stoked U.S. fears by depicting Stalin as another in a long line of neurotic Asian tyrants thirsting for world domination.

The cold war existed as part of long-standing attitudes leading to postwar moves and countermoves in the shared occupation of a rich, but chaotic, European heartland. Envisioning its geopolitical needs, the USSR repressed democratic coalition governments of liberals, socialists, communists, and peasant parties in central and eastern Europe between 1945 and 1949. It imposed communist rule almost immediately in Bulgaria and Romania. In Romania, Stalin cited citizen violence in 1945 as the excuse to demand an ouster of all noncommunists from the civil service and cabinet. In Poland, Communists fixed the election results of 1945 and 1946 to create the illusion of approval for communism.

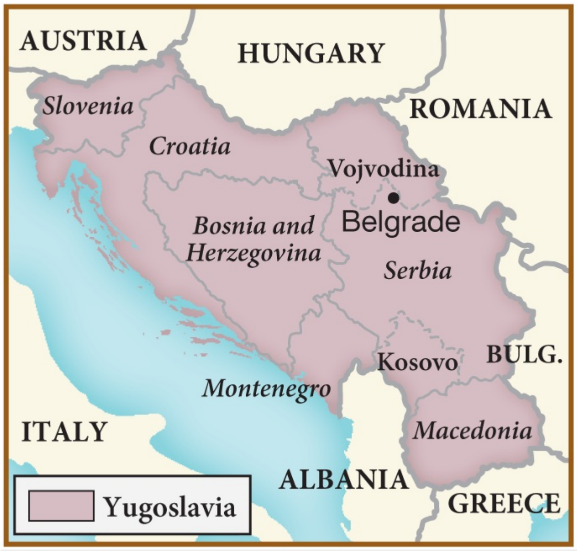
The United States worried that communist dominance would spread to western Europe. Communist promises of better conditions appealed to hungry workers there, while memories of Communist Party leadership in the resistance to fascism gave it powerful appeal. In March 1947, Truman announced the use of economic and military aid to block communism's spread — the so-called **Truman Doctrine**. The president requested $400 million in military aid for Greece and Turkey, where the communists were exerting pressure. Fearing that Americans would balk at backing an undemocratic Greece, the U.S. Congress said it would agree to the program only if, as one congressman put it, Truman would “scare the hell out of the country.” Truman thus publicized the expensive aid program as a necessary first step to prevent Soviet conquest of the world. American intervention made the communists back off.

In 1947, the United States also devised the **Marshall Plan** — a program of massive economic aid to Europe — to relieve the daily hardships that were making communism attractive to Europeans. “The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want,” Truman warned. Named after Secretary of State George C. Marshall, who proposed the plan, the program’s direct aid would improve everyday life, while loans and financial credits would restart international trade. The government claimed that the Marshall Plan was not directed “against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos.” By the early 1950s, the United States had sent Europe more than $12 billion in food, equipment, and services, reducing communism’s appeal in countries of western Europe.

Stalin saw the Marshall Plan as a U.S. political trick because the ravaged USSR had little aid to offer client countries in eastern and central Europe. He thus prevented eastern European governments from accepting U.S. assistance and further repressed democracy in Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. The populace accepted the change so passively that Communist Party leaders said the takeover was “like cutting butter with a knife.”

The only exception to the Soviet sweep in eastern Europe came in

Yugoslavia, under the Communist ruler known as Tito (Josip Broz, 1892–1980). During the war, Tito had led the powerful anti-Nazi Yugoslav “partisans.” After the war, he drew on support from Serbs, Croats, and Muslims to mount a communist revolution, but one explicitly meant to avoid Soviet influence. Eager for Yugoslavia to develop industrially rather than simply serve Soviet needs, Tito remarked, “We study and take as an example the Soviet system, but we are developing socialism in our country in somewhat different forms.” Stalin was furious; in his eyes, commitment to communism meant obedience to him. Nonetheless, Yugoslavia emerged from its communist revolution as a culturally diverse federation of six republics and two independent provinces within Serbia that held together until Tito’s death in 1980.



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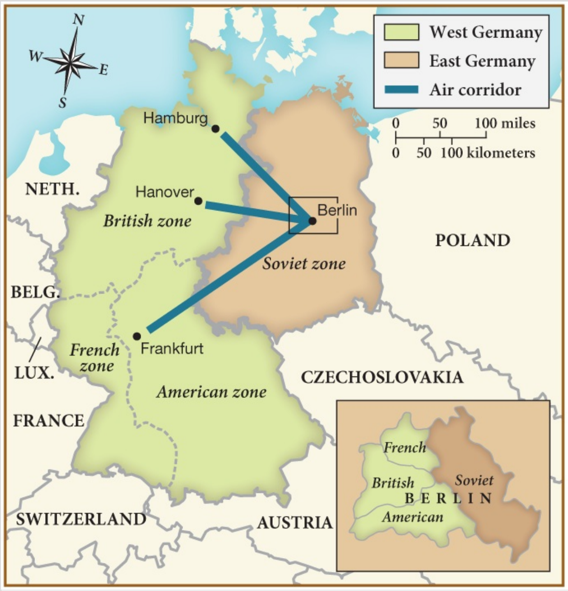
Yugoslavia after the Revolution

The Division of Germany

The superpower struggle for control of Germany took the cold war to a menacing level. The agreements reached at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences in 1945 provided for Germany's division into four zones, each controlled by one of the four principal victors in World War II — the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, and France. However, the superpowers disagreed on how to treat Germany. The U.S. occupation forces undertook the reprograming of German attitudes by censoring all media in the U.S. zone to eliminate expressions of fascist values. In contrast, believing that Nazism was an extreme form of capitalism, Stalin confiscated the estates of wealthy Germans and redistributed them to ordinary people and supporters.

A second disagreement concerned the economy and led to Germany's partition. According to the American plan for coordinating the various segments of the German economy, surplus crops from the Soviet-occupied areas would feed urban populations in the western zones; in turn, industrial goods would be sent to the USSR. The Soviets upset this plan. Following the Allied agreement that the USSR would receive reparations from Germany, the Soviets seized German equipment, shipping it all to the Soviet Union. They transported skilled German workers, engineers, and scientists to the USSR to work as forced laborers. The Soviets also manipulated the currency in their zone, enabling the USSR to buy German goods at unfairly low prices. In response, the western Allies agreed to merge their zones into a West German state, as the Marshall Plan was already building up the western zone's economy. On July 24, 1948, Stalin retaliated by using Soviet troops to blockade Germany's capital, Berlin. Like Germany as a whole, the city — located more than one hundred miles deep into the Soviet zone and thus cut off from western territory — had been divided into four occupation zones. The Soviets refused to allow western vehicles to travel through the Soviet zone to reach Berlin. The United States responded decisively with the Berlin airlift — Operation Vittles, as U.S. pilots called it — flying in millions of tons of provisions to some two million isolated citizens (Map 27.2). Pilots kept the plane engines on to achieve a rapid turnaround that would ensure adequate delivery. The Soviets ended their blockade in May 1949, but the cold war rhetoric of good versus evil made the divided capital of Berlin an enduring symbol of the capitalist-communist divide.



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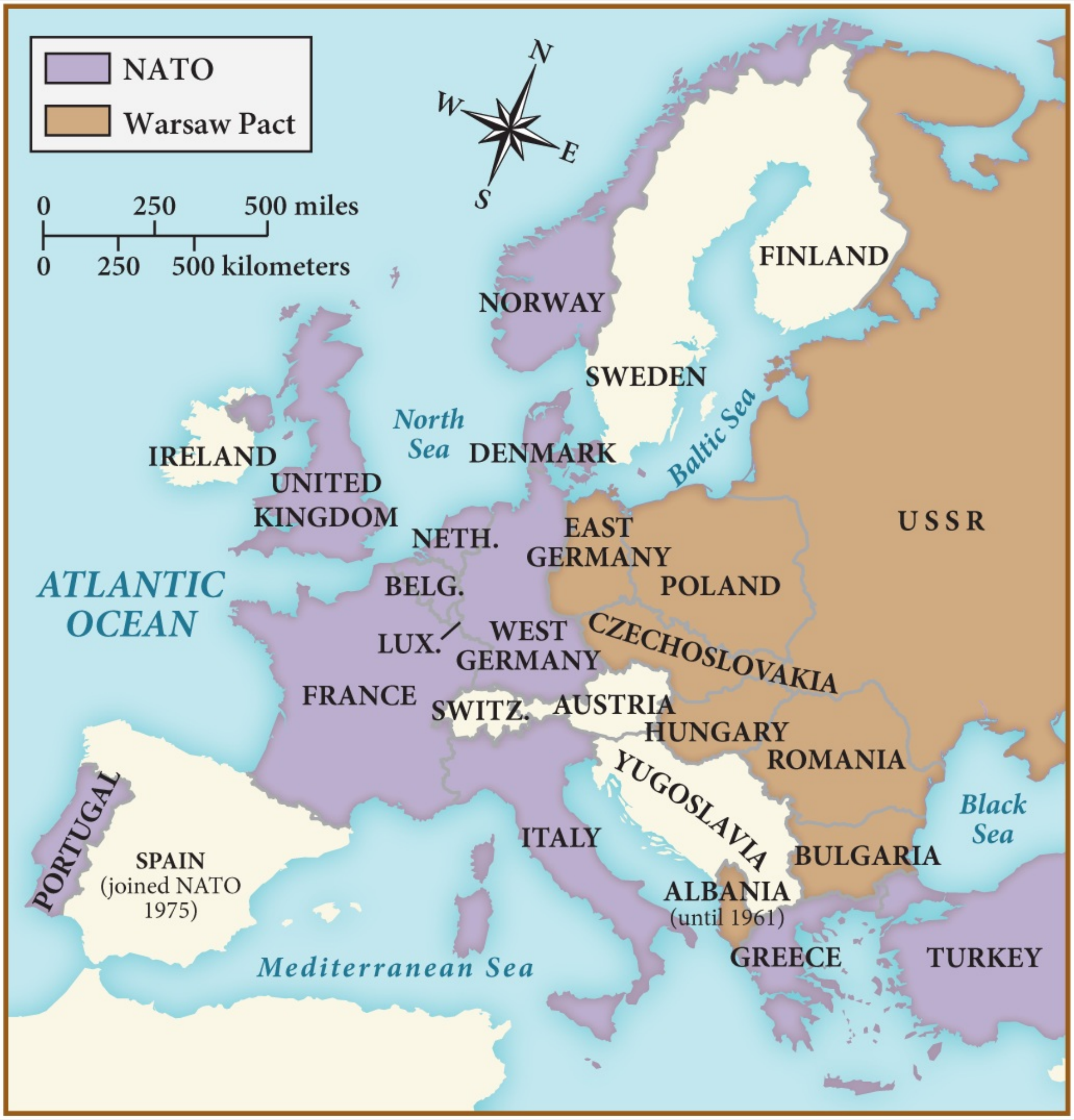
MAP 27.2 Divided Germany and the Berlin Airlift, 1946–1949

Berlin — controlled by the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union — was deep in the Soviet zone of occupation and became a major point of contention among the former allies. When the USSR blockaded the western half of the city, the United States responded with a massive airlift. To stop movement between the two zones, the USSR built the Berlin Wall in 1961 and used troops to patrol it.

The creation of competing military alliances added to the reach of cold war tensions (Map 27.3). A few months after the establishment of the West German state in 1948, the USSR formed an East German state. In 1949, the United States, Canada, and their allies in western Europe and Scandinavia formed the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, which provided a unified military force for its member countries. In 1955, after the United States forced France and Britain to invite West Germany to join NATO, the Soviet Union retaliated by establishing with its satellite countries the military organization commonly called the **Warsaw Pact**. By that time, both the United States and the USSR had accelerated arms buildups: the Soviets had exploded their own atomic bomb in 1949, and both nations then tested increasingly powerful nuclear weapons.



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MAP 27.3 European NATO Members and the Warsaw Pact in the 1950s

The two superpowers intensified their rivalry by creating large military alliances: NATO, formed in 1949, included the United States and Canada as well as European states; the Warsaw Pact was formed in 1955 after NATO invited West German membership. International politics revolved around these two alliances, which faced off in the heart of Europe. War games for the two sides often assumed a massive war concentrated in central Europe over control of Germany.

REVIEW QUESTION

What were the major events in the development of the cold war?

Political and Economic Recovery in Europe

As the cold war extended its menacing reach, a remarkable recovery took place in Europe. The first two items on the political agenda were the eradication of the Nazi past and the establishment of stable governments. While western Europe revived its democratic political structures and productivity, eastern Europe was more repressive. Even to the east, however, everyday life improved as peasant societies modernized and some consumer goods were restored. By 1960, people across the continent were enjoying a higher standard of living than ever before.

Dealing with Nazism

In May 1945, feeding civilians, dealing with millions of refugees, purging Nazis, and setting up peacetime governments all needed attention. Governments-in-exile returned to reclaim power, but they often ran up against occupying armies that were a law unto themselves. The Soviets were especially feared for committing rape and robbery of Germans — abuses they justified by pointing to the millions of worse atrocities committed by the Nazis. Adding to the sense of disorder was the lively trade in sex for food among starving civilians and well-supplied soldiers in all armies. Civilians took to punishing collaborators for their participation in genocide and occupation crimes as well as executing thousands of Nazi officers on the spot. In France, villagers often shaved the heads of women suspected of associating with Germans and made some of them parade naked through local streets.

Allied representatives also undertook “denazification,” which ranged from forcing German civilians to view the death camps to bringing to trial suspected local collaborators. The trials conducted at Nuremberg, Germany, by the victorious Allies in the fall of 1945 used the Nazis’ own documents to reveal a horrifying panorama of crimes by Nazi leaders. Although international law lacked any definition of genocide as a crime, the judges at Nuremberg imposed death sentences on half of the twenty-four defendants, among them Hitler’s closest associates, and gave prison terms to the remainder. The Nuremberg trials introduced today’s notion of prosecution for crimes against humanity.

Allied prosecution of the Axis leadership was hardly consistent. Some of those most responsible for war crimes were not pursued, leaving many Germans skeptical about Allied aims. As women in Germany faced violence at the hands of occupying troops, endured starvation, and were forced to do the rough manual labor of clearing rubble, Germans announced that they themselves were the main victims of the war. Distrust mounted when U.S.-bloc officials, eager to restore the economy and government services in western Europe more quickly than in Soviet-controlled eastern Europe, began to hire former high-ranking Fascists and Nazis. Soon the West German government added German prisoners of war still held in Soviet camps to the roster of German victims.

akg-images/Newscom.

Women Clearing Berlin The amount of destruction caused by World War II was staggering, requiring the mobilization of the civilian population in Berlin, for example, where women were conscripted to sort the rubble and clear it away. Scenes like this were ultimately used as propaganda in the cold war to make it seem as if the Germans were the victims rather than the perpetrators of the war. That German soldiers held in Soviet camps that were only slowly repatriated added to the image of Soviet rather than German aggression in World War II.

Rebirth of the West

The first postwar governments in western Europe reflected the broad coalitions of the resistance movements and other opposition to the Axis powers. These reform-minded governments conspicuously emphasized democratic values to show their rejection of the lethal authoritarian regimes. In France, the leader of the Free French, General Charles de Gaulle, governed briefly as chief of state, and the French approved a constitution in 1946 that established the Fourth Republic and finally granted the vote to French women. De Gaulle disagreed over the constitutional provision for a weak executive and soon resigned in favor of centrist and left-wing parties. Meanwhile, Italy replaced its constitutional monarchy with a republic that also allowed women to vote for the first time. As in France, Italy's resistance-based government was soon replaced by a coalition headed by the conservative **Christian Democrats**, descended from the traditional Catholic centrist parties of the prewar period. Christian politicians grew in influence because of their resistance to fascism.

Other voters in western Europe favored communist and labor parties. Symbol of the common citizen, the Soviet soldier was a hero to many western Europeans outside occupied Germany. People also remembered the hardships of the depression of the 1930s. In Britain, despite the wartime successes of Winston Churchill's Conservative Party, a government led by the Labour Party — though not communist — appeared most likely to share prosperity among the classes. The extreme difficulties of the immediate postwar years boosted support for governments that would represent the millions of ordinary citizens who had suffered, fought, and worked incredibly hard during the war.

In West Germany, however, with the Communist Party takeovers occurring directly to the east, communism and the left in general had little appeal. In 1949, centrist politicians came to power in the new state, officially named the German Federal Republic, whose constitution aimed to prevent the emergence of a dictator and to guarantee individual rights. West Germany's first chancellor was the seventy-three-year-old Catholic and anticommunist Konrad Adenauer, who allied himself with the economist Ludwig Erhard. Erhard stabilized the postwar German currency so that people would have enough confidence in its soundness to resume normal trade and manufacturing, while Adenauer restored the representative government that Nazis had overthrown.

Paradoxically, given its leadership in the fight against fascism, the United States was a country in which individual freedom and democracy were imperiled after the war. Two events in 1949 — the Soviet Union's successful test of an atomic bomb and the Communist Revolution in China — brought to the fore Joseph McCarthy, a U.S. senator fearing a reelection defeat. To win the election, McCarthy warned of a great conspiracy to overthrow the U.S. government. As during the Soviet purges, people of all occupations — including government workers, film stars, and union leaders — were called before U.S. congressional panels to testify against friends and say whether they had ever had communist sympathies. The atmosphere was electric with confusion, for only five years before, the mass media had run glowing stories about Stalin and the Soviet system. By 1952, however, millions of Americans had been investigated, imprisoned, or fired from their jobs for participating in the fabricated communist conspiracy. McCarthy personally oversaw book burnings, and although the Senate finally voted to censure him in 1954, anticommunism, like anti-Semitism earlier, was now a tool in politics.

The economic rebirth of western Europe was even more surprising than the revival of democracy. In the first months after the war, rebuilding often involved menial physical labor by entire populations for such jobs as clearing the massive urban rubble by hand. Governments also diverted labor and capital into rebuilding transportation, communications, and industrial capacity instead of producing consumer goods. The scarcity of household goods sparked unrest until the Marshall Plan boosted recovery with American dollars; food and consumer goods became more plentiful; and demand for automobiles, washing machines, and vacuum cleaners accelerated economic growth.

The postwar recovery was also helped by the continuation of military spending for the cold war and the repurposing of technology to meet consumer needs. Civilian travel expanded as nations organized their own airlines based on improved know-how. Developed to relieve wartime shortages, synthetic goods such as nylon and a vast assortment of plastic products, ranging from pipes to rainwear, bettered civilian life. Governments also ordered bombs, fighter planes, tanks, and missiles and sponsored military research. The expansion of the cold war in the outbreak of the Korean conflict in 1950 (see page 1016) and in other clashes increased U.S. orders for manufactured goods to wage that war, furthering economic growth in Europe. Ultimately, the cold war prevented a repeat of the 1920s, when reduced military spending threw people out of jobs and fed the growth of fascism.

Large and small European states alike developed and redeveloped modern economies in short order. In the twelve principal countries of western Europe, the annual rate of economic growth had been 1.3 percent per inhabitant between 1870 and 1913. Those countries almost tripled that rate between 1950 and 1973, attaining an annual per capita growth rate of 3.8 percent. Among the larger powers, West Germany became the economic leader, achieving by the 1960s a revival called the "economic miracle." The smaller Scandinavian countries also recovered: Sweden succeeded in the development of automobile, truck, and shipbuilding industries. Finland modernized its industry and agriculture, which in turn forced the surplus farm population to seek factory work. Scandinavian women joined the workforce in record numbers, which also boosted economic growth and expanded prosperity. The thirty years after World War II were a golden age of European economic revival.

The creation of the Common Market, which evolved over time to become the European Union, was the final ingredient in the postwar recovery. In 1951, Italy, France, West Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands took a major step toward cooperation when they formed the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) — an organization to manage the sharing of basic resources. According to the ECSC's principal architect, Robert Schuman, ties created by joint productivity and trade would keep France and Germany from another cataclysmic war. Then in 1957, the six ECSC members signed the Treaty of Rome, which provided for a more general trading partnership called the **European Economic Community (EEC)**, known as the **Common Market**. The EEC reduced tariffs among the six partners, developed common trade policies, and brought under one cooperative economic umbrella more than two hundred million consumers. The EEC aimed to "prevent the race of nationalism, which is the true curse of the modern world," helping its six members to enjoy soaring rates of economic growth.

Britain pointedly refused to join the partnership at first. Membership would have required it to surrender certain imperial trading rights among its Commonwealth partners such as Australia and Canada and, as one British politician put it, make Britain “just another European country.” Even without Britain, the rising prosperity of a new western Europe joined in the Common Market was striking.

Economic planning and coordination by specialists (as used in wartime) shaped the Common Market. Called technocrats, specialists working for the Common Market were to base decisions on expertise rather than on personal interest and on the goals of the organization as a whole rather than on the demands of any one nation or political party. The aim was to reduce the potential for irrationality and violence in politics, both domestic and international. Administered by a commission of technocrats based in Brussels, Belgium, the Common Market transcended the borders of the nation-state and thus overrode the power of many elected politicians.

The Welfare State: Common Ground East and West

On both sides of the cold war divide, governments channeled new resources into state-financed programs such as pensions, disability insurance, and national health care. These social programs taken as a whole became known as the **welfare state**, indicating that states were no longer interested solely in maintaining order and gaining territory and other power (see Terms of History). Veterans’ pensions had long existed, but the welfare state now extended beyond those who had sacrificed in wartime. Because the European population had declined during the war, almost all countries now desperately wanted to boost the birthrate and thus gave couples direct financial aid for having children. Imitating the social security programs initiated under Bismarck in Germany in the 1870s and the family-oriented Swedish programs of the 1930s, nations expanded or created family allowances and medical benefits, and programs for pregnant women and new mothers.

Some welfare-state policies had a strong gender bias against women. Britain’s maternity benefits and child allowances favored women who did not work outside the home by providing little coverage for workingwomen. The West German government passed strict legislation that forced employers to give women maternity leave, thus discouraging them from hiring women. It also cut back or eliminated pensions and benefits to married women. In fact, West Germans bragged about removing women from the workforce, claiming that doing so distinguished democratic practices from communist ones. The refusal to build day-care centers or to allow stores to remain open in the evening so that workingwomen could buy food for their families led West Germany to have among the lowest rates of female employment of any industrial country and a high rate of female poverty in old age.

By contrast, in eastern Europe countries and the Soviet Union, where wartime loss of life had been enormous, women worked nearly full-time and often outnumbered men in the workforce. There, too, child-care programs, family allowances, and maternity benefits were designed to encourage pregnancies by workingwomen. Yet, the scarcity of consumer goods and the lack of household conveniences discouraged workingwomen, who alone bore the burden of domestic duties in Communist countries, from having large families no matter what the government wanted. Birthrates in the eastern bloc stagnated.

Across Europe, welfare-state programs aimed to improve overall well-being. State-funded health care systems covered medical needs in most industrial nations except the United States. The combination of better material conditions and state provision of health care dramatically extended life expectancy and lowered rates of infant mortality. Further, vaccines reduced the death toll from such diseases as tuberculosis, diphtheria, measles, and polio; in some cases vaccines crossed the cold war divide. In England, schoolchildren stood an inch taller, on average, than children the same age had a decade earlier.

Mustang media AB/age Fotostock.

The Welfare State in Action, 1957 In the 1950s, a series of devastating outbreaks of polio killed and disabled thousands of children across the West. Vaccines soon developed as the welfare state undertook campaigns for inoculations of children. Innovation and testing of new vaccines were caught up in politics, but official scientists managed to get the most up-to-date ones widely distributed across the cold war divide. These Swedish girls benefit from the postwar campaign for healthier children. Children were seen as particularly important, given the loss of life in the war, so governments encouraged couples to reproduce through up-to-date health care systems, day-care centers, and generous family allowances to support family growth.

Other state initiatives helped raise the standard of living. Government-built atomic power plants brought more thorough electrification of eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Legislation provided more leisure time for workers; for example, Italian workers received twenty-eight paid holidays annually. To rebuild, postwar governments sponsored new suburbs around the edges of major urban areas in both eastern and western Europe. Many buildings went up slapdash, but they dramatically improved civilian living conditions.

TERMS OF HISTORY

Welfare State

Human society across millennia has known ups and downs. To cope with times of famine and disease, communities large and small have devised strategies that would provide food or handle large numbers of people with communicable diseases. Monarchs in the early modern period often took responsibility for dispatching stores of food to areas suffering from menacing shortages. Should plague hit, there were rules for tending to the sick and for disposing of the dead. Otherwise states focused on issues of war, expansion, and social order, with leaders sometimes serving as religious or spiritual leaders.

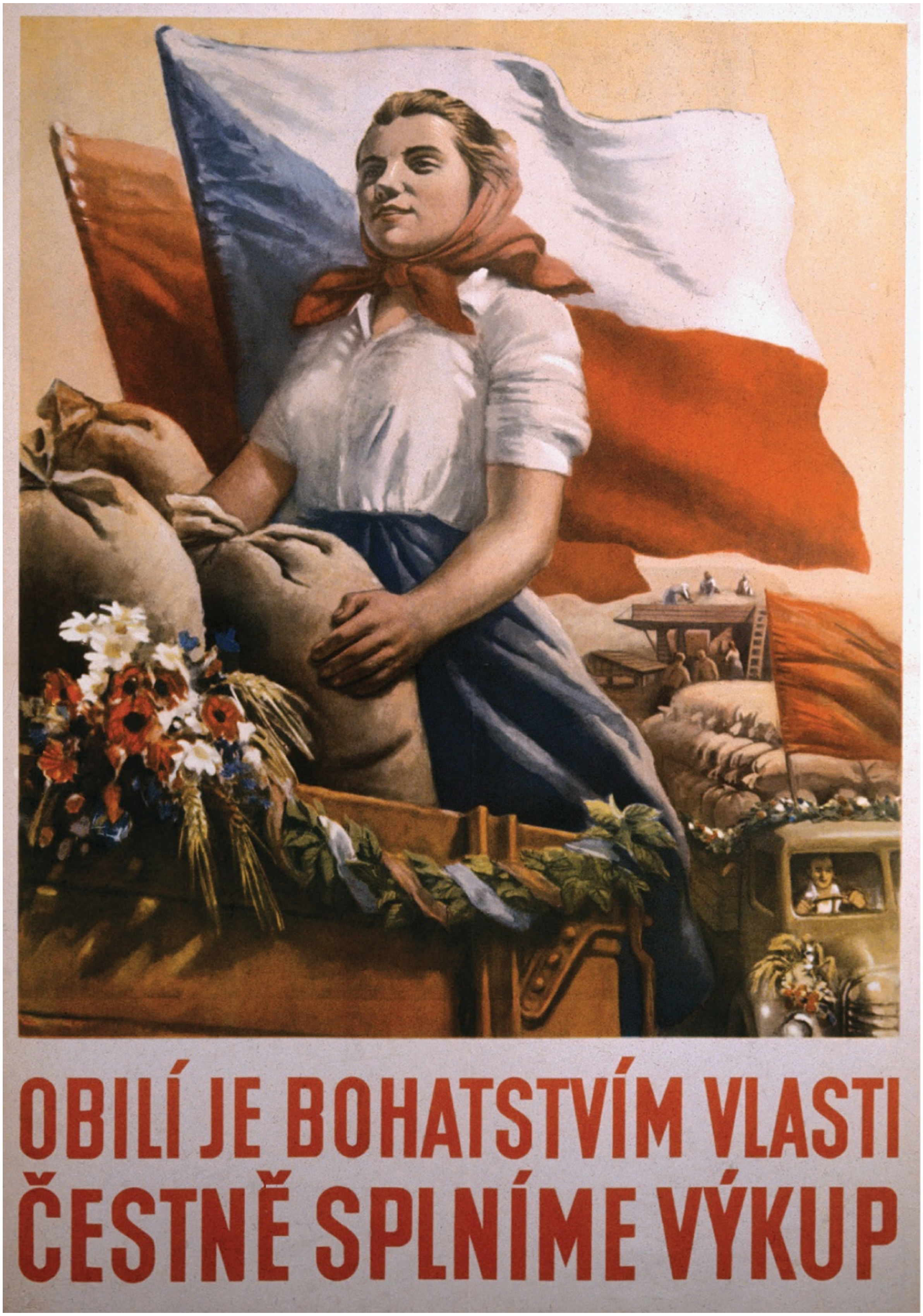
Under the nation-state in more modern times, liberal theory held that governments should be minimal and that individuals needed to handle their own problems. In some ways, this view of the state as an overarching institution for defense was similar. From the eighteenth into the twentieth century, liberals saw no need for the state to provide any kind of assistance to the poor or those in difficulty, who should provide for themselves. Still, states in the nineteenth century offered pensions (although not always paying them) to the citizen-soldier as opposed to the dragooned veteran of the old regime. Some have seen pensions for veterans as the beginning of the *welfare state* in which the national community cared for worthy citizens who had performed a service.

Political competition from the socialists led Otto von Bismarck to offer old age, unemployment, and other insurance to workers in the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, falling birthrates moved political reformers to provide minimal health care and maternal allowances, which then were ratcheted up during the 1930s economic depression. Hitler boosted these programs to spur fertility, while the Swedish offered the widest ranging and most comprehensive benefits to its citizens for the same reason. The contours of the state were now transformed to enable ordinary citizens to have a minimal standard of living as well as to feel protected in times of war.

The European welfare state in the postwar period arose from these earlier programs but also, given the appeal of Hitler, from a concern to head off the mass support that a future dictator might attract in hard times by offering similar financial assistance to hard-pressed families. That the political thought behind the postwar welfare state was called “economic democracy” shows that western European politicians were conceiving of the welfare state as a fortress against dictatorship and Nazism. Economic democracy suggested that democracy was not just a political concept but one that involved well-being for each individual member of the nation as a baseline, along with rights such as voting, of citizenship. In general, worker-citizens made contributions each week or month to an overall fund administered by the state and then would withdraw from the fund when injured on the job or in old age. Although labeled an “entitlement” by opponents, it was actually a fund created by citizens themselves and often by their employers.

Recovery in the East

To create a Soviet bloc, Communists initially revived the harsh methods that had transformed peasant economies earlier in the century. In eastern Europe, collectivization of agriculture took place alongside badly needed industrialization through the creation of entirely new state enterprises in entirely new cities such as Nowa Huta in Poland. Such policies could be brutal, and people later looked back on the 1950s as dreadful. But some workers in the countryside felt that ultimately their lives and their children’s lives had improved. “Before we peasants were dirty and poor, we worked like dogs.… Was that a good life? No sir, it wasn’t.… I was a miserable sharecropper and my son is an engineer,” said one Romanian peasant. Others coming from rural areas to staff new industries took pride in their well-being and accomplishments. One worker at the new steel factory in Poland found himself “completely happy” because he suddenly had clothes and shoes and enough food. Despite modernization, state management of agriculture never yielded the bumper crops of western Europe; the USSR depended on produce from the small plots that individual farmers cultivated on the side. (For more information about the effects of agricultural modernization in other parts of the world, see Environment Matters on page 1012.)



CCI/Shutterstock.

Propaganda for Collective Farming Dramatic changes were in store for people in eastern Europe who fell under Communist control after World War II. Most objectionable was the policy of collective farming, which stripped farmers of their lands and forced them to farm state property as a group. The poster aims to show Czechs that such farming will bring huge benefits, including personal satisfaction from Soviet-style modernization. How do you interpret this poster, and why does a woman figure so prominently?

Stalin admired American industrial know-how. To match U.S. productivity, the Soviet Union formed regional organizations even before those in the West, instituting the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) in 1949 to coordinate economic relations among the satellite countries of the USSR and Moscow. The terms of the COMECON relationship worked against the satellite states, however, for the USSR was allowed to buy goods from its clients at bargain prices and sell goods to them at higher ones. Nonetheless, formerly peasant states became oriented toward bureaucratically directed technology and industrial economies. The Roman Catholic church often protested this imposition of communism across society, but the government blocked its influence whenever possible or used agents to infiltrate it.

Culture, along with technology, was a building block of Stalinism in both the USSR and its satellite countries. State-instituted programs aimed to build loyalty to the modernizing regime; thus, citizens were obliged to attend adult education classes, women's groups, and public ceremonies. An intense program of de-Christianization and Russification forced non-Russian students in eastern Europe to read histories of the war that ignored their own country's resistance and gave the Red Army sole credit for fighting the Nazis. Censorship resulted in what one

Communist writer in the USSR characterized as “a dreary torrent of colorless, mediocre literature.” Stalin also purged prominent wartime leaders to ensure conformity. Marshal Zhukov, a popular leader of the Soviet armed forces, was shipped to a distant command, while Anna Akhmatova, a widely admired poet who championed wartime resistance to the Nazis, was confined to a crowded hospital room because she refused to glorify Stalin in her postwar poetry.

In March 1953, amid growing repression, Stalin died, and it soon became clear that the old ways would not hold. Political prisoners in the labor camps rebelled, leading to the release of more than a million people from the Gulag. In June 1953, workers in East German cities, many of them socialists and antifascist activists from before the war, protested the rise of privileged Communists in a series of strikes that spread like wildfire. At the other end of the social order, Soviet officials, despite enjoying luxury goods and plentiful food, had come to distrust Stalinism and now favored change. To calm protests across the Soviet bloc, governments stepped up the production of consumer goods — a policy called goulash communism (after the Hungarian stew) because one result was more food for ordinary people.

In 1955, **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894–1971), an illiterate coal miner before the Bolshevik Revolution, outmaneuvered other rivals to become the undisputed leader of the Soviet Union — but he did so without the Stalinist practice of executing his opponents. Khrushchev then made the surprising move of attacking Stalin. At a party congress in 1956, he denounced the “cult of personality” Stalin had built about himself and announced that Stalinism did not equal communism. Khrushchev thus attributed problems with communism to a single individual. The “secret speech” was a bombshell. Debates broke out in public, and books appeared championing the ordinary worker against the party bureaucracy. This relative tolerance for free expression after Stalin’s death was called the thaw.

In early summer of 1956, discontented Polish railroad workers struck for better wages, and angry Hungarians rebelled against forced collectivization in October 1956. As in Poland, economic issues (especially announcements of reduced wages) and reports of Stalin’s crimes contributed to the outbreak of violence in Hungary. Soon targeting the entire Communist system, tens of thousands of protesters filled the streets of Budapest and returned a popular hero, Imre Nagy, to power. When Nagy announced that Hungary might leave the Warsaw Pact, however, Soviet troops moved in, killing tens of thousands and causing hundreds of thousands more to flee to the West. Nagy was hanged. Despite a rhetoric of democracy, the United States refused to intervene in Hungary, choosing not to risk World War III by challenging the Soviet sphere of influence.

What Would You Do?

Hungary, your country, has been taken over by Soviet-inspired Communists after World War II. How would you respond to the outbreak of revolution in 1956? Would you join the crowds of demonstrators? Would you go into hiding or flee the region? Or would you help the authorities restore order? What factors would go into your decision? How would you explain your political position to others?

The failure of eastern European uprisings overshadowed the significant changes that had taken place since Stalin’s death. While defeating his rivals, Khrushchev ended the Stalinist purges, reformed the courts, and curbed the secret police. “It has become more interesting to visit and see people,” Boris Pasternak said of the changes. “It has become easier to work.” In 1957, the Soviets successfully launched the first artificial earth satellite, *Sputnik*, and in 1961, they put the first cosmonaut, Yuri Gagarin, in orbit around the earth. The Soviets’ edge in space technology shocked the western bloc and motivated the creation of the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), taking the cold war into space. For Soviet citizens, such successes indicated that the USSR had achieved Stalin’s goal of modernization and might inch further toward freedom.

Khrushchev, however, was inconsistent, showing himself open to changes in Soviet culture at one moment and then bullying honest writers at another. After assaulting Pasternak because of his novel *Doctor Zhivago*, in 1961, he allowed the publication of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn’s *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*. This chilling account of life in the Gulag was useful, however, in underscoring Stalin’s crimes and excesses. Under the thaw, Khrushchev made several trips to the West and took steps to expand communism’s appeal and counter similar U.S. actions in the new nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Despite the USSR’s more relaxed posture, however, the superpowers moved closer to the nuclear brink.

ENVIRONMENT MATTERS

The Green Revolution and Its Consequences

Wally McNamee/Corbis/Getty Images

U.S. scientists and private foundations modified seeds and developed improved pesticides and fertilizers to boost agricultural productivity in less industrial parts of the world such as India (as seen in the image) and Mexico. Thanks to these innovations, agribusiness flourished from the 1950s through the 1970s, driving down the standard of living of ordinary farmers, who often lost their land or had increasing trouble making ends meet. Many families sought to overcome their hardships by having large families whose children could bring in funds from jobs. In contrast, other farms, many owned by U.S. businesses and favored by local governments, grew ever larger because they had the funds to purchase expensive machinery, pesticides, fertilizer, and the ever-improved seeds of the Green Revolution. Contaminated water, however, started turning prosperity around. Not only the chemicals of the Green Revolution, but waste from slaughterhouses, processing industries, and other Green Revolution innovations, left a permanent scar on the well-being of the individuals in its path.

Questions to Consider

1. How should we characterize the Green Revolution: beneficial? harmful? both good and bad? Explain your characterization.
2. What environmental, social, and economic lessons should be drawn from the Green Revolution?

REVIEW QUESTION

What factors drove recovery in western Europe and in eastern Europe?

Decolonization in a Cold War Climate

After World War II, activists in colonized regions in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East used their commitment and organizational skills to achieve their long-held goal of liberation. Amid postwar chaos, the colonial powers initially attempted to reimpose their control as if they were still dominant around the world. Yet colonized peoples had been on the front lines defending the West; and as in World War I, they had witnessed the full barbarism of Western warfare. Like African American soldiers in the U.S. army, they experienced racism even while saving the West and, returning home, did not receive the rights of citizenship promised them. Moreover, successive wars had allowed local industries in the colonies to develop, while industry in the imperial homelands had declined.

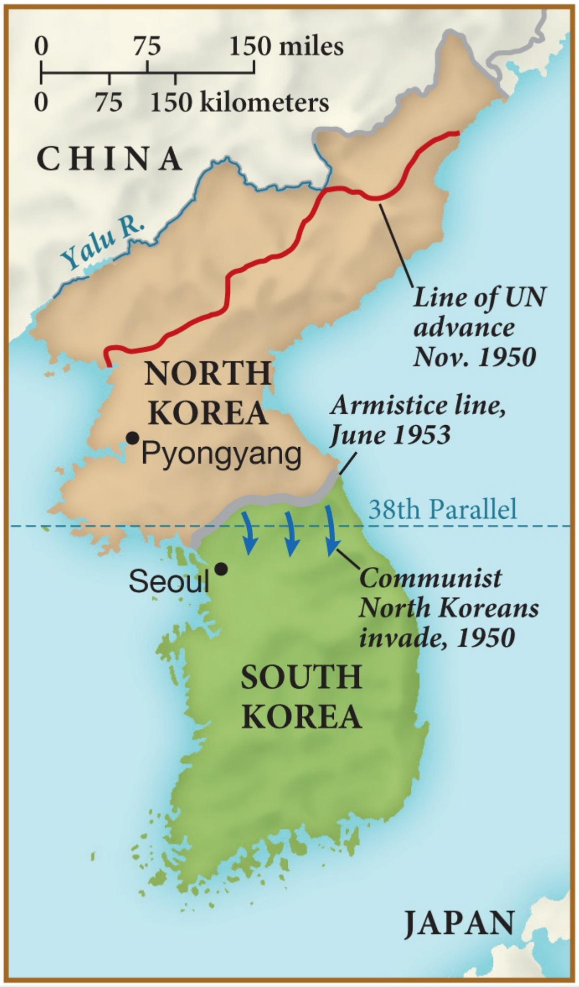
The path to independence — a process called **decolonization** — was paved with difficulties. In India, Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs battled one another despite the shared goal of eliminating the British. In the Middle East and North Africa, pan-Arab and pan-Islamic movements — that is, those wanting to bring together all Arabs or all Muslims as the basis for independence — might seem to have been unifying forces. Yet many Muslims were not Arab, not all Arabs were Muslim, and Islam itself encompassed a range of beliefs. Differences among religious beliefs, ethnic groups, and cultural practices — many of them invented or promoted by the colonizers to divide and rule — worked against political unity. Nonetheless, various peoples in what was coming to be called the third world succeeded in overthrowing imperialism, while the United States and the Soviet Union rushed in to co-opt them for what was increasingly a global cold war.

The End of Empire in Asia

At the end of World War II, leaders in Asia succeeded in mobilizing mass discontent to drive out foreign rulers. Declining from an imperial power to a small island nation, Britain was the biggest loser. In 1947, it parted with India, whose independence it had promised in the 1930s. Indian business leaders bought out British entrepreneurs short of cash, and armed with an effective military, Indians began to face off with the British in strikes and other protests. Britain quickly faced reality and decreed that two independent countries should emerge from the old colony. The partition of 1947 created India for Hindus and Pakistan (itself later divided into two parts) for Muslims, but militias for the various religious groups were already coming to blows. Hundreds of thousands of people overall were massacred in the great shift of populations between India and Pakistan. In 1948, a radical Hindu assassinated Gandhi, who though a Hindu himself had continued to champion religious reconciliation. Elsewhere, as some half a billion Asians achieved their independence, Britain's sole remaining Asian colony of note was Hong Kong.

In 1949, after prolonged fighting, a Communist takeover in China brought in a government led by Mao Zedong (1893–1976). Chinese communism in the new People's Republic of China emphasized above all that the country was no longer the plaything of the colonial powers, as Mao instituted reforms such as civil equality for women and imposed Soviet-style collectivization and brutal repression of the privileged classes and political opponents.

The United States and the Soviet Union were deeply engaged across Asia, but East and Southeast Asia especially felt the lethal impact of cold war rivalry. In East Asia, the United States saw the region's economic importance while the USSR shared borders with the region. The victory of the Chinese Communists spurred both to increase their involvement in Asian politics. The superpowers faced off first in Korea, which had been split at the thirty-eighth parallel after World War II. In 1950, the North Koreans, with the support of the Soviet Union, invaded U.S.-backed South Korea, whose agents had themselves been stirring up tensions with raids across the border. The United States maneuvered the Security Council of the United Nations into approving a "police action" against North Korea. After two and a half years of a horribly destructive stalemate in which an estimated three to five million died, a settlement in 1953 provided that Korea would remain split at the thirty-eighth parallel. As a result of the Korean War, the United States increased its military spending from almost $11 billion in 1948 to almost $60 billion in 1953. An Asian counterpart to NATO, the U.S.-backed Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), was established in 1954. Rapid reindustrialization of Japan provided the United States with wartime supplies.



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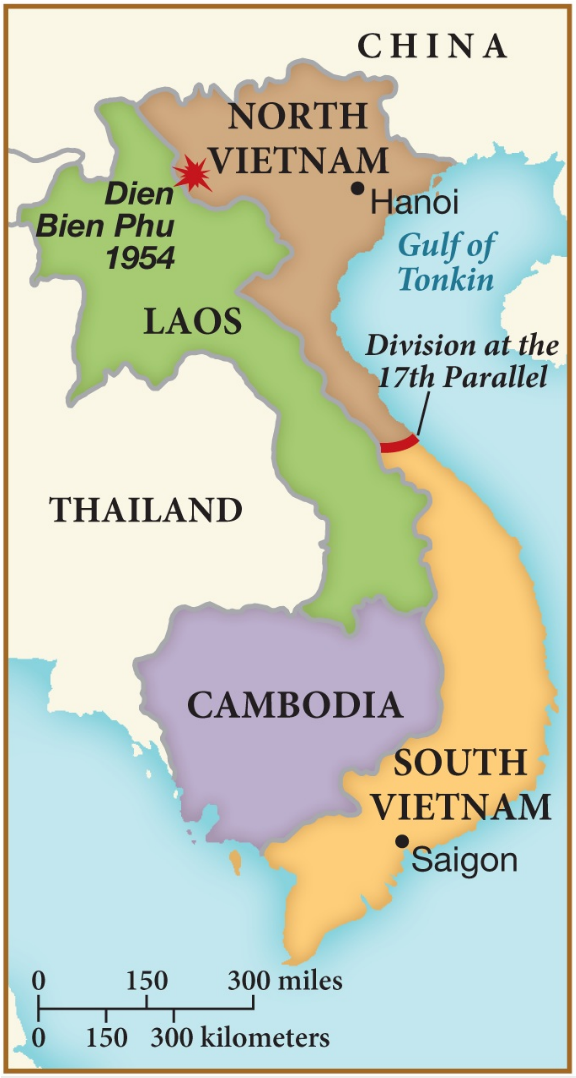
The Korean War, 1950–1953

The cold war, via additional so-called proxy wars, then spread to Indochina (now modern Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam), where the European-educated Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969) had built a powerful organization, the Viet Minh, to fight colonial rule. He advocated the redistribution of land held by big landowners, who possessed more than 60 percent of the land. In 1954, Viet Minh peasant guerrillas ultimately defeated the technologically superior French army, which was receiving aid from the United States. Later that year, the Geneva Conference carved out an independent Laos and divided Vietnam along the seventeenth parallel into North Vietnam and South Vietnam, each free from French control. The Communist-backed Viet Minh, under Ho Chi Minh as president, ruled in the north, while the United States supported the landowner-backed regime in the south. This proxy war in a small foreign nation would continue for two more decades.



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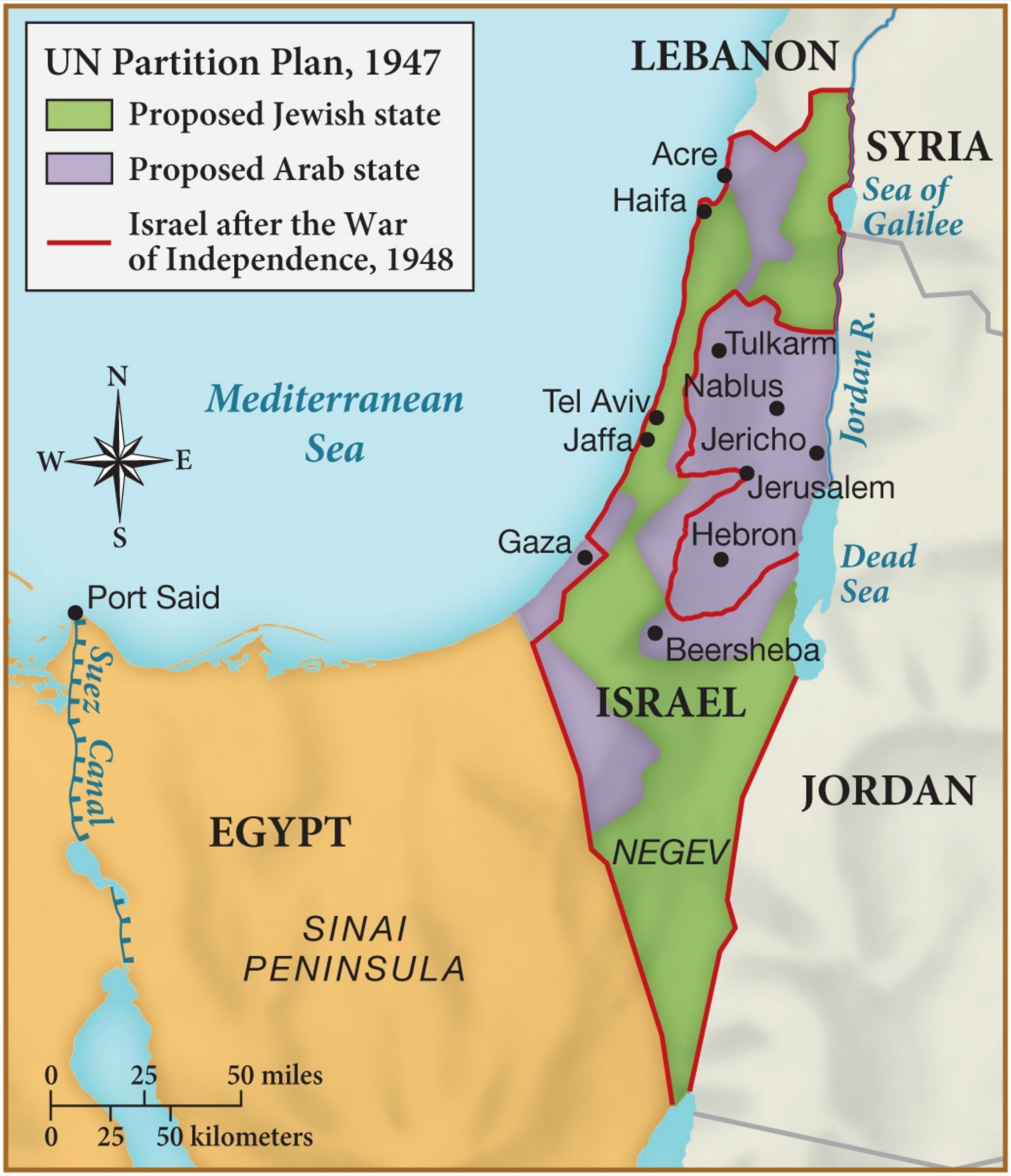
Indochina, 1954

The Struggle for Identity in the Middle East

Independence struggles in the Middle East highlighted the world's growing need for oil and often showed the ability of small countries to maneuver between the superpowers. As in other regions dominated by the West, Middle Eastern peoples resisted attempts to reimpose imperial control after 1945. Weakened by the war, British oil companies nonetheless aimed to tighten their grip on profits. By playing the Western countries against one another, however, Middle Eastern leaders gained their independence and simultaneously renegotiated higher payments for drilling rights. Fearing loss of their funds, colonial officials, European settlers, and corporations stripped decolonizing nations of assets, sending them to new networks for "offshore" banking where they could escape taxation and possible nationalization.

The legacy of the Holocaust complicated the Middle Eastern political scene. Since early in the century, Western backing for a Jewish settlement in the Middle East had roused Arabs' determination not to be pushed out of their ancient homeland. When World War II broke out, 600,000 Jewish settlers and twice as many Arabs lived, tensely, in British-controlled Palestine. In 1947, an exhausted Britain ceded Palestine to the newly created United Nations, which voted to partition Palestine into an Arab region and a Jewish one (Map 27.4). Hostility turned to open war, which Jewish military forces won, and on May 14, 1948, the state of Israel came into being. "The dream had come true," Golda Meir, the future prime minister of Israel, remembered, but "too late to save those who had perished in the Holocaust." Israel opened its gates to immigrants, pitting its expansionist ambitions and refugees' needs for protection from postwar anti-Semitism against its Arab neighbors.



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MAP 27.4 The Partition of Palestine and the Creation of Israel, 1947–1948

The creation of the Jewish state of Israel in 1948 against a backdrop of ongoing wars among

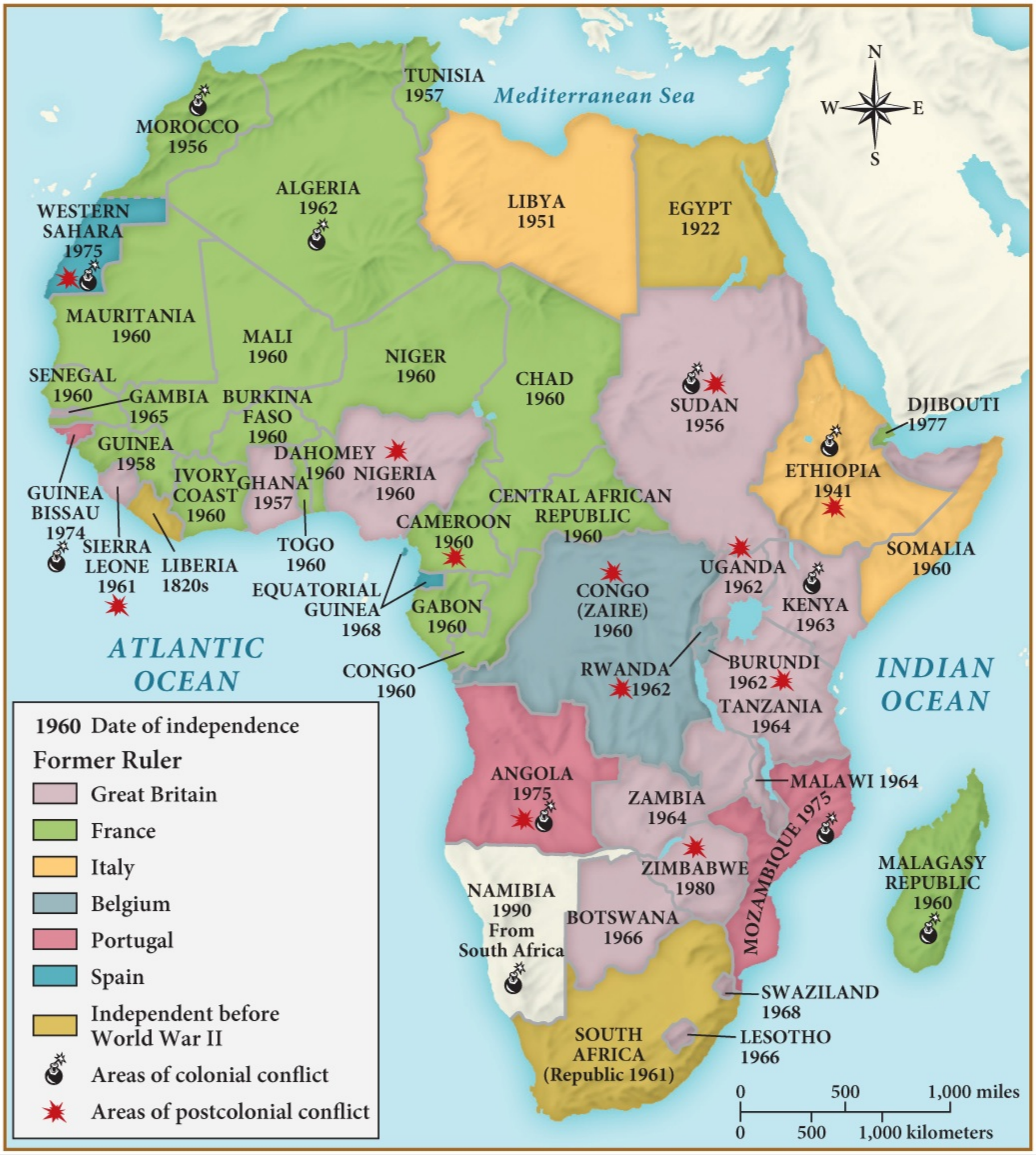
Jews and indigenous Arab peoples turned the Middle East into a powder keg, a situation that has lasted until the present day. The struggle for resources and for securing the borders of viable nation-states was at the heart of these bitter contests, threatening at the time to pull the superpowers into a third world war.

One of those neighbors, Egypt, gained its independence from Britain at the end of the war. Britain, however, still dominated shipping to Asia through its control of the Suez Canal. In 1952, Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918–1970) became Egypt's president on a platform of economic modernization and true national independence — meaning Egyptian control of the canal. In July 1956, Nasser nationalized the canal: "I am speaking in the name of every Egyptian Arab," he remarked in his speech explaining the takeover, "and in the name of all free countries and of all those who believe in liberty." Nasser became a heroic figure to Arabs in the region, especially when Britain, supported by Israel and France, attacked Egypt while the Hungarian Revolution (see page 1013) was in full swing. The British branded Nasser another Hitler, but the United States, fearing Egypt's turn to the USSR, made the British back down — another move in the global cold war. Nasser's triumph inspired confidence that colonized peoples around the world could achieve true independence despite the cold war's global menace.

New Nations in Africa

In sub-Saharan Africa, nationalist leaders roused their people to challenge Europe's increasing demands for resources and labor — demands that had already resulted in poverty for African peoples. "The

European Merchant is my shepherd, and I am in want," went one African version of the Twenty-third Psalm. At the war's end, veterans returned home and protest mounted. Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972), for example, led activist inhabitants of the British-controlled West African Gold Coast in Gandhi-inspired civil disobedience, finally driving the British out and bringing the state of Ghana into being in 1957. Nigeria, the most populous African region, achieved independence in 1960, and many other African states also became free (Map 27.5).



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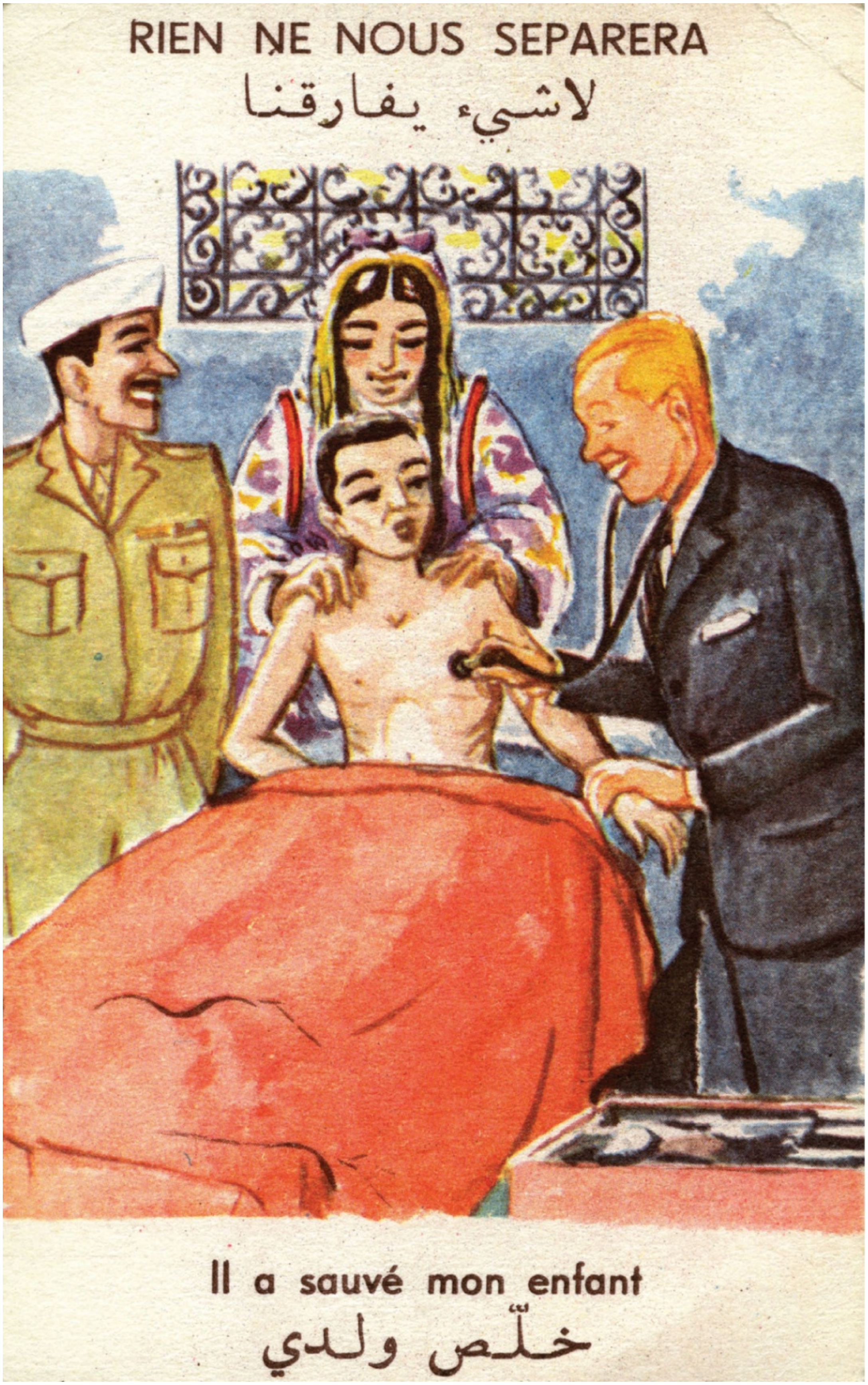
MAP 27.5 The Decolonization of Africa, 1951–1990

The liberation of Africa from European rule was an uneven process, sometimes occurring peacefully and at other times demanding armed struggle to drive out European settlers, governments, and armies. The difficult — and costly — process of nation building following liberation involved setting up state institutions, including educational and other services. Creating national unity out of many ethnicities also took work, except where the struggle against colonialism had already brought people together.

In mixed-race territory with large settler populations, Europeans resisted giving up their control. In British East Africa, where white settlers ruled in splendor and where Black natives had been deprived of both their land and economic opportunity, fighting erupted in the 1950s. African men formed resistance groups named Mau Mau or the Land and Freedom Army. With women serving as provisioners, messengers, and weapon stealers, Mau Mau bands, composed mostly of war veterans from the Kikuyu ethnic group, tried to recover land from whites. In 1964, Mau Mau determination helped Kenya gain formal independence, but only after the British had put hundreds of thousands of Kikuyus in concentration camps — called a "British gulag" by those tortured there. The British slaughtered tens of thousands more.

France followed the British pattern of granting independence with relatively little bloodshed to territories such as Tunisia, Morocco, and West Africa, where there were few white settlers. In Algeria, however, with one million settlers of European descent, during the final days of World War II, the French army massacred tens of thousands of Algerians seeking independence. The liberation movement resurfaced with new intensity in 1954 as the Front for National Liberation (FNL). The French dug in and savagely tortured Algerian Arabs; Algerian women, shielded from suspicion by gender stereotypes, planted bombs in European cafés and carried weapons to assassination sites. "The loss of Algeria," warned one statesman, defending French savagery, "would be an unprecedented national disaster," while the FNL, far less powerful and smaller in number, broadcast accounts of the French army's barbarous practices worldwide, prompting protests in Paris and around the globe (see Primary Source Analysis on page 1019). Coming to power in 1958, wartime leader Charles de Gaulle had negotiated independence with the Algerian nationalists by 1962. Hundreds of thousands of Europeans in Algeria as well as their Algerian supporters fled to France.

Violent resistance to the reimposition of colonial rule also ended the Dutch and Belgian empires, even as Soviet and U.S. agents meddled to shape outcomes favorable to cold war interests. As newly independent nations emerged in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, they participated in organizations to promote international security and worldwide consensus building. Foremost among these was the **United Nations (UN)**, convened for the first time in 1945. One notable change ensured the UN a greater chance of success than the League of Nations: both the United States and the Soviet Union were active members from the outset. The UN's charter outlined a collective global authority that would resolve conflicts and provide military protection if any members were threatened by aggression. In 1955, the Indonesian president Sukarno, who had succeeded in wrenching Indonesian independence from the Dutch, sponsored the Bandung Convention of nonaligned nations to set a common policy for achieving modernization while facing the superpowers. Newly independent countries viewed the future with hope. Still they had to contend with the high costs of nation building, the destruction left over from decades of colonial exploitation, and the removal of resources and investments by former colonial officials and businesses (see Contrasting Views on pages 1022–1024).



Kharbine-Tapabor/Shutterstock.

“We Cannot Be Separated, He Has Saved My Child” 1955 This sweet depiction of comradeship between an Algerian family and a French doctor appeared in 1955 as the Algerians rose up to claim their independence and the French army brutally repressed the freedom fighters. The image endorses unity on the basis of Europeans donating their skills to less knowledgeable Algerians; thus, they are one people. The image does not say that the Algerians had medical skills of their own. Moreover, Algerians most likely did the backbreaking and menial work of scientific, farming, and other businesses in the colonized region.

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

Torture in Algeria

Torture was common in the Algerian War, and both the French and the pro-independence forces advertised the brutality of the other side. The French had the greatest means available to pick up and torture not just suspected opponents to their rule but also their neighbors, families, and even bystanders in buildings and on the street. The Algerians printed accounts by the score and circulated them around the world, eventually prompting a broad segment of global public opinion, some of it still shocked by the record of Axis torture and genocide, to oppose French colonialism. As the cases were verified, many more came to light. Here is a published account of the torture of a young woman, Djamila Boupacha, from her sworn deposition against the French. We have edited out other horrific sexual torture she experienced. In the past, readers have questioned the omission of the worst torture Boupacha suffered; others counter that such accounts are a form of historical pornography to be avoided.

On the night of 10th and 11th of February 1960, the police, Arab collaborators, and police inspectors — about fifty in all — got out of their jeeps and military trucks … and stopped at my parents’ house where I lived in Algiers.…

On the spot and without being taken away, I was beaten savagely. My brother-in-law Abedelli Ahmed who was also there, suffered the same fate as did my father Boupacha Abdelaziz, 70 years of age.

We were taken to the triage center El-Biar. There I received terrible blows which made me fall to the ground. That was when the soldiers, led by a parachutist captain, crushed my ribs with their boots. I still suffer today from deviated ribs on the left.

After four or five days, I was transferred to Hussein-Dey. It was, they told me, to receive “the second degree.” I soon found out what that meant: electric torture to begin with (the electrodes placed on my breasts did not stick so one of the torturers glued them to my skin with scotch tape), then they burned me in the same way on my legs, groin, genitals, and face. Electric torture alternated with cigarette burns, punches with fists, and water torture: suspended over a full bathtub, I was made to drink until suffocating.

Source: Sworn testimony, published in *El Moudjahid* 66 (June 20, 1960), reprinted in *La Femme algerienne dans la revolution. Textes et témoignages inédits* (Alger: ENAG/EDITIONS), 68–69. Translated by Bonnie G. Smith.

QUESTION TO CONSIDER

What might have been the reaction of various groups, ethnicities, political parties, and regions of European and U.S. society to this testimony? What is your reaction to omitting scenes of horrific torture?

CONTRASTING VIEWS

Decolonization in Africa

Africa was close to *the West and mostly colonized from* the nineteenth century on. Because it was full of natural resources, manufacturing, and skilled workers, the prospect of losing it alarmed Western officials and citizens. Nonetheless, for decades and increasingly since the economic depression of the 1930s, Europeans had not only upped their demands but involved Africans in their string of lethal twentieth-century wars. African activism to oust the European powers and to create their own independent nations reached a climax after World War II. Decolonization became a hotly debated issue. By different means, Africans regained their independence.

1. Mau Mau Oath, 1950s

Secret societies of many kinds existed around the world. This one called Mau Mau, dedicated to protecting Kenyans from ongoing British encroachment on their territory and economic well-being, struck fear into the British.

The Warrior Oath

I swear before God and before the people who are here that I have today become a soldier of Gikuyu and Mumbi and I will from now onwards fight the real fight for the land and freedom of our country till we get it or till my last drop of blood. Today I have set my first step (stepping over a line of a goat's small intestine) as a warrior and I will never retreat. And if I ever retreat May this soil and all its products be a curse upon me! If ever I am called to accompany a raid or bring in the head of an enemy, I shall obey and never give lame excuses…. I will never spy or inform on my people, and if ever sent to spy on our enemies I will always report the truth….

I will never sell land to any white man. And if I sell: May this soil and all its products be a curse upon me!

Source: Donald L. Barnett and Karari Njama, *Mau Mau from Within* (New York: Modern Reader, 1966), 131–32.

2. A. L. Geyer, The Case for Apartheid, Speech before Rotary Club of London, 1953

In the early 1950s, the South African government instituted a legal system of strict segregation of white and Black people. This involved pushing Africans into so-called townships while taking the land that they were forced to leave behind. All this occurred amidst a growing call for an end to white rule in the country.

As one of the aftermaths of the last war, many people seem to suffer from a neurotic guilt complex with regard to colonies. This has led to a strident denunciation of the Black African's wrongs, real or imaginary, under the white man's rule in Africa. It is a denunciation, so shrill and emotional, that the vast debt owed by Black Africa to those same white men is lost sight of (and, incidentally, the Black African is encouraged to forget that debt)…. This brings me to the question of the future. To me there seems to be two possible lines of development: *Apartheid* or Partnership. Partnership means Cooperation of the individual citizens within a single community, irrespective of race…. (It) demands that there shall be no discrimination whatsoever in trade and industry, in the professions and the Public Service…. (In effect) there must one day be black domination, in the sense that power must pass to the immense African majority. Need I say more to show that this policy of Partnership could, in South Africa, only mean the eventual disappearance of the white South African nation? And will you be greatly surprised if I tell you that this white nation is not prepared to commit national suicide, not even by slow poisoning? The only alternative is a policy of *apartheid,* the policy of separate development…. *Apartheid is* a policy of self preservation.

Source: Adapted from *Union of South Africa Government: Information Pamphlet* (New York, 1953), reprinted in Ruth E. Gordon and Clive Talbot, eds., *From Dias to Vorster: Source Material* *on South African History* 14881975 (Goodwood, S.A.: Nasou, n.d.), 409–410. Fordham Modern History Sourcebook, http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1953geyer.html. Accessed October 24, 2014.

3. Proclamation of the Algerian National Front, Liberation Front (FLN), November 1954

Simultaneous with the Kenyan struggle against the British in East Africa, local people in Algeria rose up against French occupiers of their region. The result was a horrific war lasting into the 1960s.

After decades of struggle, the National Movement has reached its final phase of fulfilment. At home, the people are united behind the watchwords of independence and action. Abroad, the atmosphere is favourable, especially with the diplomatic support of our Arab and Moslem brothers. Our National Movement, prostrated by years of immobility and routine, badly directed was disintegrating little by little. Faced with this situation, a youthful group, gathering about it the majority of wholesome and resolute elements, judged that the moment had come to take the National Movement out of the impasse into which it had been forced by the conflicts of persons and of influence and to launch it into the true revolutionary struggle at the side of the Moroccan and Tunisian brothers….

GOAL. National independence through:

1. the restoration of the Algerian state, sovereign, democratic, and social, within the framework of the principles of Islam;
2. the preservation of a fundamental freedoms [sic], without distinction of race or religion.

MEANS OF STRUGGLE: Struggle by every means until our goal is attained. Exertion at home and abroad through political and direct action, with a view to making the Algerian problem a reality for the entire world. The struggle will be long, but the outcome is certain. To limit the bloodshed, we propose an honorable platform for discussion with the French authorities:

1. The opening of negotiations with the authorized spokesmen the Algerian people, on the basis of a recognition of Algerian sovereignty, one and indivisible.
2. The inception of an atmosphere of confidence brought about freeing all those who are detained, by annulling all measures exception, and by ending all legal action against the combatant forces.
3. The recognition of Algerian nationhood by an official declaration abrogating all edicts, decrees, and laws by virtue of which Algeria was “French soil.”

Source: Historical Text Archive, http://historicaltextarchive.com/sections.php?

action=read&artid=10. Accessed October 23, 2014.

4. René Massigli, French Intelligence Analysis of British Public Opinion on the Algerian Conflict, 1956

René Massigli produced this set of talking points for French foreign service officials to help them gain British support for the war against the Algerian National Front.

Algeria's troubles are quite similar in their origins and in how they are playing out, to those the Mau Mau caused in Kenya. The same undefinable coming together of diverse agitators who launch bloody raids on villages, farms, even urban centers where they commit horrible crimes, marked by the most savage cruelty….

Much like Cyprus, Algerian agitation is primarily inspired and encouraged by outsiders.

By making reference to religious and linguistic communities, they rely on pan-Islamism and pan- Arabism, which have no actual basis in history. They also act as if nothing has happened in 125 years, with their rejection of the immense economic, social, and cultural development that France has undeniable brought to Algeria….

In Algeria, the vast majority of indigenous people hope only to live in peace and perfect harmony with the Europeans. The summons to hatred and revolt come from abroad….

Source: Translated and quoted in Todd Shepard, ed., *Voices of Decolonization: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2015), 107–8.

5. Kwame Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 1961

Kwame Nkrumah was born in the British colony of Gold Coast but traveled to the United States and England to further his education. On his return to Gold Coast he was an activist for independence and became its leader when it gained independence as the nation of Ghana in 1957.

For centuries, Europeans dominated the African continent. The white man arrogated to himself the right to rule and to be obeyed by the non-white; his mission, he claimed, was to "civilize" Africa. Under this cloak, the Europeans robbed the continent of vast riches and inflicted unimaginable suffering on the African people…. All we ask of the former colonial powers is their goodwill and co-operation to remedy past mistakes and injustices and to grant independence to the colonies in Africa…. It is clear that we must find an African solution to our problems, and that this can only be found in African unity. Divided we are weak; united, Africa could become

one of the greatest forces for good in the world. Although most Africans are poor, our continent is potentially extremely rich. Our mineral resources, which are being exploited with foreign capital only to enrich foreign investors, range from gold and diamonds to uranium and petroleum. Our forests contain some of the finest woods to be grown anywhere. Our cash crops include cocoa, coffee, rubber, tobacco and cotton. As for power, which is an important factor in any economic development, Africa contains over 40 percent of the potential water power of the world, as compared with about 10 percent in Europe and 13 percent in North America. Yet so far, less than 1 percent has been developed. This is one of the reasons why we have in Africa the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty, and scarcity in the midst of abundance. . . .
Individually, the independent states of Africa, some of them potentially rich, others poor, can do little for their people. Together, by mutual help, they can achieve much. But the economic development of the continent must be planned and pursued as a whole.

Source: Kwame Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology* (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1961), xi–xiv.

Questions to Consider

1. What are the main points of those favoring decolonization, and how do their concerns differ?
2. How do the pro-imperialism advocates justify their position? How valid do you find their claims? What is the “debt” that Africans supposedly owed to Europeans?
3. Some historians claim that statements on either side of the debate over decolonization are appeals to world opinion. What evidence do you find in these contrasting views of concern for a wider audience?

Newcomers Arrive in Europe

Not only did colonial officials return home, bringing with them domineering habits of colonial rule, local people from the former colonies began migrating to Europe — a reversal of the nineteenth-century trend of migration out of Europe. The first non-Europeans came from Britain’s Caribbean territories right after the war. Next, labor shortages in Germany, France, Switzerland, and elsewhere drove governments to negotiate with southern European countries for temporary workers. The German situation was particularly dire; in 1950, the working-age population (people between the ages of fifteen and sixty-four) was composed of 15.5 million men and eighteen million women. In an ideological climate that wanted women out of the workforce, the government desperately needed immigrants. Germany and France next turned to North African and then to sub-Saharan countries in the 1960s. Scandinavia attracted newcomers because of reportedly greater opportunity and beneficial social programs. By the 1980s, some 8 percent of the European population was foreign-born, compared with 6 percent in the United States.

Hulton Deutsch/Getty Images.

Newcomers to Europe World War II disrupted everyday life and patterns of trade not only in Europe but also around the globe. Some of the first people to immigrate to Europe in search of postwar opportunity were from the Caribbean (like these men photographed arriving in London in 1956) and South Asia. An expanding welfare state hired some of them to do menial work in hospitals, clinics, and construction, no matter their qualifications. Governments and businesses in western Europe needed these new laborers to rebuild after World War II, and, though some objected, many of these workers — and their wives and children — became not only citizens but political, economic, and cultural leaders as well.

Negotiated agreements gave immigrant workers only temporary resident status, with a regular process of return to their homeland. Turks and Algerians would arrive in Germany or France, for example, to work for a set period of time, return home temporarily to see their families, then head back to Europe for another period as guest workers. They were welcomed because they took few social services, not even needing education because they came as adults. For business people, temporary workers made good economic sense; often their menial work was off the books. “As they are young,” one French business publication added, “the immigrants often pay more in taxes than they receive in allowances.” Most immigrants did jobs that people in the West avoided: they collected garbage, built roads, and cleaned homes. Although men predominated among migrant workers, women performed similar chores for even less pay.

Immigrants came to see Europe as a land of relatively good government, wealth, and opportunity. Despite hard-core racism, living conditions, too, seemed decent to many. The advantages of living in Europe soon attracted clandestine workers. As empires collapsed, European populations became more diverse in terms of race, religion, ethnicity, and social life. Across Europe and North America, many newcomers eventually became citizens and their children achieved positions in government, business, education, and the professions. Explicit racism came to the fore however.

REVIEW QUESTION

What were the results of decolonization?

Daily Life and Culture in the Shadow of Nuclear War

The legacy of World War II and the unfolding cold war shaped postwar culture. People across Europe engaged in heated debates over who was responsible for Nazism and how to achieve ethnic and racial justice. Europeans also discussed the Americanization that seemed to accompany the influx of U.S. dollars, consumer goods, and cultural media. As Europeans examined their war-filled past and their newfound prosperity, the cold war menaced. In 1961, a massive wall came to physically divide the city of Berlin in half. In October 1962, the world held its breath while the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States nearly provoked nuclear conflagration over the issue of missiles on the island of Cuba. In hindsight, the existence of extreme nuclear threat, some claim, prevented the outbreak of World War III, but at the time many felt cold war competition in everyday life along with the threat of global annihilation.

Restoring “Western” Values

After the depravity of Nazism and Fascism, cultural currents in Europe and the United States reemphasized universal values. Responding to what he saw as a crisis in faith, Pope John XXIII (r. 1958–1963) in 1962 convened the Second Vatican Council. Known as **Vatican II**, this council modernized the liturgy, democratized many church procedures, and at the last session in 1965 renounced church doctrine that condemned the Jewish people as guilty of killing Jesus. Many missionaries had come to sympathize with anticolonial activists, while Vatican II promoted ecumenism — that is, mutual cooperation among the world's faiths — and outreach to the world without supporting imperialism.

In the early postwar years, other people in the U.S. bloc emphasized the triumph of a Western heritage, a Western civilization, and Western values as they encountered "barbaric" forces, a concept that came to include nomadic tribes, Nazi armies, communist agents, or national liberation movements in Asia and Africa. Many white Europeans looked back nostalgically on their imperial history and produced exotic films and novels about conquest and its pageantry.

Simultaneously, readers around the world snapped up memoirs of the death camps and tales of the resistance. Rescued from the Third Reich in 1940, Nelly Sachs won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1966 for her poetry about the Holocaust. Anne Frank's *Diary of a Young Girl* (1947), the moving record of a Jewish teenager hidden with her family in the back of an Amsterdam house, showed the survival of Western values in the face of Nazi persecution. Amid the menacing evils of Nazism, Frank, who died near the end of the war in the Bergen-Belsen camp, wrote that she never stopped believing that "people are really good at heart." Governments erected permanent plaques at spots where resisters had been killed, and organizations of resisters publicly commemorated their role in winning the war, hiding the fact of widespread collaboration. Many a politician with a Nazi past returned easily to the postwar mainstream even as the stories of resistance took on mythical qualities.

At the end of the 1940s, **existentialism** became the rage among the cultural elites and students in universities. This philosophy explored the meaning of human existence in a world where evil flourished. Two of existentialism's leaders, Albert Camus and Jean-Paul Sartre, confronted the question of "being," given what they perceived as the absence of God and the tragic breakdown of morality. Their answer was that being, or existing, was not the automatic process either of God's creation or of birth into the natural world. One was not born with spiritual goodness, but instead one created an "authentic" existence through action and choice, including resistance under totalitarianism. Though never having confronted the ethical problems of living under fascism, young people in the 1950s made existentialism the most fashionable philosophy of the day.

In 1949, **Simone de Beauvoir**, Sartre's lifetime companion, published the twentieth century's most important work on the condition of women, *The Second Sex*. Beauvoir believed that most women failed to take the kind of action necessary to lead authentic lives. Instead, they lived in the world of biological necessity, devoting themselves exclusively to having children. Failing to create an authentic self through action and accomplishment, women had become its opposite — an object, or "Other." Instead of struggling to define themselves and assert their freedom, women passively accepted their lives as defined by men. Beauvoir's now classic book was a smash hit, and people wrote her thousands of letters asking for advice. Both Sartre and Beauvoir became celebrities, as the media publicized the return to humane values.

People of color in Africa and Asia contributed new theories of humanity by exploring the topics of liberation, racism, and the legacy of colonialism. During the 1950s, Frantz Fanon, a Black psychiatrist from the French colony of Martinique, began analyzing liberation movements, gaining his insights from his participation in the Algerian war of liberation and other struggles at the time. He wrote that the mental functioning of the colonized person was “traumatized” by the brutal imposition of an outside culture. Ruled by guns, the colonized person knew only violence and would thus naturally decolonize by means of violence. Translated into many languages, Fanon’s *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961) also posed the question of how to decolonize one’s culture and mind. Simultaneously novelists portrayed the impact on the individual caught in the intersection of colonialism and local culture: Chinua Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart* (1958) on African life under British rule became an essential work for African and Western readers.

The related commitment to the cause of civil rights intensified in the 1950s. African Americans had fought in World War II to defeat the Nazi idea of white racial superiority; they confronted the problem once again as civilians in the United States. With its ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), the U.S. Supreme Court declared that segregated education violated the U.S. Constitution. In December 1955, in Montgomery, Alabama, Rosa Parks, a seamstress and part-time secretary for the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), boarded a city bus and took the first available seat in the “colored” section. When a white man found himself without a seat, the driver screamed a racial slur at Parks and demanded she move to the back of the bus. She refused, and her studied use of civil disobedience led to its widespread practice among African Americans throughout the South. Talented leaders emerged, foremost among them the great orator Martin Luther King Jr. (1929–1968), a Baptist pastor from Georgia who advocated “soul force” — Gandhi’s *satyagraha* (“truth force”) — to counter aggression. The postwar culture of nonviolence shaped the early years of the U.S. civil rights movement until the influence of Fanon and other third-world activists turned some toward more violent activism.

Cold War Consumerism and Shifting Gender Norms

Government spending on Europe’s reconstruction and welfare after World War II helped prevent the kind of upheaval that had followed World War I. Meanwhile, the rising birthrate and bustling youth culture led to an upsurge in consumer spending that created jobs for veterans. Nonetheless, the war had affected men’s roles and sense of themselves — East and West. Young men who had missed World War II adopted the rough, violent style of soldiers, and roaming gangs posed as tough military types. While Soviet youth admired aviator aces, elsewhere groups such as the “teddy boys” in England (named after their Edwardian style of dressing) and the *gamberros* (“hooligans”) in Spain took their cues from pop culture in rock-and-roll music and film.

MEINST DU DAS ERNSTHAFT, HERMAN?
EDEN

ullstein bild/Granger.

Rock and Roll Rock and roll, born in the 1950s, swept cities around the world with unprecedented energy and speed. Teen women wore the voluminous skirts that the “new look” had made fashionable in the late 1940s, and young men sported hairdos like that of Elvis Presley. East and west, teens thronged and even rioted to attend rock concerts and would continue to do so despite public criticism and even police action against the movement. Resistance to social and political norms appeared in many guises.

The leader of rock-and-roll style was the American singer Elvis Presley. Sporting slicked-back hair and an aviator-style jacket, Presley bucked his hips and sang sexual lyrics to screaming fans. Rock-and-roll concerts and movies galvanized youth across Europe, including the Soviet bloc, where teens demanded the production of blue jeans and leather jackets. In a German nightclub late in the 1950s, members of a British rock group of Elvis fans called the Quarrymen performed, yelling at and fighting with one another as part of their show. Having learned much from Caribbean immigrant musician Lord Woodbine, just as Presley had learned from Black choirs and musicians, they soon became known as the Beatles. While some musicians like Presley appreciated and acknowledged the Black artists who inspired them and who had a major influence on the genre as a whole, other white musicians unscrupulously claimed and profited off the intellectual property of these Black musicians who received no credit or compensation whatsoever. This was a particular problem in the United States rock-and-roll scene.

Rebellious young American film stars like James Dean in *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955) created the postwar cultural ideal of the bad boy. The rough masculine style appeared also in literature, for example in James Watson's autobiography, *The Double Helix* (1968), in which he described stealing from other people's findings to discover DNA. American "beat" poets and writers vehemently rejected the traditional ideals of the upright male breadwinner and family man. The 1953 inaugural issue of the American magazine *Playboy,* and the hundreds of magazines that imitated it across Europe, presented the modern man as sexually aggressive and independent of dull domestic life — just as he had been in the war. The definition of men's citizenship had come to include not just political and economic rights but also sexual freedom outside marriage.

In contrast, Western society promoted a postwar model for women that differed from their wartime roles, adopting instead the fascist notion of women's inferiority. Rather than being essential workers and heads of families in the absence of their men, postwar women were to symbolize the return to normalcy by leading a submissive life at home. Late in the 1940s, the fashion house of Christian Dior launched a clothing style called the “new look.” It featured the pinched waists, tightly fitting bodices, and voluminous skirts of the nineteenth-century. Women’s magazines publicized the new look and urged women to give up ambitions for themselves. Even in the hard-pressed Soviet Union, domesticity flourished; recipes for homemade face creams, for example, passed from woman to woman, and beauty parlors did a brisk business. In the West, household products such as refrigerators and washing machines raised standards for housekeeping by giving women the means to be “perfect” housewives.

However, new-look propaganda did not necessarily mesh with reality or even with all social norms. Even in the 1950s, women could not always get enough fabric to make voluminous skirts. In Europe, where people had barely enough to eat, the underwear needed for new-look contours simply did not exist; for many, unfortunately, the semistarved look was a postwar reality. Moreover, European women including mothers were working more than ever before — especially in the Soviet bloc. Across the Soviet sphere consumer goods were not so plentiful, but opinion makers stressed the importance of a tasteful, socialist domestic interior: the Hungarian state, for example, published magazines on home decoration. An active public life was out of bounds for many people in Communist Europe, making the home the center of individual lives as well as the focus of cold war political concern. Despite these emphases, East and West, the female workforce was going through a profound revolution as it gradually became populated by wives and mothers who would hold jobs all their lives despite widespread images of nineteenth-century femininity.

Advertising professionals created these cultural messages as part of both the return of consumerism and the cold war. Guided by marketing experts, western Europeans imitated Americans by drinking Coca-Cola; using American detergents, toothpaste, and soap; and driving some forty million motorized vehicles, including motorbikes and trucks. Still, the cold war was ever present: the Communist Party in France led a successful campaign to ban Coca-Cola for a time in the 1950s, and tastemakers in the Soviet sphere initiated competing products and styles.

Radio remained the most influential medium in the 1950s, carrying much of the postwar consumer advertising and making the connection between cold war and consumerism. Even as the number of radios in homes grew steadily, television loomed on the horizon. In the United States, two-thirds of the population had TV sets in the early 1950s, while in Britain only one-fifth did. Only in the 1960s did television become an important consumer item for most Europeans. In radio and television, though, both East and West tried to exceed the other in advertising their ideals. Russian programs stressed a uniform Communist culture, often emphasizing the importance of family values and practical, if aesthetically pleasing, household tips for women. The United States, by contrast, promoted debate about current affairs and filled the airwaves with advertising for consumer goods. The cold war was thus a consumer as well as a military phenomenon across societies.

The Culture of Cold War

Films, books, and other cultural productions also advanced the cold war even when they conveyed an antiwar message. Books like George Orwell's *1984* (1949) were claimed by both sides in the cold war as supporting their position. Ray Bradbury's popular *Fahrenheit 451* (1953), whose title refers to the temperature at which books would burn, condemned restrictions on intellectual freedom on both sides of the cold war divide. In the USSR, official writers churned out spy stories, and espionage novels topped best-seller lists in the West. *Casino Royale* (1953), by the British author Ian Fleming, introduced the fictional British intelligence agent James Bond, who tested his wit and physical prowess against Communist and other political villains. So popular were such programs that Soviet pilots would not take off for flights when the work of Yulian Simyonov, the Russian counterpart of Ian Fleming, was playing on radio or television. Reports, fictional and real, of Soviet- and U.S.-bloc characters facing one another down became part of everyday life.

High culture also operated in a cold war climate. Europe's major cities rebuilt their war-ravaged opera houses and museums and competed by pouring vast sums of money into high culture. As leadership of the art world passed to the United States, art became part of the cold war. Abstract expressionists such as American artist Jackson Pollock, another white artist who appropriated the work of another culture (in this case Native American) with little to no credit, produced non representational works by dripping and spattering paint; they also spoke of the importance of the artist's self-discovery in the process of painting. "If I stretch my arms next to the rest of myself and wonder where my fingers are, that is all the space I need as a painter," commented Dutch-born artist Willem de Kooning on his relationship with his canvas. Said to exemplify Western freedom, such painters were awarded commissions at the secret direction of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

The USSR more openly promoted an official Communist culture. When a show of abstract art like Pollock's opened in the Soviet Union, Khrushchev yelled that it was "dog shit." Pro-Soviet critics in western Europe saw U.S.-style abstract art as "an infantile sickness" and supported socialist realist art with "human content," showing the condition of the workers and the oppressed races in the United States. The Italian filmmakers Roberto Rossellini, in *Open City* (1945), and Vittorio De Sica, in *The Bicycle Thief* (1948), developed the neorealist technique that used ordinary characters living in devastated, impoverished cities. By depicting stark conditions, neorealist directors conveyed their distance from lush Hollywood films, middle-class prosperity, and fascist bombast. "We are in rags? Let's show everyone our rags," said one Italian director. Many of these left-leaning directors associated support for the suffering masses with the Communist cause, while on the pro-American side, the film *Doctor Zhivago* became a hit celebrating individualism and condemning the Communist way of life. Overtly or covertly, the cold war infused cultural life.

The Atomic Brink

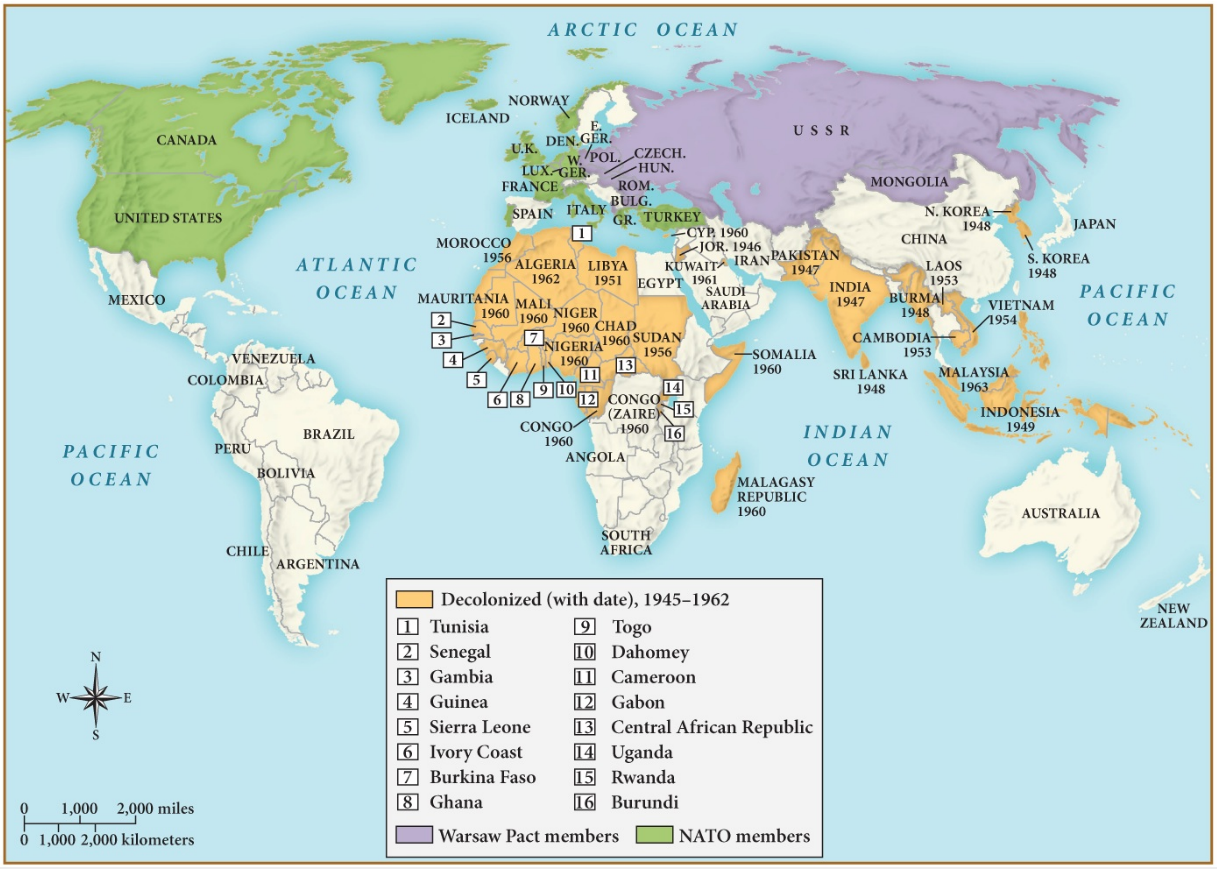
The 1950s were a time of emotional terror for people at the center of the cold war. Radio bombarded the public with messages about the threat of nuclear annihilation at the hands of the villainous superpower enemy (meaning the United States or the USSR, depending). During the late 1940s and 1950s, the Voice of America broadcast in thirty-eight languages from one hundred transmitters and provided an alternative source of news as well as menacing messages for people in eastern Europe. Its Soviet counterpart broadcast in Russian around the clock but initially spent much of its wattage jamming U.S. programming. The public also heard reports of nuclear buildups and tests of emergency power facilities that sent them scurrying for cover. Children rehearsed at school for nuclear war, while at home families built bomb shelters in their backyards, as fear filled the atmosphere.

In this climate of cold war, **John Fitzgerald Kennedy** (1917–1963) became U.S. president in 1960. Kennedy represented American affluence and youth; he also confirmed the power of television. A war hero and an early fan of the fictional cold war spy James Bond, Kennedy participated in the escalating cold war over the nearby island of Cuba, where in 1959, Fidel Castro (1926–2016) had come to power. After being rebuffed by the United States, Castro aligned his new government with the Soviet Union. In the spring of 1961, Kennedy, assured by the CIA of success, launched an invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs to overthrow Castro. The invasion failed miserably and humiliated the United States.

Cold war tensions increased. In the summer of 1961, the East German government directed workers to stack bales of barbed wire across miles of the city’s east–west border. This was the beginning of the Berlin Wall, built to block the route by which some three million people had escaped to the West. In October 1962, tensions came to a head in the **Cuban missile crisis**, when the CIA reported the installation of silos to house Soviet medium-range missiles in Cuba. Kennedy ordered a naval blockade of ships headed for Cuba and demanded removal of the installations. For several days, the world stood on the brink of nuclear war. Then, between October 25 and 27, Khrushchev and Kennedy negotiated an end to the crisis. Kennedy spent the remainder of his short life working to improve nuclear diplomacy; Khrushchev did the same. In the summer of 1963, less than a year after the shock of the Cuban missile crisis, the United States and the Soviet Union signed a test-ban treaty outlawing the explosion of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere and in the seas. The treaty held out hope that the cold war and its culture would give way to something better.

REVIEW QUESTION

How were everyday culture and social life part of the cold war?



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAPPING THE WEST

The Cold War World, c. 1960

Superpower rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union resulted in the division of much of the industrial world into cold war alliances. Simultaneously, the superpowers vied for the allegiance of the newly decolonized countries of Asia and Africa by providing military, economic, and technological assistance. Wars such as those in Vietnam and Korea were also products of the cold war. How might this map be said to convey the idea that a first world, a second world, and a third world existed? How does this map differ from the map on page 864?

Analyzing the Map: How might this map be said to convey the idea that a first world, a second world, and a third world existed?

Making Connections: How does this map differ from the map on page 1018, The Decolonization of Africa, 1951–1990?

Conclusion

Nikita Khrushchev was ousted in 1964 for his erratic policies and for the Cuban missile crisis. In his forced retirement, he expressed regret at his brutal treatment of Boris Pasternak: "We shouldn't have banned [*Doctor Zhivago*]. There's nothing anti-Soviet in it." But the postwar decades were grim times. Two superpowers — the Soviet Union and the United States — each controlling atomic arsenals, overshadowed European leadership and engaged in a menacing cold war, complete with the ongoing threat of nuclear annihilation. The cold war saturated everyday life, giving birth to bomb shelters, spies, purges, and witch hunts — all of them creating a culture of anxiety. Cold war diplomacy divided Europe into an eastern bloc dominated by the Soviets and a freer western bloc mostly allied with the United States. With varying degrees of success, cold warriors similarly tried to divide the entire world — often with lethal results. In this bleak atmosphere, starving, homeless, and refugee people joined the task of rebuilding a devastated Europe.

Despite the chaos at the end of 1945, both halves of Europe recovered almost miraculously in little more than a decade. Eastern Europe, where wartime devastation was greatest, experienced less prosperity. In the West, wartime technology served as the basis for new consumer goods and welfare-state planning improved health. Spurred on by aid from the United States, western Europe formed the successful Common Market, which later became the foundation for greater European unity. As a result of the cold war, Germany recovered as two countries, not one. The war so weakened the European powers that they lost their colonies to dedicated independence movements. Independent nations emerged in

Asia and Africa, but they were often caught in cold war rivalries while facing the need to develop political stability and sound economies. As the West as a whole grew in prosperity, its cultural life focused paradoxically on reviving Western values while enjoying the new phenomenon of mass consumerism. Above all, the West — and the rest of the world — had to endure the atomic rivalry of the superpowers.

Chapter 27 Review

Key Terms and People

Be sure you can identify the term or person and explain its historical significance.

cold war
Truman Doctrine
Marshall Plan
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
Warsaw Pact
Christian Democrats
European Economic Community (EEC or Common Market)
welfare state
Nikita Khrushchev
decolonization
United Nations (UN)
Vatican II
existentialism
Simone de Beauvoir
John Fitzgerald Kennedy
Cuban missile crisis

Review Questions

1. What were the major events in the development of the cold war?
2. What factors drove recovery in western Europe and in eastern Europe?
3. What were the results of decolonization?
4. How were everyday culture and social life part of the cold war?

Making Connections

1. What was the political climate after World War II, and how did it differ from the political climate after World War I?
2. What were the relative strengths of the two European blocs in the cold war?
3. What were the main developments of postwar cultural life?
4. Why did decolonization follow World War II so immediately?

Important Events

1945	Cold war begins
1947	India and Pakistan win independence from Britain

1948	State of Israel is established
1949	Mao Zedong leads Communist Revolution in China; Simone de Beauvoir publishes *The Second Sex*
1950	Korean War begins
1953	Stalin dies; Korean War ends
1954	*Brown v. Board of Education* prohibits segregated schools in the United States; Vietnamese forces defeat French at Dien Bien Phu
1956	General Abdel Nasser nationalizes Suez Canal; uprising in Hungary against USSR
1957	Boris Pasternak publishes *Doctor Zhivago*; USSR launches *Sputnik*; Treaty of Rome establishes European Economic Community (Common Market)
1958	Fifth Republic begins in France
1962	United States and USSR face off in the Cuban missile crisis

Consider three events

India and Pakistan win independence from Britain (1947), Simone de Beauvoir publishes *The Second Sex* (1949), and *Brown v. Board of Education* prohibits segregated schools in the United States (1954). How did colonized peoples, women, and African Americans use the experience of war to seek liberation and civil rights?

Suggested References

New nationhood and the postwar era are charted in exciting new books that study postwar migration, daily life in eastern Europe, and the cold war as a global event. Historians are also focusing on the complex outcomes of decolonization.

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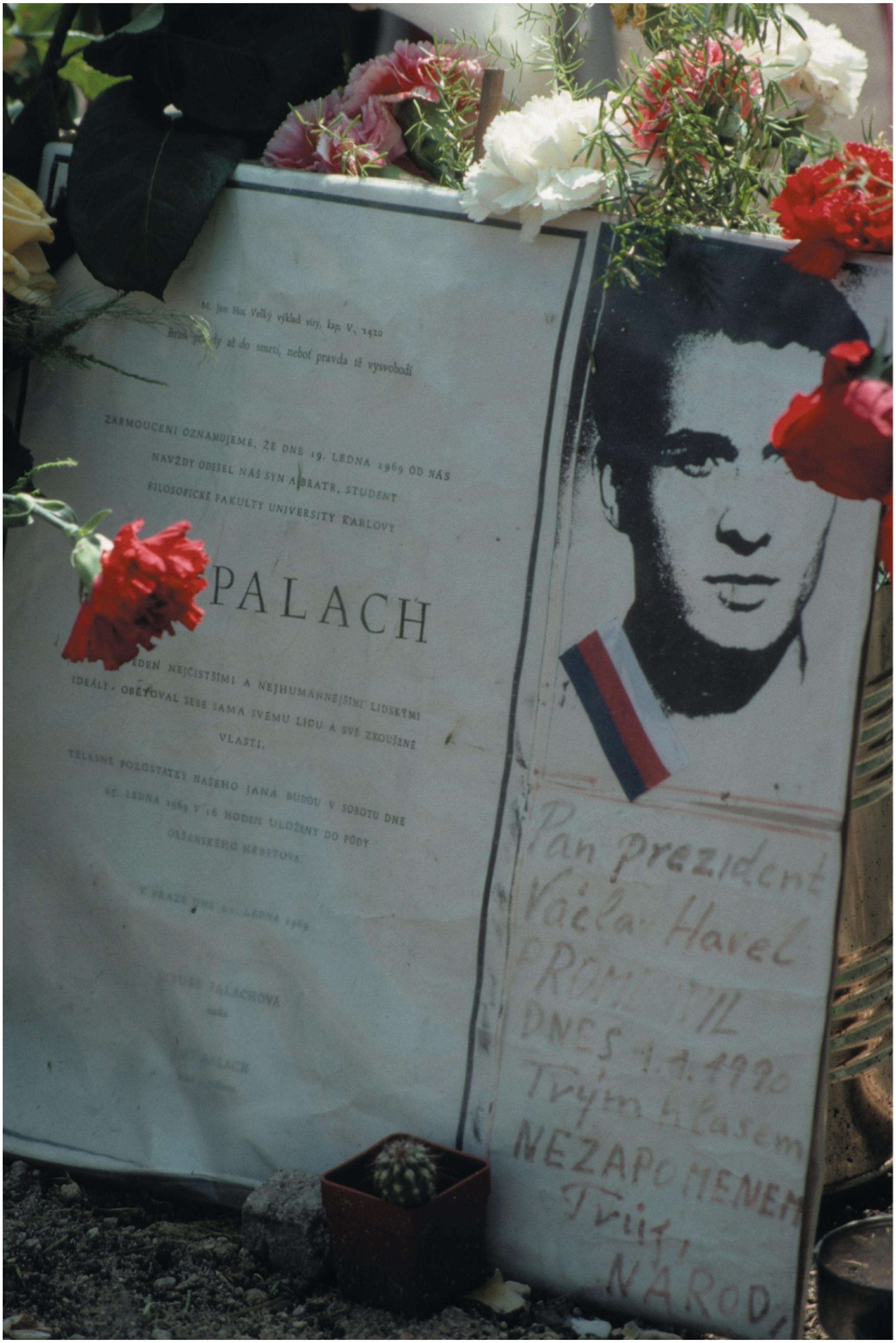
CHAPTER 28

Postindustrial Society and the End of the Cold War Order

1960s–1989



M. Jan Hus, Velký výklad víry, kap. V., 1420

Braň pravdy až do smrti, neboť pravda tě vysvobodí

ZARMOUCENI OZNAMUJEME, ŽE DNE 19. LEDNA 1969 OD NÁS NAVŽDY ODEŠEL NÁŠ SYN A BRATR, STUDENT FILOSOFICKÉ FAKULTY UNIVERSITY KARLOVY

PALACH

EDEN NEJČISTŠÍMI A NEJHUMÁNNĚJŠÍMI LIDSKÝMI IDEÁLY - OBĚTOVAL SEBE SAMA SVÉMU LIDU A SVÉ ZKOUŠENÉ VLASTI.

TĚLESNÉ POZŮSTATKY NAŠEHO JANA BUDOU V SOBOTU DNE 25. LEDNA 1969 V 16 HODIN ULOŽENY DO PŮDY OLŠANSKÉHO HŘBITOVA.

V PRAZE DNE [illegible] LEDNA 1969

PALACHOVÁ

PALACH

Pan prezident
Václa Havel
PROM[illegible]IL
DNES 1.1.1990
Tvým hlasem
NEZAPOMENEM
Tvůj,
NÁROD!

Marc Garanger/Getty Images.

Shrine to Jan Palach Jan Palach was a martyr to the cause of an independent Czechoslovakia. His self-immolation on behalf of that cause roused the nation. As makeshift shrines sprang up and multiplied throughout the 1970s and 1980s, they served as common rallying points that ultimately contributed to the overthrow of Communist rule. Václav Havel, the future president of a liberated Czechoslovakia, was among those arrested early in the momentous year of 1989 for commemorating Palach's sacrifice at a shrine. In light of so many other deaths in the Soviet bloc, why did Jan Palach's death become so powerful a force?

CHAPTER PREVIEW

The Revolution in Technology

What were the technological and scientific advances of the 1960s and 1970s, and how did they change human life and society?

Postindustrial Society and Culture

How did Western society and culture change in the postindustrial age?

Protesting Cold War Conditions

What were the main issues for protesters in the 1960s, and how did governments address them?

The Testing of Superpower Domination and the End of the Cold War

How and why did the balance of world power change during the 1980s?

In January 1969, Jan Palach, a twenty-one-year-old philosophy student, drove to a main square in Prague, doused his body with gasoline, and set himself ablaze. Before that, he had put aside his coat with a message in it demanding an end to Communist repression in Czechoslovakia. It promised more such suicides unless the government lifted state censorship. The manifesto was signed “Torch No. 1.” Jan Palach’s suicide stunned his nation. Black flags hung from windows, and close to a million people flocked to his funeral. In the next months, more Czech youth followed Palach’s grim example and became torches for freedom.

Before his self-immolation, Jan Palach was an ordinary, well-educated citizen of an increasingly technological society. Having recovered from

World War II, the West shifted from a manufacturing economy based on heavy industry to a service economy that depended on technical knowledge in such fields as engineering, health care, and finance. This new service economy has been labeled “postindustrial.” To staff it, institutions of higher education sprang up at a dizzying rate and attracted more students than ever before. Young men like Jan Palach — along with women, minorities, and many other activists in the 1960s and 1970s — hardly satisfied with their rising status, struck out against war and cold war, inequality, racism, and repression, and even against technology itself. From Czechoslovakia to the United States and around the world, protesters warned that postindustrial nations in general and the superpowers in particular had become technological and political monsters. Countries in both the Soviet and U.S. blocs were on the verge of political revolution.

The challenges posed by young reformers came at a bad time for the superpowers and other leading European states. War in Vietnam weakened the United States, and China confronted the Soviet Union on its borders. In a dramatic turn of events, the oil-producing states of the Middle East reduced the export of oil to the leading Western nations in the 1970s, bringing on a recession and showing the need for additional change. As the USSR experienced decay in a climate of innovation worldwide, a reform-minded leader — Mikhail Gorbachev — initiated policies of economic and political freedom. It was too late: in 1989, the Soviet bloc collapsed, an event brought about in part by countless acts of protest, not least of them the individual heroism of Jan Palach and his fellow human torches.

CHAPTER TIMELINE

1963 Betty Friedan publishes *The Feminine Mystique*

1966 Willy Brandt becomes West German foreign minister and develops Ostpolitik

1967 First successful human heart transplant

1968 Revolution in Czechoslovakia; student uprisings throughout Europe and the United States

1969 U.S. astronauts walk on the moon's surface

1970

1972 SALT I between the United States and Soviet Union

1973 End of Vietnam War; OPEC raises price of oil and imposes oil embargo on the West

1973–1976 Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn publishes *The Gulag Archipelago*

1978 The first test-tube baby is born in England

1978–1979 Islamic revolution in Iran; hostages are taken at U.S. embassy in Teheran

1980 Solidarity organizes resistance to Polish communism; British prime minister Margaret Thatcher begins downsizing the welfare state

1981 Ronald Reagan becomes U.S. president

1985 Mikhail Gorbachev becomes Soviet premier

1986 Explosion at Chernobyl nuclear plant; Spain joins the Common Market

1989 Chinese students revolt in Tiananmen Square; Communist governments are ousted in eastern Europe; Berlin Wall is demolished

Marc Garanger/Getty Images; NurPhoto/Getty Images; Sovfoto/Universal Images Group/Shutterstock

CHAPTER FOCUS

How did technological, economic, and social change contribute to increased activism, and what were the political results of that activism?

The Revolution in Technology

The protests of the 1960s began in the midst of astonishing technological advances in all areas of life. These advances steadily boosted prosperity and altered daily life: people awoke to instantaneous radio and television news, worked with computers, and used new forms of contraceptives to control reproduction. Satellites orbiting the earth relayed telephone signals and collected military intelligence, while around the world nuclear energy powered economies. Smaller gadgets — electric popcorn poppers, tape players, automatic garage door openers — made life more pleasant. The increased use of machines led one philosopher to insist that people were no longer self-sufficient individuals, but rather cyborgs — that is, humans who needed machines to sustain ordinary life processes.

The Information Age: Television and Computers

Information technology powered the postindustrial period beginning in the 1960s, just as innovations in textile making and the spread of railroads had in the nineteenth century. This technology's ability to transmit knowledge, culture, and political information globally competed with mass journalism, film, and radio via television, computers, and telecommunications. Once-remote villages were linked to urban capitals on the other side of the world thanks to videocassettes, satellite television, and telecommunications. Because of technology, protests became media events worldwide, as did politics and extraordinary events.

Americans embraced television in the 1950s; between the mid-1950s and the mid-1970s, Europeans rapidly adopted television as a major entertainment and communications medium. In 1954, just 1 percent of French households had television; by 1974, almost 80 percent did. With the average viewer tuning in about four and a half hours a day, the audience for newspapers and theater declined. “We devote more … hours per year to television than [to] any other single artifact,” one sociologist commented in 1969. As with radio, European governments funded television broadcasting with tax dollars and controlled TV programming to avoid what they perceived as the substandard fare offered by American commercial TV; instead they featured drama, ballet, concerts, variety shows, and news. Soon, however game shows and sitcoms would nonetheless flourish across the continent.

The emergence of communications satellites and video recorders in the 1960s allowed audiences worldwide to enjoy broadcasts from throughout the West as well as the global transmission of sports broadcasts and situation comedies (sitcoms) dubbed in native languages. In 1969, competition increased when the Sony Corporation introduced the first affordable color videocassette recorder to the consumer market. In a rural area of the Soviet Union, more than 70 percent of the inhabitants watched television regularly in the late 1970s. Educational and more light-hearted programming united the far-flung population of the USSR; with travel impossible or forbidden to many in the Soviet world, shows about foreign lands were popular. Heads of state could usually bump regular programming to speechify. In the 1960s, French president Charles de Gaulle appeared frequently on television, using the grandiose gestures of an imperial ruler to stir patriotism. Politicians needed media experts as much as they did policy experts.

As revolutionary as television — some would say more — the computer reshaped work in science, defense, and ultimately industry. Computers had evolved dramatically since the first electronic ones, like the Colossus used by the British in 1943 to decode Nazi military and diplomatic messages. From the 1940s to the 1980s, computing machines shrank from the size of a gymnasium to that of an attaché case. They also became far less expensive and fantastically more powerful, thanks to the development of increasingly sophisticated digital electronic circuitry implanted on tiny silicon chips, which replaced clumsy radio tubes. Within a few decades, the computer could perform hundreds of millions of operations per second as the price of the integrated circuit at the heart of computer technology fell to less than a dollar.

Computers changed the pace and patterns of work not only by speeding up tasks but also by performing many operations that workers had once done themselves. Soon, like other outworkers, people could work for large industries at home, connected to a central mainframe. In 1981, the French phone company launched a public computer network, the Minitel (a forerunner of the World Wide Web, developed by a British scientist and a Belgian scientist working for a European research commission in Switzerland), through which individuals could make travel reservations, perform stock transactions, and obtain information. Many believed that computers would profoundly expand mental capacity, providing, in the words of one scientist, solutions to “the puzzles of cosmology, of life, and of the society of man.” Others countered that computers programmed people, reducing human initiative and the ability to solve problems. Amid differing opinions, the information revolution was under way.

The Space Age

The “space race” between the United States and the Soviet Union, also made possible by computers, began when the Soviets launched the satellite *Sputnik* in 1957. Cold war competition led to ever more complex space flights that tested humans’ ability to survive the process of space exploration, including weightlessness. Astronauts walked in space, endured weeks (and later months) in orbit, docked with other craft, fixed satellites, and carried out experiments for the military and private industry. In addition, a series of unmanned rockets launched weather, television, intelligence, and other communications satellites into orbit around the earth. In July 1969, a worldwide television audience watched as U.S. astronauts Neil Armstrong and Edwin “Buzz” Aldrin walked on the moon’s surface — the climactic moment in the space race.

The space race also influenced Western culture. Astronauts and cosmonauts were perhaps the era’s most admired heroes: Yuri Gagarin, John Glenn, and Valentina Tereshkova — the first woman in space —

topped the list. A whole new fantasy world developed. Children’s toys and games revolved increasingly around space. Films such as *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968) portrayed space explorers answering questions about life that were formerly the domain of church leaders. Polish author Stanislaw Lem’s popular novel *Solaris* (1961), later made into a film, described space-age individuals engaged in personal quests that drew readers and ultimately viewers into a futuristic fantasy. As science fiction fantasy thrived, others saw the costly programs differently. Citing poverty across the United States, performer Gil Scott-Heron recited: “A rat done bit my sister Nell/ With Whitey on the moon/ Her face and arms began to swell/ And Whitey’s on the moon.”

Central Press/Getty Images.

Valentina Tereshkova, Russian Cosmonaut People sent into space became heroes, representing modern values of courage, strength, and well-honed skills. Insofar as the space age was part of the cold war race for superpower superiority, the USSR held the lead during the first decade. The

Soviets trained both women and men, and the 1963 flight of Valentina Tereshkova — the first woman in space — supported Soviet claims of gender equality in contrast to the all-white-male superstar image of the early U.S. space program.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

Knowing the problems of poverty in both the postwar Soviet Union and in the United States, what would you as an official U.S. policymaker have done about the space race? Would you have supported the massive, crucial resources for the space programs? What would have been your justification for providing funds or not in the face of poverty and lack of schooling for so many minorities? How would you have dealt with public criticism that it would be a better use of funds to fight poverty and illiteracy at home?

Advances in rocket technology not only launched vehicles into space but also powered destructive missiles in the case of Soviet–U.S. rivalry. At the same time, the space age promoted and even depended on global cooperation. From the 1960s on, U.S. spaceflights and from the 1970s, Soviet launches often involved the participation of other countries. In 1965, an international consortium headed by the United States launched the first commercial communications satellite, *Intelsat I* — a feat envisioned since early in the postwar period. By the 1970s, some 150 countries were working together at more than four hundred stations worldwide to maintain global satellite communications. Although some 50 percent of satellites were for spying purposes, the rest promoted international communication and transnational collaboration.

Pure science flourished amid the space race. Astronomers used mineral samples from the moon to calculate the age of the solar system with unprecedented precision. Unmanned spacecraft provided data on cosmic radiation, magnetic fields, and infrared sources. Although the media depicted the space age as one of warrior astronauts conquering space, breakthroughs depended on the products of technology, including the radio telescope, which depicted space by receiving, measuring, and calculating nonvisible rays. These findings reinforced the so-called big bang theory of the origin of the universe, first outlined in the 1930s by American astronomer Edwin Hubble and given crucial support in the 1950s by the discovery of low-level radiation permeating the universe in all directions. The big bang theory proposes that the universe originated from the explosion of superdense, superhot matter some ten to twenty billion years ago.

The Nuclear Age

Scientists, government officials, and engineers put the force of the atom to economic use, especially in the form of nuclear power, which dramatically boosted and sustained postwar economic expansion into the 1960s and beyond. The USSR built the world's first civilian nuclear power station, in the town of Obninsk, in 1954; Britain and the United States soon followed suit. During the 1960s and 1970s, nuclear power for industrial and household use multiplied a hundredfold — a growth that did not include nuclear-powered submarines and aircraft carriers, which also multiplied during this period.

Because of the vast costs and complex procedures involved in building, supplying, running, and safeguarding nuclear reactors, governments provided substantial aid and even financed nuclear power plants almost entirely. "A state does not count," announced French president Charles de Gaulle, “if it does not … contribute to the technological progress of the world.” The watchword for all governments building nuclear reactors was technological development — a new function for the modern state. The USSR sponsored plants throughout the Soviet bloc as part of ongoing modernization, while Western nations, too, funded nuclear power. In 2006, France produced some 80 percent of its energy, and the United States 20 percent, via nuclear power plants. More than thirty countries had substantial nuclear installations in the twenty-first century, with new ones under construction.

Revolutions in Biology and Reproductive Technology

A revolution in the life sciences brought about dramatic health benefits and ultimately changed reproduction itself. In 1952, scientists Francis Crick, an Englishman, and James Watson, an American, discovered the structure of deoxyribonucleic acid **(DNA)**, the material in a cell’s chromosomes that carries hereditary information. Crick and Watson solved the mystery of biological inheritance when they demonstrated the structure of DNA. They showed how the double helix of the DNA molecule splits in cellular reproduction to form the basis of each new cell. This genetic material, biologists concluded, provides a chemical pattern for an individual organism’s life. From the discovery of DNA, genetics and the new field of molecular biology not only increased knowledge about viruses and bacteria but also effectively ended in the West such diseases as polio, mumps, measles, and tetanus through the development of new vaccines.

Other scientists used their understanding of DNA to alter the makeup of plants (for instance, to control agricultural pests) and to bypass natural animal reproduction in a process called cloning — obtaining the cells of an organism and dividing or reproducing them in an exact copy in a laboratory. In 1967, Dr. Christiaan Barnard of South Africa performed the first successful heart transplant. Other researchers later developed both immunosuppressants (to prevent rejection of a transplant) and an artificial heart. Critics suggested that the enormous cost of new medical technology to save a few people would be better spent on helping the many who lacked even basic medical care.

Technology also influenced the most intimate areas of human relations — sexuality and procreation. Matching family size to agricultural productivity no longer shaped sexual behavior in the industrialized and urbanized West. With reliable forms of birth-control more readily available, young people began sexual relations earlier, with less risk of pregnancy. These trends accelerated in the 1960s when the birth-control pill, the result of research from around the world, was first marketed in the United States. The pill was initially tested on American medical students in Puerto Rico, and then on a larger scale among Puerto Rican nurses, many of whom were eager for reliable contraception. By 1970, the pill's use was spreading globally. New techniques brought abortion, traditionally performed by amateurs, into the hands of medical professionals, making it a safe procedure for the first time.

Conception and childbirth were similarly transformed. Whereas only a small minority of Western births took place in hospitals in 1920, more than 90 percent did by 1970. Obstetricians now performed much of the work midwives had once done. The number of reproductive medical interventions such as cesarean births also rose. In 1978, the first "test-tube baby," Louise Brown, was born to an English couple. She had been conceived when her mother's eggs were fertilized with her father's sperm in a laboratory dish and then implanted in her mother's uterus — a complex and costly process called **in vitro fertilization**. In reproductive technology, as in other areas, the revolution in biology was improving health and even making new life possible.

Keystone-France/Getty Images.

Thalidomide Children Medical and other scientific discoveries had tragic unintended consequences in these decades, including the destruction of the environment and of human life itself as a result of nuclear energy. Thalidomide, a new medication given to pregnant women in the 1960s, produced a generation of disabled children, who worked tirelessly to gain a raft of difficult skills to overcome the effects of the drug on their bodies. In later life, they organized to advance public policy to overcome discrimination against non-normate people in the economy, the arts, and intellectual life.

REVIEW QUESTION

What were the technological and scientific advances of the 1960s and 1970s, and how did they change human life and society?

Postindustrial Society and Culture

Soaring investments in science and the spread of technology put Western countries on what has been labeled a postindustrial course. Instead of being centered on manufacturing and heavy industry, a postindustrial economy emphasized the distribution of services such as health care and education. This meant that intellectual work, as well as industrial work, was central to creating jobs and profits. Moreover, all parts of society and industry interlocked, forming a system constantly in need of complex analysis, as in the nuclear industry. These characteristics of postindustrial society and culture would carry over and even accelerate into the twenty-first century.

Multinational Corporations

A major development of the postindustrial era was the growth of the **multinational corporation**. Multinationals produced goods and services for a global market and conducted business worldwide; they established major factories and managerial centers in countries other than their home base. For example, of the five hundred largest businesses in the United States in 1970, more than one hundred did over a quarter of their business abroad, with business machine manufacturer IBM operating in more than one hundred countries. Although U.S.-based corporations led the way, European and Japanese multinationals like Volkswagen, Shell, Nestlé, and Sony also had a broad global reach.

Multinational corporations burst the bounds of the nation-state as they set up shop in whatever part of the world offered cheap labor. In the first years after World War II, multinationals preferred European employees, who constituted a highly educated labor pool and had well-developed consumer habits. Then, beginning in the 1960s, multinationals moved more of their operations to the emerging economies of formerly colonized states to reduce labor costs and avoid taxes. Although multinational corporations provided jobs in developing areas, profits usually went out of those areas to enrich foreign stockholders across the globe. Multinational corporations lacked the interest in the well-being of cities or nations that locally based industrialists had often shown. The results looked to some like imperialism in a new form.

To stay competitive, multinationals expanded, merged with other companies, or partnered with governments. Investment in research increased as did international cooperation to produce major new products. Beginning with its first commercial flight in 1976, the British-French Concorde supersonic aircraft flew from London to New York in fewer than four hours. Another venture was the Airbus, a more practical series of passenger jets inaugurated in 1972 by a consortium of European firms. Both projects grew from the strong relationships among government, business, and science as well as from the cooperation in manufacturing among members of the Common Market. European businesses thus competed successfully with U.S.-based and other multinational giants.

The New Worker

In the early years of industry, workers often labored to exhaustion and lived in poor conditions. This situation changed fundamentally in postwar Europe with the reduction of the blue-collar workforce and increased automation of industrial work. Manufacturing was simply cleaner and less dangerous than ever before. Meanwhile, the white-collar service personnel expanded in number. Those who performed service work or had managerial titles were not necessarily better paid than blue-collar laborers in these years. The ranks of service workers swelled with researchers, planners, health care and medical staff, and government functionaries. As emphasis on service grew, entire categories of employees such as flight attendants devoted much of their skill to the psychological well-being of customers. By 1969, the percentage of service-sector employees had surpassed that of manufacturing workers in several industrial countries: 61.1 percent versus 33.7 percent in the United States, and 48.8 percent versus 41.1 percent in Sweden.

Postindustrial work life differed somewhat in the Soviet bloc. There, the percentage of farmers remained higher than in western Europe. A huge difference between professional occupations and those involving physical work also remained in socialist countries because of declining investment in advanced machinery and cleaner work processes. Men in both the U.S. and Soviet blocs generally earned higher pay and had better jobs than women. In the Soviet bloc, however, women's badly paying jobs included street cleaning, garbage collection, heavy labor on farms, general medicine, and dentistry. Somewhere between 80 and 95 percent of women in socialist countries worked, mostly under difficult conditions.

The European Economic Community (EEC) endorsed changes in farming such as consolidation of holdings and modernization of equipment. Small landowners sold family plots to corporations engaged in agribusiness — that is, vast acreage devoted to commercial rather than peasant farming. Governments, farmers' cooperatives, and planning agencies shaped the decision making of the individual farmer, while genetic research that yielded pest-resistant seeds and the skyrocketing use of pesticides, fertilizers, and machinery contributed to productivity. For example, in the 1970s, a woman named Fernande Pelletier ran a hundred-acre farm in southwestern France, using the advice of a government expert to produce whatever foods might sell competitively and joining with other farmers in her region to buy heavy machinery. Agricultural prosperity required as much managerial and technical know-how as did success in other parts of the economy.

The Boom in Education and Research

Education and research were key to running a postindustrial society and to maintening a nation's economic and military might. In the West, hard work and creative intuition had launched the earliest successes of the Industrial Revolution. By the late twentieth century, a wide variety of expertise and ever-growing staffs of researchers fueled agricultural, military, and industrial leadership. The United States funneled more than 20 percent of its gross national product (the total value of goods and services a nation produced in a year) into research in the 1960s, attracting many of Europe's leading intellectuals and technicians to move to the United States in a so-called brain drain. Scientists and bureaucrats frequently made more crucial decisions than did elected politicians in the realm of space programs, weapons development, and economic policy. Here East–West differences became important: Soviet-bloc nations proved less adept at linking their considerable achievements in science to real-life applications because of bureaucratic red tape. In the 1960s, some 40 percent of scientific findings in the Soviet bloc, where higher technical education thrived, became obsolete before the government approved them for application to technology. An invisible backsliding from superpower effectiveness and leadership had begun in the USSR — much of it due to the lack of systems coordination and cooperation.

The centrality of sophisticated knowledge to success in postindustrial society led to unprecedented growth in education, especially in universities and scientific institutes. The number of university students in Sweden rose by about 580 percent and in West Germany by 250 percent between 1950 and 1969. Great Britain established a network of technical universities to encourage the practical research that traditional elite universities often scorned. France set up schools to train future high-level experts in administration. The scientific establishment in the Soviet Union grew rapidly, and some institutions of higher learning added courses in business management, information technology, and systems analysis designed for the new pool of postindustrial workers.

Changing Family Life and the Generation Gap

Just as education changed to meet the needs of postindustrial society, family structures and parent–child relationships shifted from what they had been a century earlier. Households became more varied: cohabiting couples, single-parent families, blended families, families headed by same-sex partners, and childless marriages all became more common. At the end of the 1970s, the marriage rate in the West had fallen by 30 percent from its 1960s level, and after almost two decades of baby boom, the birthrate dropped significantly. Belgian women, for example, bore 2.6 children on average in 1960 but only 1.8 by the end of the 1970s. In the Soviet bloc, the birthrate was even lower.

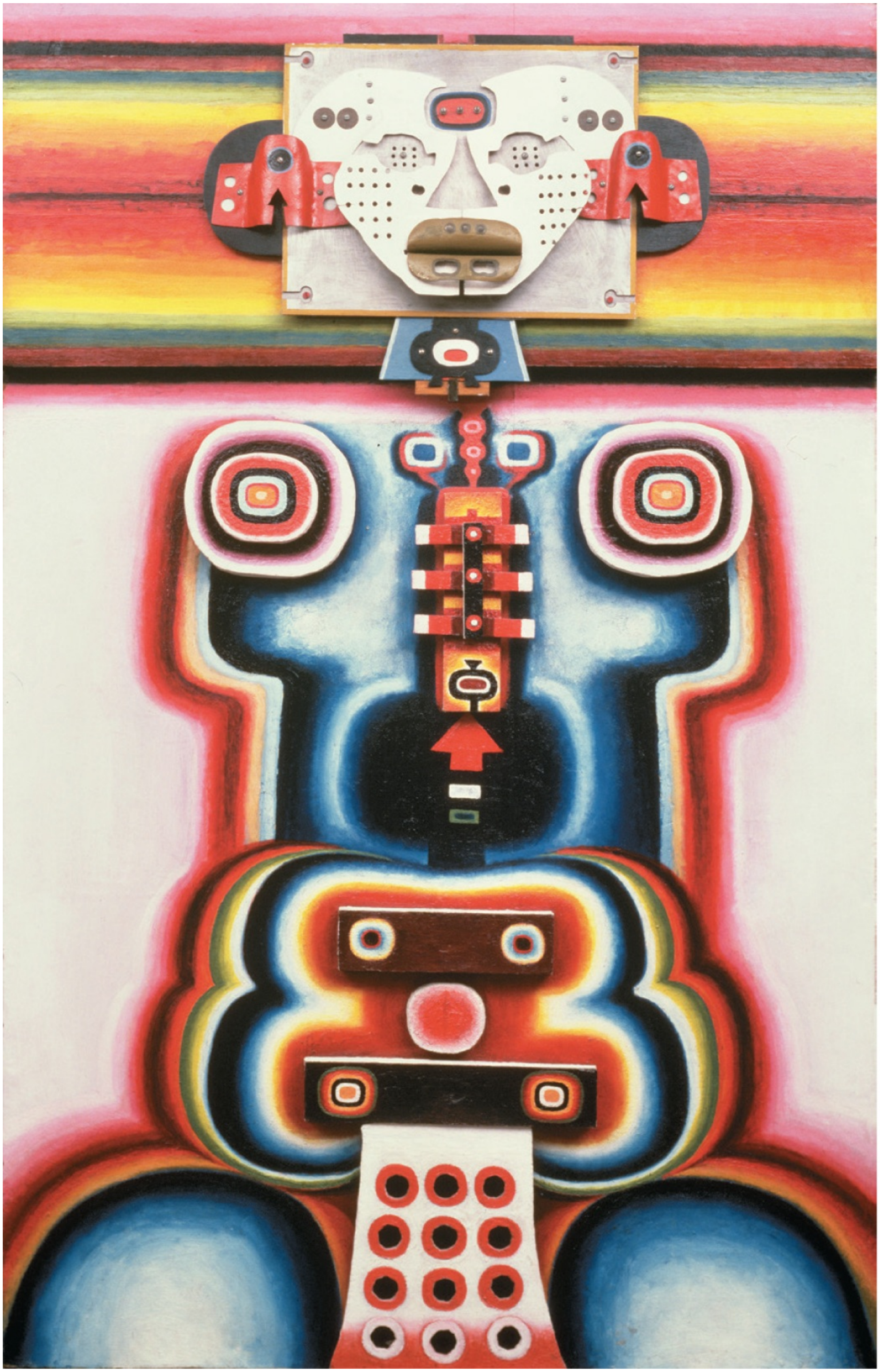
Daily life within the family changed as technology advanced. Technological consumer items filled the home, with radio and television often forming the basis of the household's common social life. Appliances such as dishwashers, washing machines, and clothes dryers became more widespread, especially in the western bloc. More women worked outside the home during these years to pay for the prolonged economic dependence of children, and, in contrast with the past, the modern family seemed to have a primarily psychological mission, emotionally nurturing children who acquired their intellectual skills in school. Parents turned to psychologists, social workers, other experts, and the media for help in navigating postindustrial society.

Postindustrial society changed teenagers' lives dramatically, creating strong differences between adolescents and adults. A century earlier, even young teens had been full-time wage earners like their parents; now, in the new knowledge-based society, youth were generally students and some were financially dependent on their parents into their twenties. Despite teenagers' longer financial childhood, sexual activity began at an ever younger age, prompting the idea of a “sexual revolution.” Youth simultaneously gained new roles as consumers, wooed with items associated with rock music — records, portable radios, and stereos. Rock music celebrated youthful rebellion against adult culture in scornful, critical, and often explicitly sexual lyrics. Gender roles for the young did not change, however: promoters focused on groups of male musicians, whom they depicted as heroic, surrounded by worshipping female “groupies.” New models for youth such as the Beatles were themselves the products of advanced acoustic technology, marketing for mass consumption, and a unique youth culture separating the young from their parents — the so-called generation gap.

ullstein bild/Getty Images.

East German Punk Rockers East German punks were inspired by those in western Europe. Their clothing, hair styles, music, and behavior aimed to eliminate worn-out forms of creativity, values and politics. The East German police harassed and jailed them, using physical and mental abuse even on those in their mid-teens. Often frightened, these punk musicians held impromptu performances, with audiences that gathered through word of mouth. Churches invoked the spirit of tolerance and Christian love in supporting them. Churches and punk musicians and their followers were part of an unspoken coalition that helped delegitimize Communist domination.

Art, Ideas, and Religion in a Technocratic Society



Torso, 1965 (oil, metal and wood) by Vladimir Yankilevski (b. 1938)/Private Collection/Bridgeman Images/©2018 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/ADAGP, Paris.

Dissident Art: ***Torso*** **by Vladimir Yankilevski** Artists in the USSR were supposed to create uplifting works that spread Communist ideals, despite the political repression and economic hardships that plagued the system. Dissident artists sought to undermine the Communist message and criticize the regime through their work, thus helping to prepare the ground for a full-scale revolt against the Soviet system in the late 1980s. Vladimir Yankilevsky's *Torso* (1965) showed a rejection of official art's happy workers, instead showing a body-machine. This was both an ideological rejection and a stylistic one: Soviet officials disapproved of abstract art as a sign of Western decadence.

Cultural trends developed disruptively alongside the march of consumer society and technological breakthroughs. A new style in the visual arts was called **pop art**. It featured images from everyday life and employed the glossy technology and products of what these artists called admass, or mass advertising. Like advertising itself, art leadership passed from Europe to the United States. Among these, U.S. pop artist Robert Rauschenberg made collages from comic strips, magazine clippings, and fabric to fulfill his vision that "a picture is more like the real world when it's made out of the real world." Maverick American artists such as Andy Warhol made pop art a financial success with their parodies of modern commercialism. Through images of actress Marilyn Monroe and former first lady Jacqueline Kennedy, Warhol showed, for example, how depictions of women were used to sell every type of consumer good in the 1960s and 1970s. He portrayed Campbell's soup cans as they appeared in advertisements and sold these works as elite artistic creations.

Swedish-born artist Claes Oldenburg portrayed the grotesque aspects of ordinary consumer products in *Floor Burger* (1962) and *Lipstick Ascending on Caterpillar Tractor* (1967). Capturing this mocking world of art, German artist Sigmar Polke did cartoon-like drawings of products and of those who craved them. The Swiss sculptor Jean Tinguely used rusted parts of old machines — the junk of industrial society — to make fountains that could move. His partner Niki de Saint Phalle then decorated them with huge, gaudy figures — many of them inspired by the folk traditions of the Caribbean and Africa. Their colorful, mobile fountains adorned main squares in Stockholm, Paris, and other cities.

The American composer John Cage worked in a similarly revolutionary vein when he added to his musical scores sounds produced by such everyday items as combs, pieces of wood, and radio noise. Buddhist influence led Cage to incorporate silence in music and to compose by randomly tossing coins and then choosing notes by the corresponding numbers in the ancient Chinese *I Ching* (Book of Changes). These techniques continued the trend away from classical melody that had begun with modernism. Other composers, called minimalists, simplified music by featuring repetition and sustained notes instead of producing the lush melodies of the nineteenth century. Estonian composer Arvo Pärt wrote minimalist pieces in the 1970s using only three or four notes in total; he called this style “starvation” music to emphasize the lack of both freedom and goods in the Soviet bloc. Improved recording technology and mass marketing brought music of all varieties to a wider home audience than ever before.

The social sciences reached the peak of their prestige in the postindustrial era. Anthropology was among the most exciting of these, for it brought young university students information about societies that seemed untouched by modern technology and industry. Colorful ethnographic films revealed different lifestyles and seemingly "exotic" practices. While studying people who came to be called "the other," students had their sense of freedom reinforced by the vision of going back to nature. Whatever their discipline, social scientists announced that, like technicians and engineers, their specialized methods and factual knowledge were key to managing the complexities of postindustrial society and setting policy for developing nations.

At the same time, the social sciences could undermine Enlightenment beliefs that individuals had true freedom. French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908–2009) developed a theory called structuralism, which insisted that all societies function within controlling structures — kinship, for example. While challenging existentialism's claim that humans could create a free existence, structuralism also attacked the social sciences' faith in rationality. Lévi-Strauss's book *The Savage Mind* (1966) demonstrated that people outside the West, even though they did not use scientific methods, had their own effective systems of problem solving. In the 1960s and 1970s, the findings of some social scientists additionally echoed concerns that technology and highly managed bureaucratic systems were creating a society in which people lacked individuality and freedom.

Religious leaders and parishioners responded to the changing times in a variety of ways. Pope Paul VI (r. 1963–1978) opposed artificial birth control as it became more prevalent, while also becoming the first pontiff to carry out the global vision of Vatican II by visiting Africa, Asia, and South America. In some places, grassroots religious fervor surged in the face of advancing science. Growing numbers of U.S. Protestants, for example, joined sects that denied the validity of scientific discoveries such as the age of the universe and the evolution of the species. In western Europe, however, Christian churchgoing remained at a low ebb. In the 1970s, for example, only 10 percent of the British population went to religious services — about the same number that attended live soccer matches. Most striking was the changing composition of the Western religious public because of immigration from former colonies and other parts of the world. Mosques, Buddhist temples, and shrines to other creeds appeared in a greater number of cities and towns.

Review Question

How did Western society and culture change in the postindustrial age?

Protesting Cold War Conditions

The United States and the Soviet Union reached new heights in the 1960s, but trouble was brewing for the superpowers. By 1965, the six-nation Common Market had temporarily replaced the United States as the leader in worldwide trade: in 1973, Britain's membership in the Common Market, followed by Ireland's and Denmark's, boosted the market's exports to almost three times those of the United States. The USSR faced challenges, too. Communist China, along with countries in eastern Europe, contested Soviet leadership, and by the mid-1960s, the United States was waging a devastating war in Vietnam to block the Communist independence movement there. Rising citizen discontent, sometimes expressed in dramatic acts of protest like that of Jan Palach, presented another serious challenge to the cold war order. From the 1960s until 1989, people across the cold war world rose up against technology-driven dehumanization, lack of fundamental rights, and the potential for nuclear holocaust.

Cracks in the Cold War Order

Worldwide, calls came to reduce cold war tensions in this age of unprecedented technological advance. In the Soviet Union, the new middle class of bureaucrats and managers demanded a better standard of living and a reduction in the cold war hostility that made everyday life so menacing. In Germany, Social Democratic politicians shifted money from cold war defense spending to domestic programs. Willy Brandt (1913–1992) , the Socialist mayor of West Berlin, became foreign minister in 1966 and worked to improve frigid relations with Communist

East Germany to open up trade. This anti–cold war policy, known as **Ostpolitik**, gave West German business leaders what they wanted: “the depoliticization of Germany’s foreign trade,” as one industrialist put it, and the advance of consumerism in the Soviet bloc. West German trade with eastern Europe grew rapidly, but it left the relatively poorer countries of the Soviet bloc strapped with mounting debt. Nonetheless, commerce built bridges across the cold war divide.

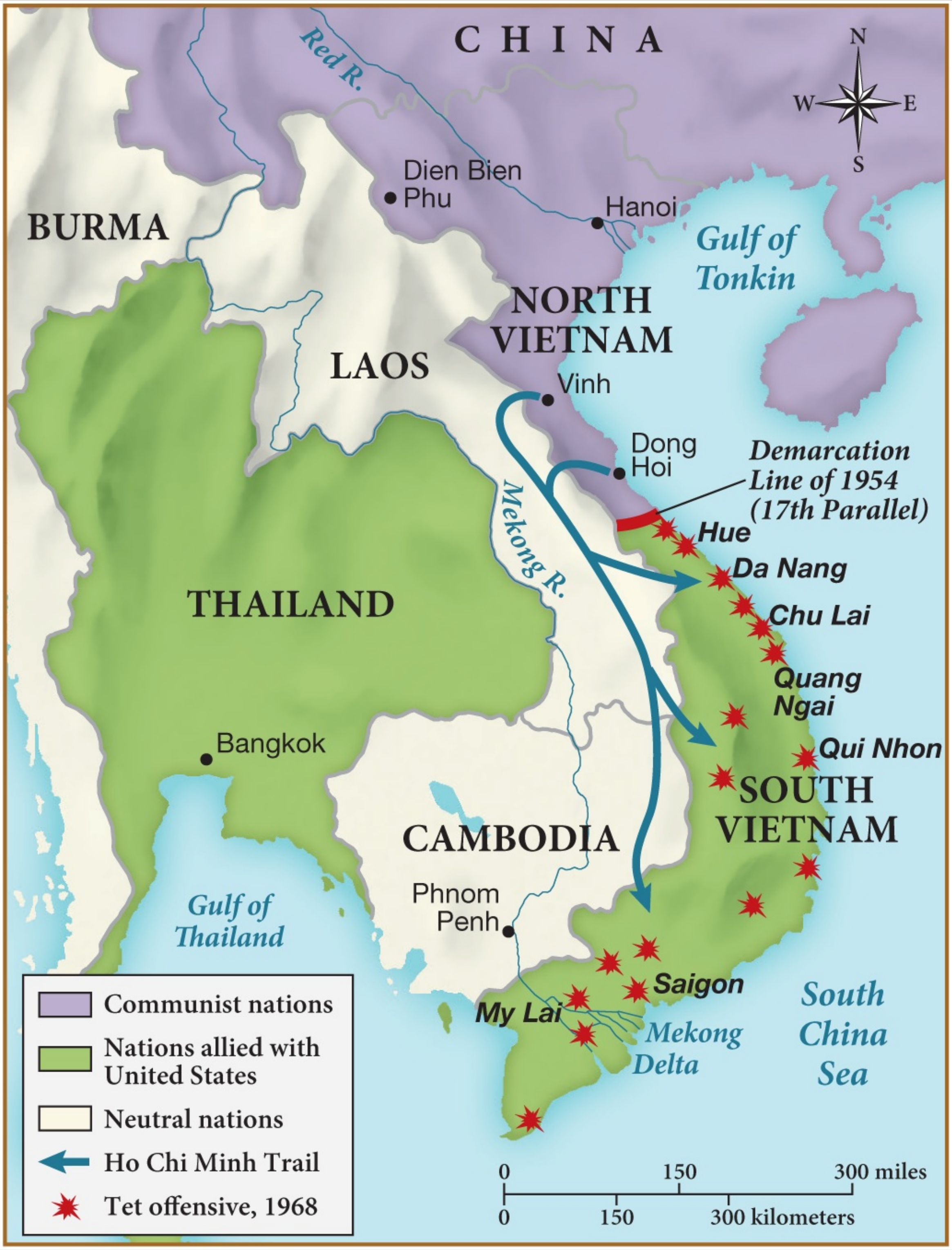
To break the superpowers’ stranglehold on international politics, French president Charles de Gaulle poured huge sums into French nuclear development, withdrew French forces from NATO, and signed trade treaties with the Soviet bloc. However, de Gaulle protected France’s good relations with Germany to prevent further encroachments from the Soviets. At home, de Gaulle’s government sponsored the construction of modern housing and ordered the exterior cleaning of all Parisian buildings — a massive project taking years — to wipe away more than a century of industrial grime and to demonstrate community, not cold war, values. With his haughty pursuit of French grandeur, de Gaulle offered the European public an alternative to obeying the superpowers.

Brandt’s Ostpolitik and de Gaulle’s independence had their echoes in Soviet-bloc reforms. After the ouster of Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev in 1964, the new leadership of Leonid Brezhnev (1909–1982) and Alexei Kosygin (1904–1980) initially continued attempts at reform, encouraging plant managers to turn a profit and using consumer goods to alleviate the discontent of an increasingly educated and informed citizenry. The government also allowed more cultural and scientific meetings with Westerners, another move that relaxed the cold war atmosphere in the mid-1960s. Like the French, the Soviets set up "technopoles" — new cities devoted to research and technological innovation. The Soviet satellites in eastern Europe seized the economic opportunity presented by Moscow's relaxed posture. For example, Hungarian leader János Kádár introduced elements of a market system into the national economy by encouraging small businesses and trade to develop outside the Communist-controlled state network.

Soviet-bloc writers sought to reduce their praise for the Soviet past. Some dissident artists' paintings rejected brightly colored scenes and heroic figures of the socialist realist style and instead depicted Soviet citizens as worn and tired in grays and other monochromatic color schemes. East Berlin writer Christa Wolf challenged the celebratory nature of socialist art when she showed a couple tragically separated by the Berlin Wall in her novel *Divided Heaven* (1965). Repression returned in the later 1960s and 1970s, as the Soviet government took to bulldozing outdoor art shows. For their part, writers relied on **samizdat** culture, a form of protest activity in which individuals reproduced government-suppressed works by hand and passed them from reader to reader, thus building a culture of resistance.

U.S. leadership faced challenges too. The assassination of President John F. Kennedy in November 1963 shocked the nation and the world, but only momentarily did it halt the escalating demands for civil rights for African Americans and other minorities. White segregationists murdered and brutalized those activists attempting to integrate lunch counters, register Black voters, or simply march on behalf of freedom. In response to the activism, murders, and destruction, Kennedy had introduced civil rights legislation and forced the desegregation of schools and universities. Lyndon B. Johnson (1908–1973), Kennedy's successor, steered the **Civil Rights Act** through Congress in 1964. This legislation forbade racial segregation in public facilities and created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to fight job discrimination based on "race, color, national origin, religion, and sex." Southern conservatives had tacked on the provision outlawing discrimination against women in the vain hope that it would doom the bill. Facing protests for massive spending on space programs when poverty wracked Black and other communities, Johnson proposed new government programs to improve the lot of the forty million destitute Americans. Johnson's many reform programs included Project Head Start for educating disadvantaged preschool children and the Job Corps for training youth. Black novelist Ralph Ellison called Johnson "the greatest American president for the poor and the Negroes."

Still, the cold war persisted, and the United States became increasingly embroiled in Vietnam (Map 28.1). After the Geneva Conference of 1954, which divided Vietnam into North Vietnam and South Vietnam, the United States increased its support for the corrupt leaders of noncommunist South Vietnam. North Vietnam, China, and the Soviet Union backed the rebel Vietcong — that is, South Vietnamese Communists whose strength seemed to grow daily. Despite massive bombings by the United States and its more than half a million troops, the insurgents, who had struggled against colonialism for decades, rejected a negotiated peace.



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 28.1 The Vietnam War, 1954–1975

The local peoples of Southeast Asia had long resisted incursions by their neighbors. They also resisted invaders from afar. The Vietnamese beat the French colonizers in the battle of Dien

Bien Phu in 1954. The Americans soon became involved, trying to stem what they saw as the tide of Communist influence behind the Vietnamese liberation movement. The ensuing war in Vietnam in the 1960s and 1970s spread into neighboring countries, making the region the scene of vast destruction.

The Growth of Citizen Activism

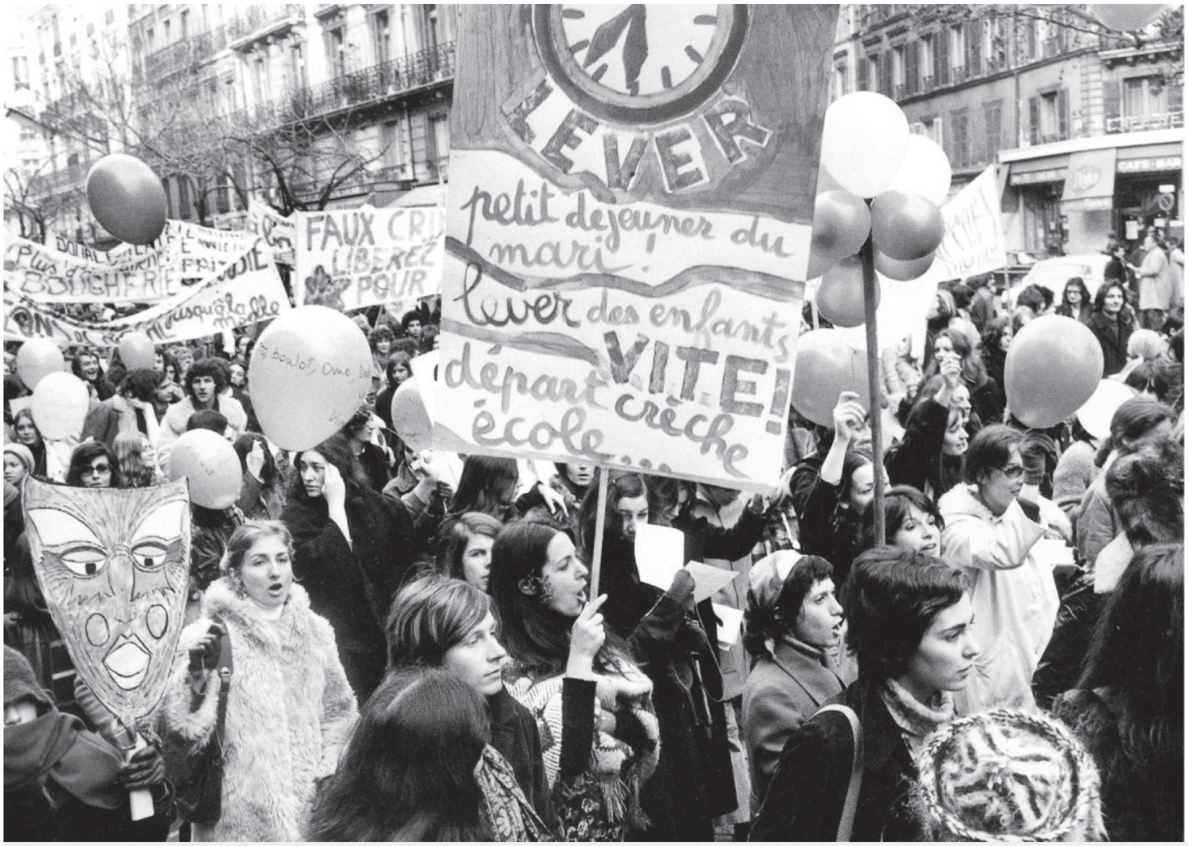
In the midst of cold war conflict and technological advance, a new activism emerged. Prosperity had allowed youth to travel across the continent, building the kind of solidarity that underlay the European community. The rising benefits of a postindustrial, service-oriented economy made people eager for peace and justice for everyone. The U.S. civil rights movement broadened as other minorities joined African Americans in demanding fair treatment. In 1965, César Chávez (1927–1993) and Dolores Huerta (b. 1930) led Mexican American migrant workers in the California grape agribusiness to strike for better wages and working conditions. Meanwhile, beginning that same year, urban riots erupted across the United States out of African Americans' frustration over living conditions and their struggle for rights. Some chose to celebrate their race under the banner "Black is beautiful," and some urged a push for "Black power" to reclaim rights forcefully instead of "begging" for them nonviolently. Separatism, not integration, became the goal of others. Militants like the Black Panthers took up arms, believing that, like decolonizing peoples elsewhere, they needed to protect themselves against white violence.

From the 1950s on, homosexuals had also lobbied for the decriminalization of their sexual lives. Some antigay propaganda equated male homosexuals with communism and a lack of militaristic manliness to fight the cold war. In June 1969, gay men in the Stonewall area of Greenwich Village, New York, rioted against police and other persecution, as had African Americans, both to assert their civil rights and to affirm their identity. The gay liberation movement born in that time came to span the globe and to include not only men but gay women, too.

As a result of the new turn in Black efforts for change, white American university students who had participated in the early stages of the civil rights movement found themselves excluded from leadership positions by Black leaders. White youth soon joined the swelling protests against technological change, consumerism, and the Vietnam War. Young Europeans were also feverish for reform. In 1966, Prague students, chanting “The only good Communist is a dead one,” held carnival-like processions to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian uprisings. The “situationists” in France used shocking graffiti and street theater to call on students to wake up from slumbering consumer society.

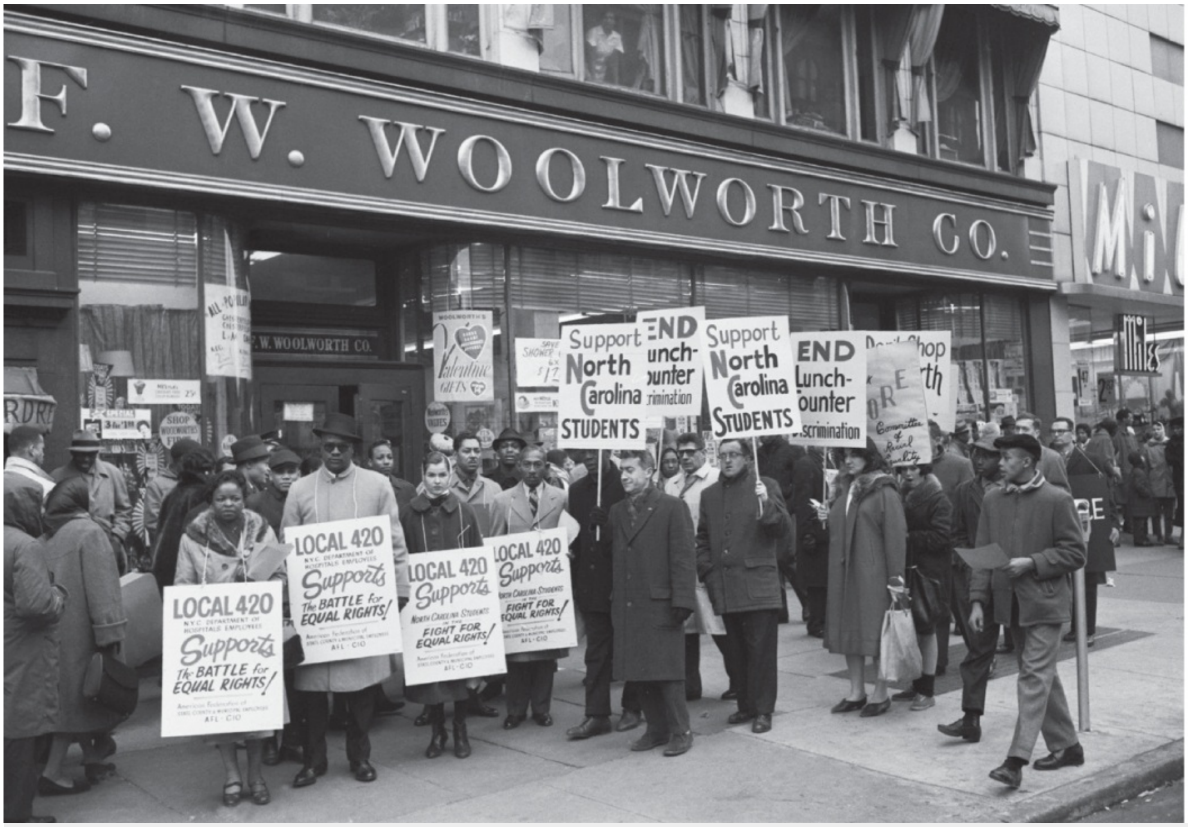
Throughout the 1960s, students criticized the traditional university curriculum. They questioned how studying Plato or Dante would help them after graduation. “How to Train Stuffed Geese” was French students’ satirical version of the teaching methods inflicted on them. Long hair, communal living, scorn for personal cleanliness, and ridicule for sexual chastity were part of students’ rejection of middle-class values. Widespread use of the pill and open promiscuity made the sexual revolution explicit and public. Marijuana and other drug use became common among students, who had their own rituals, music, and gathering places. Denounced by students, big business nonetheless made billions by selling everything from blue jeans to natural foods as well as by marketing the rock stars of the counterculture.

Women's activism erupted, too. Working for reproductive rights, women in France helped end the nation's ban on birth control in 1965. Middle-class women eagerly responded to the international best seller *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), by American journalist Betty Friedan. Pointing to the stagnating talents of many housewives, Friedan helped organize the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966 "to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now." NOW advocated equal pay for equal work and a variety of other legal and economic reforms. In Sweden, women lobbied to make tasks both at home and in the workplace less gender-segregated.



AGIP-Rue des Archives/Granger, NYC — All rights reserved.

Second-Wave Feminists on the March Like turn-of-the-century feminists, women in the 1960s and 1970s took to the streets to protest their condition. This march in Paris features signs showing a clock fixed at 7:30 and a list of chores including “breakfast for husband,” “wake the children,” and “hurry.” For many citizens, the sight of “unladylike” women demonstrating in public was a shock — which was the point for many activists.


F. W. WOOLWORTH CO.
LOCAL 420 Supports The BATTLE for EQUAL RIGHTS!
LOCAL 420 Supports North Carolina Students in the FIGHT FOR EQUAL RIGHTS!
Support North Carolina STUDENTS
END Lunch-Counter Discrimination

Bettmann/Getty Images.

Civil Rights Protest in the United States, 1960 Citizens in the northern cities of the United States launched their own peaceful protests in support of those boycotting segregated places of business in the American South. Those in the North, while as peaceful as those in the South, were less likely to be beaten and even murdered for their activism on behalf of equality. Although significant civil rights legislation was passed in the 1960s, local legislation especially in the South served to keep Black people from voting. The tradition of incarcerating, beating, and even murdering Black people continued down to the present, often with no penalties for those who committed such crimes.

Women who engaged in the civil rights and student movements soon realized that many protest organizations devalued women just as society at large did (see Contrasting Views on pages 1056–1057). Male activists adopted the leather-jacketed machismo style of their film and rock heroes, but women in the movements were often judged by the status of their male protester lovers. “A woman was to ‘inspire’ her man,” African American activist Angela Davis complained, adding that women seeking equality were accused of wanting “to rob [male activists] of their manhood.” Other women of color and lesbians protested their invisibility to the feminist movement’s straight white membership. West German women students tossed tomatoes at male protest leaders in defiance of male domination of the movement and of society’s standards for ladylike behavior.

CONTRASTING VIEWS

Feminist Debates

The feminist movement of the last-third of the twentieth century provoked the most pronounced and widespread debate over gender in recorded history. Discussion often reached a heated pitch, as it did in other reform movements of the day. Feminists had a variety of concerns, often depending on their nationality, ethnicity, race, religion, sexual orientation, and class. Opinion on these issues could produce conflict among activists and serious divisions on goals and policies, as the authors of the Combahee River Statement demonstrated (Excerpt 1). At times, concerns over issues like equal opportunity in the workplace were directed at government policies, as in the case of the Soviet worker (Excerpt 2). Italian feminists saw all the disabilities imposed by government as characteristic of larger problems (Excerpt 3), while Germans explicitly connected the cause of feminism to that of environmentalism (Excerpt 4). With the advances in global travel and televised news, comparisons came to the fore as well (Excerpt 5).

1. Criticizing White Feminism

In the United States, Black women, like several other groups, found themselves marginalized in both the feminist and civil rights movements. In 1977, some of them issued the Combahee River Statement.

Black, other third world, and working women have been involved in the feminist movement from its start, but both outside reactionary forces and racism and elitism within the movement itself have served to obscure our participation….

Black feminist politics also have an obvious connection to movements for Black liberation, particularly those of the 1960s and 1970s…. It was our experience and disillusionment within these liberation movements, as well as experience on the periphery of the white male left, that led to the need to develop a politics that was antiracist, unlike those of white women, and antisexist, unlike those of Black and white men….

Above all else, our politics initially sprang from the shared belief that Black women are inherently valuable, that our liberation is a necessity not as an adjunct to somebody else’s but because of our need as human persons for autonomy.

Source: “The Combahee River Collective Statement,” in *Feminism in Our Time: The Essential Writings, World War II to the Present*, ed. Miriam Schneir (New York: Vintage, 1994), 177–79.

2. Criticizing Socialism

Official policy in the Soviet Union stated that socialism had brought women full equality, eliminating the need for feminism. In the 1970s, however, clusters of Russian women announced their dissatisfaction with so-called equality under socialism. Tatyana Mamonova, the editor of a collection of Russian women’s writings such as this from a railroad worker, was ultimately expelled from the USSR.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the current equality means only giving women the right to perform heavy labor…. [I]n our day the woman, still not freed from the incredible burden of the family, strains herself even harder in the service of society. The situation … is true not only in large cities but also in villages. On collective and state farms, women do the hardest and most exhausting work while the men are employed as administrators, agronomists, accountants, warehouse managers, or high-paid tractor and combine drivers. In other words, men do the work that is more interesting and more profitable and does not damage their health.

Source: Tatyana Mamonova, ed., *Women and Russia: Feminist Writings from the Soviet Union* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984), 8.

3. Policy and Patriarchy

In Italy, as in the Soviet Union, feminism had an underground quality involving mimeographed tracts and graffiti on buildings; women formed their own bookshops and published small newspapers. Others lobbied hard to get legislation on divorce and abortion changed, while in 1976, the Feminist Movement of Rome issued this article in its paper.

Patriarchal society is based on authoritarian-exploitative relationships, and its sexuality is sadomasochistic. The values of power, of the domination of man over the other [woman], are reflected in sexuality, where historically woman is given to man for his use….

The idea of woman as man's property is fundamental to her oppression and she is often the only possession that dominant men allow exploited men to keep….

In other words woman is given to the (exploited) man as compensation for his lack of possessions….

We denounce as the latest form of woman's oppression the idea of a "sexual revolution" where woman is forced to go from being one man's object to being everybody's object, and where sadomasochistic pornography in films, in magazines, in all the forms of mass media that brutalize and violate woman, is bandied about as a triumph of sexual liberty.

Source: "Male Sexuality — Perversion," *Movimento Femminista Romano* (1976), quoted in *Italian Feminist Thought: A Reader*, eds. Paola Bono and Sandra Kemp (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 68–69.

4. Feminism and Environmentalism

Environmentally aware feminists took a different approach, such as announced in this "Manifesto of the 'Green' Women." It was originally a 1975 speech made in West Germany in the context of the moon landing and other accomplishments in space.

Man has actually landed on the moon — an admirable feat…. We "Green" women … believe that men belong to our environment. In order to rescue that environment for our children, we want to confront this man, this adventurer and moon explorer. A female cosmonaut from a so-called socialist republic doesn't justify this energy- wasting enterprise for us at a time when three-fourths of the earth's population is suffering from malnutrition.

Our inability to solve immediate problems may tempt us into escape — to the moon, into careerism, escape into ideologies, into alcohol or other drugs. But one group cannot escape completely: women, society's potential mothers, who must give birth to children, willingly or unwillingly, in this polluted world of ours.

Source: Delphine Brox-Brochot, "Manifesto of the 'Green' Women," in *German Feminism: Readings in Politics and Literature*, eds. Edith Hoshino Altbach et al. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 314.

5. Comparing the Situation of European and African Women

In an age when communications technology was bringing greater knowledge of conditions around the world, there were more frequent comparisons of situations faced by Western women with those faced by women in distant regions. The Malian politician Awa Thiam offered such an analysis *in her* Speak Out, Black Sisters *(1986).*

In any European country, when a husband goes in for that form of semi-condoned polygamy that consists of taking a mistress — or several — the wife can have recourse to the law by instituting action for divorce, or at least obtain support for better treatment from him. Such a course of action is not possible for a Muslim woman, who grows up in a system of institutionalized polygamy, where this is not permitted. What is more, such action would appear aberrant in a Black African context, in which marriage is generally religious, not civil. And this is the main basis for our claim that the Black woman's struggle is of a different nature from that of her White sister. The majority of European women do not lack essentials, whereas Black women are fighting for survival as much in the field of institutions as in the manner of her daily existence.

Source: Awa Thiam, *Speak Out, Black Sisters: Feminism and Oppression in Black Africa*, quoted in *Daughters of Africa: An International Anthology of Words and Writings by Women of African Descent from Ancient Egypt to the Present*, ed. Margaret Busby (New York: Ballantine Books, 1994), 477–78.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. What was the relationship between ideas within the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s and the thinking of other reform movements of the day?
2. In what ways was feminism in these decades a unified movement in terms of its thinking, and in what ways was it a set of multiple movements?
3. What issues do these activists raise?
4. What possibilities for consensus do you see in the differing positions?

1968: Year of Crisis

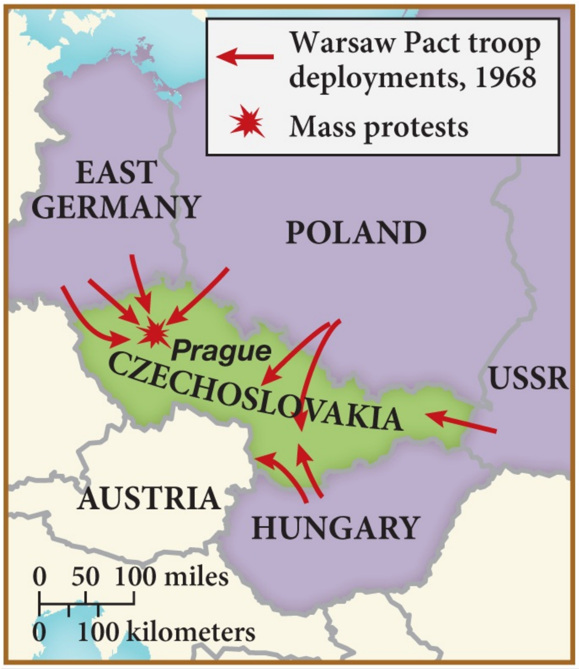
Calls for reform finally boiled over in 1968. In January, on the first day of Tet, the Vietnamese New Year, the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese attacked more than one hundred South Vietnamese towns and American bases, inflicting heavy casualties and fueling the antiwar movement around the world. On April 4, 1968, a white racist assassinated civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. Riots erupted in more than a hundred cities in the United States as African Americans vented their anguish and rage. Rejecting King's policy of nonviolence, they rampaged through grim inner cities, chanting "Burn, baby, burn."

Clashes over the intertwined issues of war, technology, racism, and sexism spread worldwide — most dramatically in France. In January, the mostly middle-class students at the university in Nanterre, outside of Paris, had gone on strike, invading administration offices to protest what they saw as a second-rate education. They called themselves a proletariat — an exploited working class — as worker activists had done for more than a century. They did not embrace Soviet communism but rather considered themselves part of the New Left, not the old Communist or Socialist left.

When students at the prestigious Sorbonne in Paris also took to the streets in protest, police assaulted them. Some nine million French workers joined in by going on strike, occupying factories, and calling for higher wages and a role in everyday decision making. The combined revolt of youth and workers seemed to threaten another French revolution. President Charles de Gaulle sent tanks into Paris, and in June he announced a raise for workers. Many citizens, having grown tired of the street violence, the destruction of so much private property, and the breakdown of services such as garbage collection, began to sympathize with the government instead of the students. The revolutionary moment passed.

By contrast, the 1968 revolt in Prague began within the Czechoslovak

Communist Party itself. At a party congress in the autumn of 1967, Alexander Dubček, head of the Slovak branch of the party, had called for more openness, striking a chord among frustrated party officials, technocrats, and intellectuals. Czech citizens began to dream of "socialism with a human face." Reform-minded party delegates elevated Dubček to the top position, and he quickly changed the Communist style of government by ending censorship, instituting the secret ballot for party elections, and allowing competing political groups to form. "Look!" one little girl in the street remarked as the new government took power. "Everyone's smiling today." During this "Prague Spring" people bought uncensored publications, packed uncensored theater performances, and engaged in nonstop political debate.



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Prague Spring, 1968

Dubček faced the enormous problem of negotiating policies acceptable to both the USSR and reform-minded citizens. Fearing change, the Polish, East German, and Soviet regimes threatened the reform government daily. When Dubček failed to attend a meeting of Warsaw Pact leaders, Soviet threats intensified until finally, in August 1968, Soviet tanks rolled into Prague in a massive show of force. Citizens tried to halt the return to the Communist past through sabotage: they removed street signs to confuse invading troops, and merchants refused to sell them food or other commodities. The Soviet leadership gradually removed reformers from power, however. Jan Palach and other university students immolated themselves the following January, as governments around the world worked to stamp out criticism of the cold war order.

The protests of 1968 challenged the political direction of Western societies, but little turned out the way reformers hoped as governments adopted conservative solutions. In November 1968, the Soviets announced the Brezhnev Doctrine, which stated that reform movements would face swift repression. In the early 1970s, the hard-liner Brezhnev clamped down on critics, underming dissident morale in the USSR. "The shock of our tanks crushing the Prague Spring … convinced us that the Soviet colossus was invincible," explained one pessimistic liberal. In 1974, Brezhnev expelled author Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn from the USSR after the publication of the first volume of *The Gulag Archipelago* (1973–1976) in the U.S.-led bloc. Solzhenitsyn documented the story of the Gulag (the Soviet system of internment and forced-labor camps) with firsthand reports about the deadly conditions prisoners endured. More than any other single work, *The Gulag Archipelago* shattered the loyalty of many Communists across the globe.

The USSR and other Communist countries used both persecution of ordinary citizens and the "soft" power of the new medium of television to reestablish order. Soviet psychologists, working with the government, certified the "mental illness" of people who did not play by the rules; thus, dissidents wound up as virtual prisoners in mental institutions. In a revival of tsarist Russia's anti-Semitism, Jews faced educational restrictions (especially in university admissions) and severe job discrimination. Soviet officials commonly accused Jews of being "unreliable." In Czechoslovakia, where by 1970, some 80 percent of households had TV, government writers created a new batch of soap operas featuring heroines who taught their families to replace activism in the public sphere with the contentment of private life. Heroes selflessly traveled to the West for their jobs, only to return disillusioned by its faults.

Despite these efforts, the brain drain of eastern European intellectuals to the West increased into the 1970s and beyond. The modernist composer György Ligeti had left Hungary in 1956, after which his work was celebrated in concert halls and in such classic films as *2001: A Space Odyssey*. From exile in Paris, Czech writer Milan Kundera enthralled audiences with *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* (1979) and *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* (1984). Kundera claimed that the Soviet regime in Czechoslovakia depended on making people forget. The memory of fallen leaders was ruthlessly erased from history books, for instance, and individuals tried to block out grim reality by engaging in lots of sexual activity. Like the migrants from fascist Germany and Italy in the 1930s, newcomers — from noted intellectuals to skilled craftspeople and dancers — enriched the culture of those countries that welcomed them.

In the United States, the reaction against activists was different, though restoring order ultimately succeeded there, too. Elected in 1968, President **Richard Nixon** (1913–1994) promised to bring peace to Southeast Asia, but in 1970, he ordered U.S. troops to invade Cambodia, the site of North Vietnamese bases. Campuses erupted again in protest, and on May 4, the National Guard killed four students and wounded eleven others at a demonstration at Kent State University in Ohio. Nixon called the victims “bums.” Reacting against the counterculture, many Americans agreed with one citizen who declared that the guardsmen “should have fired sooner and longer.” In 1975, a determined North Vietnamese offensive defeated South Vietnam and its U.S. allies and forcibly reunified the country. Public opinion was turning against activists, born of the sense that somehow they — not the war, government corruption, or the huge war debt — had brought down the United States. Both superpowers were being tested.

REVIEW QUESTION

What were the main issues for protesters in the 1960s, and how did governments address them?

The Testing of Superpower Domination and the End of the Cold War

Protesters like Jan Palach left a lasting legacy that fortified those seeking political change, particularly in the Soviet bloc. As order was restored, some disillusioned reformers in the West turned to open terrorism, while television began broadcasting the events round the clock. New forces also emerged from beyond Europe and the United States to challenge superpower dominance. Internal corruption, competition from the oil-producing states, and the pursuit of warfare beyond their borders allowed reform-minded heads of state to come to the fore. The two most famous innovators were Margaret Thatcher in Britain and Mikhail Gorbachev in the USSR, both of whom introduced drastic new policies in the 1980s to keep their economies moving forward. In the Soviet bloc, however, updating the old system actually contributed to its collapse and thus to the end of the cold war in 1989.

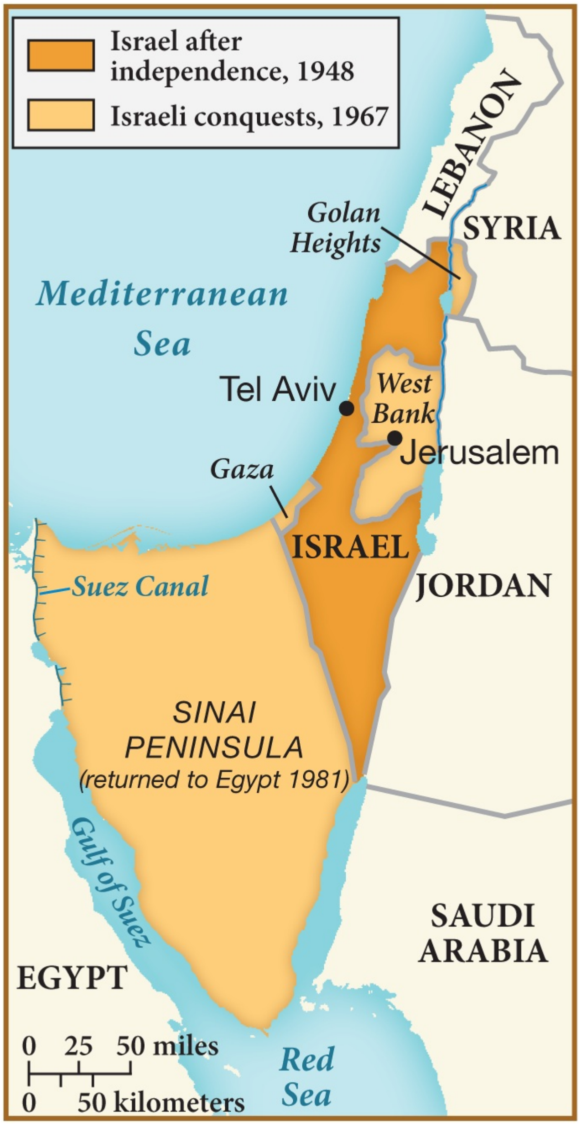
A Changing Balance of World Power

Tested by protest at home, the superpowers faced a changing balance in world power. In the midst of turmoil, Henry Kissinger, Nixon's secretary of state and a believer — like Otto von Bismarck — in Realpolitik, decided to take advantage of the ongoing rivalry between the USSR and China. After the Communist Revolution in 1949, Mao Zedong, China's new leader, undertook experiments in both manufacturing and agriculture that caused famine and massive suffering. Amid growing internal problems, the two Communist giants skirmished along shared Sino-Soviet borders and in diplomatic arenas. In 1972, President Nixon visited China, linking two very different great nations. Within China, Nixon's visit, facilitated by Kissinger, helped slow the brutality of Mao's regime, while advancing the careers of Chinese pragmatists. Seeking technological growth and relations with the West, they began laying the groundwork for China's boom thereafter.

The diplomatic spectacle of the visit led the Soviets to make their own overtures to the U.S.-led bloc, beginning a process known as détente (a relaxation of tensions). In 1972, the superpowers signed the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I), which set a cap on the number of antimissile defenses each country could have. In 1975, in the Helsinki accords on human rights, the western bloc officially acknowledged Soviet territorial gains in World War II in exchange for the Soviet bloc's guarantee of basic human rights.

Despite these successes, the war in Vietnam left the United States billions of dollars in debt to other countries and the international currency system in collapse. The resulting global economic chaos unified Common Market countries to force the United States to relinquish its claim to direct Western economic strategy. Simultaneously it was revealed that Nixon's office had attacked the U.S. system of free elections by authorizing the burglary and wiretapping of Democratic Party headquarters at Washington's Watergate building during the 1972 presidential campaign. Leading members of Congress forced Nixon to resign in the summer of 1974. Nixon's disgrace was a further blow to U.S. superpower status in the 1960s and 1970s.

The Middle East's oil-producing nations dealt Western dominance still another setback. Tensions between Israel and the Arab world provided the catalyst. In 1967, Israeli forces, responding to Palestinian guerrilla attacks, quickly seized Gaza and the Sinai peninsula from Egypt, the Golan Heights from Syria, and the West Bank from Jordan. The "Six-Day War" was followed in 1973 by a joint Egyptian and Syrian attack on Israel on Yom Kippur, the most holy day in the Jewish calendar. Israel, with material assistance from the United States, stopped the assault.



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Israel after the Six-Day War, 1967

Arab nations in the **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)** combined to quadruple the price of their oil and impose an embargo, cutting off all exports of oil to the United States and its allies because they had backed Israel. For the first time since imperialism's heyday, the producers of raw materials — not the industrial powers — controlled the flow of commodities and set prices to benefit themselves — not Western nations (Figure 28.1). As a result, unemployment rose by more than 50 percent in Europe and the United States and inflation soared. By the end of 1973, the inflation rate jumped to over 12 percent in France and 20 percent in Portugal. Eastern-bloc countries, dependent on Soviet oil, fared little better because the Soviets boosted the price of their own oil. Industrial investment and consumer buying fell. Rising prices, unemployment, and declining commercial activity created an unusual combination of economic conditions called **stagflation**.

Western Europe drastically cut back on its oil dependence by undertaking conservation, enhancing public transportation, and raising the price of gasoline to encourage the development of fuel-efficient cars.

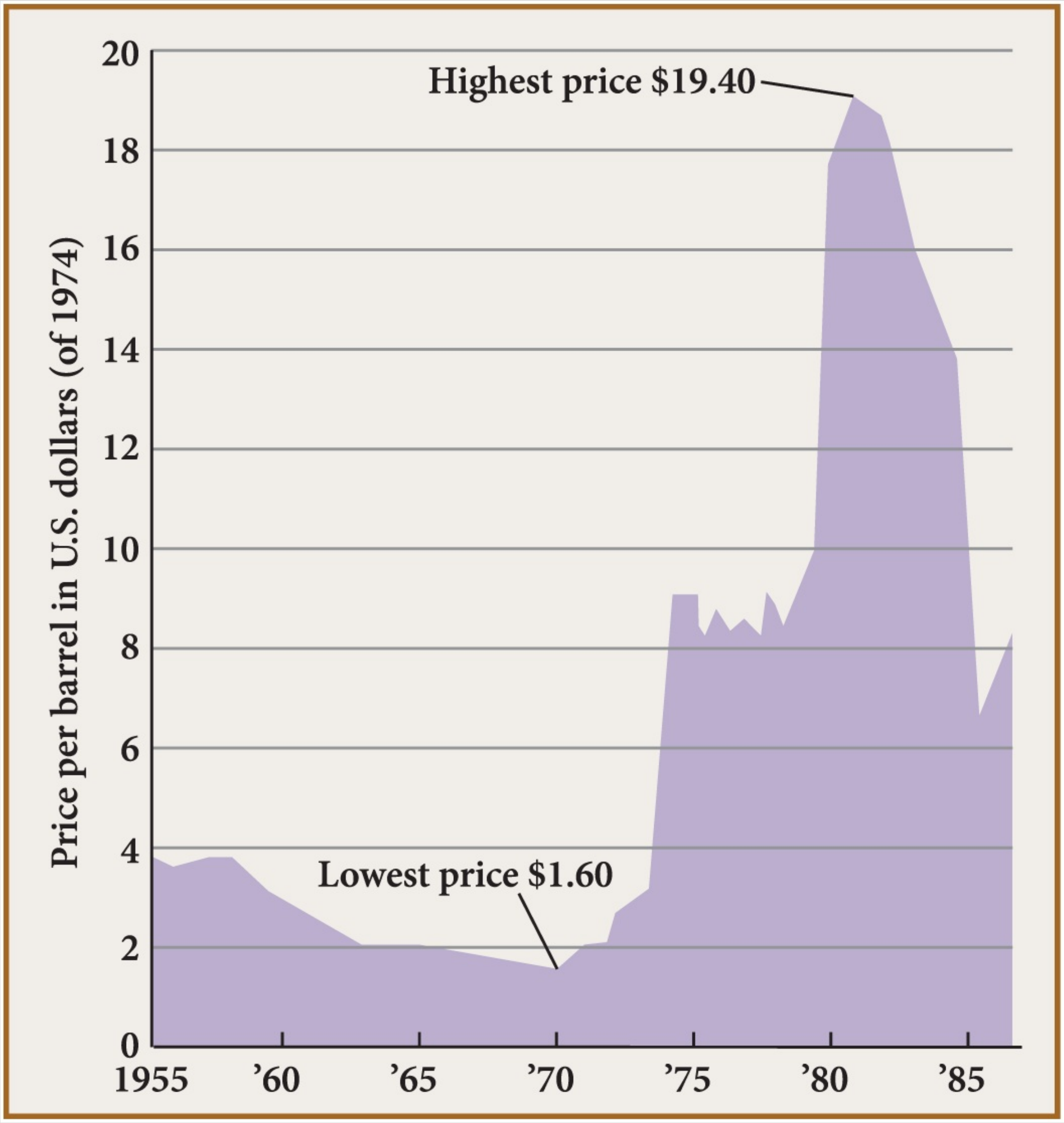

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FIGURE 28.1 Fluctuating Oil Prices, 1955–1985

Colonization allowed the Western imperial powers to obtain raw materials at advantageous prices or even without paying at all. OPEC’s oil embargo and price hikes of the 1970s were signs of change, which included the exercise of decolonized countries’ control over their own resources. OPEC’s action led to a decade of painful economic downturn, but it also encouraged some European governments to improve public transportation, support the production of fuel-efficient cars, and make individual consumers cut back their dependence on oil.

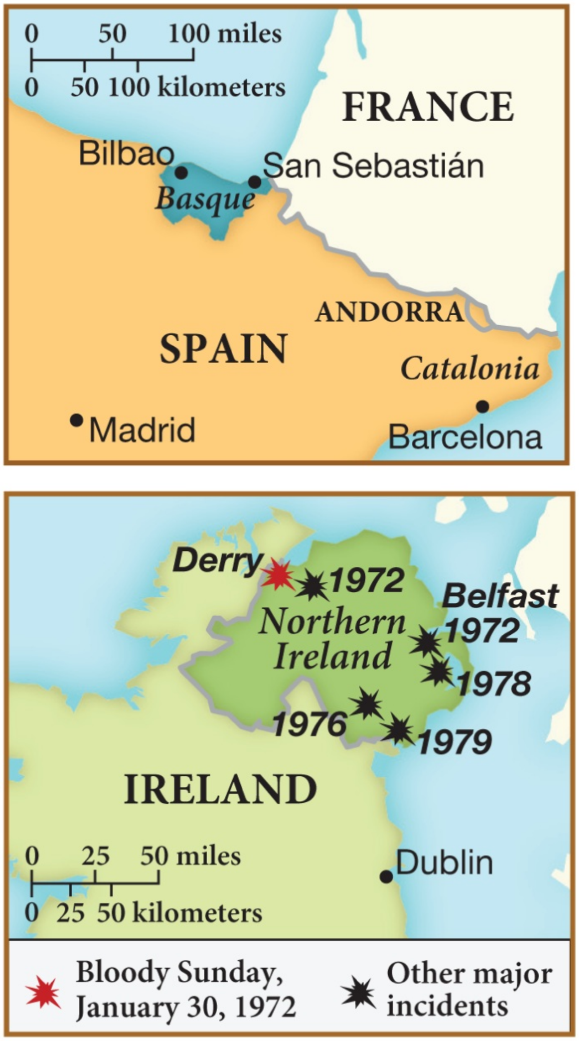
The U.S. bloc took further blows. In the late 1970s, students, clerics, shopkeepers, and unemployed men in Iran began an uprising that brought to power the Islamic ayatollah (a Shiʻite religious leader) Ruhollah Khomeini (1902–1989). Using new audiocassette technology to spread his message, Khomeini called for a transformation of Iran into a truly Islamic society, which meant rejecting Western ways advocated by the American-backed shah, who was overthrown. In the autumn of 1979, supporters of Khomeini took hostages at the U.S. embassy in Teheran, as images of the captives' stricken faces were sent around the globe via satellites. The United States was essentially paralyzed in the face of Islamic militancy, further OPEC price hikes, and a downwardly spiraling economy.

The Western Bloc Meets Challenges with Reform

As the 1980s opened, governments in the West began to put their economic houses in order and confront the growing phenomenon of terrorism — a trend that had actually begun in the West. In the 1970s, terrorist bands of young people in Europe responded to the suppression of activism and the worsening economic conditions with kidnappings, bank robberies, bombings, and assassinations. In West Germany, the Red Army Faction — eager to bring down the Social Democratic coalition that had led the country through the 1970s — assassinated prominent businessmen and public officials. Practiced in random shootings of pedestrians, Italy's Red Brigades kidnapped and then murdered the head of the dominant Christian Democrats in 1978. Advocates of independence for the Basque nation in northern Spain assassinated Spanish politicians and police officers.

In the 1970s, Catholics in Northern Ireland protested job discrimination and a lack of civil rights. With protest escalating, the British government sent in troops who on January 30, 1972 (which became known as Bloody Sunday), fired at demonstrators and killed thirteen, setting off a cycle of violence that left five hundred dead in that year alone. Protestants fearful of losing their dominant position combated a reinvigorated Irish Republican Army (IRA), which carried out bombings and assassinations to end the oppression of Catholics.

Terrorists failed in their goal of overturning the existing democracies, and, though battered, parliamentary government scored a few important successes in the 1970s. Spain and Portugal, suffering under dictatorships since the 1930s, set out on a course of political openness and greater prosperity. The death of Spain’s Francisco Franco in 1975 ended more than three decades of dictatorial rule. Franco’s handpicked successor, King Juan Carlos, surprisingly steered his nation to a Western-style constitutional monarchy, facing down threatened military coups to do so. Portugal and Greece also ousted right-wing dictators, thus paving the way for their countries’ integration into western Europe. Despite democratic advances, economic crisis and political terrorism weighed on the West.



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Nationalist Movements of the 1970s

More than anyone else, **Margaret Thatcher** (1925–2013), the leader of Britain's Conservative Party and prime minister from 1979 to 1990, reshaped the West's political and economic ideas to meet the crisis. Coming to power amid continuing economic decline, revolt in Northern Ireland, and labor unrest, the combative prime minister rejected the politics of consensus building. She believed that only business could revive the sluggish British economy, so she lashed out at union leaders, Labour Party politicians, and people who received welfare-state benefits, calling them enemies of British prosperity. In her view, business leaders were the key members of society. She characterized immigrants, whose low wages contributed greatly to business profits, as inferior. Under Thatcher, even workers blamed labor leaders or newcomers for Britain’s troubles.

Terry O’Neill/Iconic Images/Getty Images.

Margaret Thatcher and Her Cabinet, 1989 Margaret Thatcher, Great Britain’s conservative prime minister, launched a new conservatism in politics and economics that would sweep the world in the 1980s and 1990s. Her program aimed to pull Britain out of its economic decline by cutting taxes on wealthy people so that they could invest in growth. How would you characterize Thatcher, her cabinet of advisers, and her policies?

The policies of “Thatcherism” were based on monetarist, or supply-side, economic theory. According to monetarist theory, inflation results when government pumps money into the economy at a rate higher than the nation’s economic growth rate. Monetarists believe that the government should keep a tight rein on the money supply to prevent prices from rising rapidly. Supply-side economists maintain that the economy as a whole flourishes when businesses grow and their prosperity “trickles down” throughout society. To implement these theories, the British government cut income taxes on the wealthy as a way of encouraging investment and increased sales taxes, a burden mostly to working people, to compensate for the lost revenue. Thatcher refused to prop up “outmoded” industries such as coal mining and slashed education and health programs. Her package of economic policies came to be known as **neoliberalism** (see Terms of History on page 1063).

In the first years of Thatcher’s government, the British economy did not respond well to her shock treatment. The quality of universities, public transportation, highways, and hospitals deteriorated, and social unity fragmented as she pitted the lower classes against one another. In 1981, Black and Asian people rioted in major cities. Thatcher revived her sagging popularity with a nationalist war against Argentina in 1982 over ownership of the distant Falkland Islands off the Argentinian coast. Stagflation ultimately dissipated, and Thatcher’s program became the standard for nations challenged by stagflation and economic decline. Britain had been one of the pioneers of the welfare state, and now it pioneered in shrinking it.

In the United States, Ronald Reagan (1911–2004), who served as president between 1981 and 1989, followed Thatcher's lead in combatting the economic crisis there. Dividing U.S. citizens into the good and the bad, Reagan promoted prominent displays by the "moral majority" of Bible-based religious values and zealous patriotism. He blasted so-called spendthrift and immoral "liberals" when introducing "Reaganomics" — a program of lavish income tax cuts for the wealthy combined with massive reductions in federal spending for student loans, school lunch programs, and mass transit. Social programs, he felt, only encouraged bad Americans to be lazy. In foreign policy, Reagan rolled back détente and demanded huge military budgets to counter the Soviets. The combination of tax cuts and military expansion had pushed the federal budget deficit to $200 billion by 1986. As in Britain, inflation declined and business picked up.

Other western European leaders also limited welfare-state benefits in the face of stagflation, though without provoking social hatreds like Thatcher and Reagan. West German leader Helmut Kohl, who took power in 1982, reduced welfare spending, froze government wages, and cut corporate taxes. Unlike Thatcher, Kohl did not incite class and racial division. Such a strategy would have been particularly unwise in Germany, where terrorism on the left and on the right continued to flourish. Moreover, the legacy of Nazism loomed menacingly: for example, an unemployed German youth said of immigrant Turkish workers, “Let’s gas ’em.”

By 1981, stagflation had put more than 1.5 million people out of work in France, but the French took a different political path to deal with the economic crisis. They elected a Socialist president, François Mitterrand, who nationalized banks and certain industries and increased wages and social spending to stimulate the economy — the opposite of Thatcherism. New public buildings like museums and libraries arose along with new subway lines and improved public transport. When conservative Jacques Chirac succeeded Mitterrand as president in 1995, he adopted neoliberal policies. Racism, especially against Arab men labeled homosexuals and rapists, had soared in the 1960s and 1970s. Now, the socially divisive politics that had unfolded during hard economic times broadened, targeting more groups. From the 1980s on, the racist National Front Party won 10 percent and often more of the French vote with promises to deport African and Middle Eastern immigrants.

At the same time, smaller European states without heavy defense commitments began to thrive, some of them by slashing public programs. Spain joined the Common Market in 1986 and used Common Market investment and tourist dollars to help rebuild its sagging infrastructure, as in the southern cities of Granada and Córdoba. In Ireland, new investment in education for high-tech jobs combined with low wages attracted business to the country in the 1990s. Prosperity, along with the rising death toll from decades of violence, led to a political settlement between Ireland and Northern Ireland in 1999. Austria prospered, too, in part by reducing government pensions and aid to business.

Almost alone, Sweden maintained a full array of social programs. The government offered each immigrant a choice of subsidized housing in neighborhoods inhabited primarily by Swedes or primarily by people from the immigrant’s native land. Such programs were expensive, and Sweden dropped from fourth to fourteenth place among nations in per capita income by 1998. The Swedish welfare state came to seem extreme to many citizens, and, as elsewhere, immigrants were cast as the source of the country’s problems — past, present, and future: “How long will it be before our Swedish children will have to turn their faces toward Mecca?” ran one politician’s campaign speech in 1993.

TERMS OF HISTORY

Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is a theory that involves a set of economic practices and government policies. The theory of neoliberalism states that the capitalist market has its own rationality and truth, which generates prosperity. Any government policy or regulation that tampers with that rationality by restricting the free operation of markets does harm to overall well-being and that of individuals. In this regard, neoliberalism is critical of plans to direct funds to needy people or to guidelines to ensure that products such as food and medicine are safe. Any such programs disturb the market and even cause real harm to society as a whole.

Neoliberalism as a tenet of the modern market economy aims to strip away anything that will get in the way of economic activity. Support for education, medical care, and injuries, for example, need to be stripped away because funds are thus directed away from the market as are worker benefits provided by employers. All actions in a society and in individual lives need strictly to calculate economic benefits and harms — nothing else.

The theory of neoliberalism is said to stem from the ideas in Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations* (1776). In it, Smith discredited the policy of mercantilism because it hindered free trade; others in that century also championed a market free from the monarchical programs of the time that restricted trade in the name of building up national treasuries. Mercantilists believe that because trade often sent money away from the home country, commerce needed to be controlled, slowed down, and even taxed to discourage the outward flow of money. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century liberals disagreed, arguing that free or laissez-faire trade expanded transactions and thus national wealth. Yet Adam Smith, unlike modern neoliberals, believed that markets alone would be corrosive were they not tamed by virtue — that is, individual concern for the well-being of society as a whole.

In contrast, neoliberalism suggests that a free market is the totality of well-being and that all policies ensuring its free functioning are key to growth and overall health. The father of the idea of neoliberalism was Austrian economist Friedrich von Hayek, whose theories did not get full implementation in the 1930s because governments turned to pump priming — that is, the financing by government of infrastructure projects and of social programs such as social security. However, in the 1980s, Hayek's ideas came into their own. As policies, they backed the elimination of government financial contributions that aimed for the overall good of society and prioritized instead the undiluted flow of funds to profit-earning individuals with little subtracted for government or general well-being.

Collapse of Communism in the Soviet Bloc

Beginning in 1985, reform came to the Soviet Union as well, but instead of fortifying the economy, it helped bring about the collapse of the Soviet bloc. The need for reform was evident. In 1979, the USSR became embroiled against Islam in Afghanistan when it supported a coup by a Communist faction against the government: casualties were 800,000 for the Soviets alone and three million for the Afghans. Further, global communications technology showed Soviet citizens that another way of life was possible. Citizens could see that increasingly corrupt economic management on the local and national levels alike produced a deteriorating standard of living. The resulting shortages necessitated the three-generation household, in which grandparents took over tedious homemaking tasks from their working children and grandchildren, including waiting hours in long lines for basic commodities. “There is no special skill to this,” a seventy-three-year-old grandmother and former garbage collector remarked. “You just stand in line and wait.” One cheap and readily available product — vodka — pushed alcoholism to crisis levels, diminishing lifespans and productivity and straining the nation’s morale.

In 1985, a new leader, **Mikhail Gorbachev** (1931–), opened an era of change. The son of peasants, Gorbachev had risen through Communist Party ranks as an agricultural specialist and had traveled abroad to observe life in the West. At home, he saw the consequences of economic stagnation: in much of the USSR, ordinary people decided not to have children. The Soviet Union was forced to import massive amounts of grain because 20 to 30 percent of the grain produced in the USSR rotted before it could be harvested or shipped to market, so great was the inefficiency of the economy at all levels. Industrial pollution had reached scandalous proportions because state-run enterprises cared only about meeting production quotas. A massive and privileged party bureaucracy paid little attention to achieving socialism’s professed goal of a decent standard of living beyond what would keep them in power. To match U.S. military growth, the Soviet Union diverted 15 to 20 percent of its gross national product (more than double the U.S. proportion) to armaments, further crippling the economy’s chances of raising living standards.

Sovfoto/Universal Images Group/Shutterstock.

Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife, Raisa, gave a fresh look to Soviet politics. They traveled, made friends abroad, and were fashionable and modern. While the Gorbachevs became part of Western celebrity culture, however, average citizens back home in the USSR saw the Gorbachevs’ privileged lifestyle as simply the continuation of the Communist government’s disregard for ordinary people.

Gorbachev knew from experience and from his travels to western Europe that the Soviet system was completely inadequate, and he quickly proposed several unusual programs. A crucial economic reform, **perestroika** ("restructuring"), aimed to reinvigorate the Soviet economy by increasing investment in up-to-date technology and by gradually introducing such market features as prices and profits. The complement to economic reform was the policy of **glasnost** (usually translated as "openness" or "publicity"), which called for "wide, prompt, and frank information" and for allowing Soviet citizens new measures of free speech (see Primary Source Analysis). When officials complained that glasnost threatened their status, Gorbachev replaced more than a third of the Communist Party's leadership. The pressing need for glasnost became most evident after the Chernobyl catastrophe in 1986, when a nuclear reactor exploded and spewed radioactive dust into the atmosphere (see Environment Matters on page 1068). Bureaucratic cover-ups delayed the spread of information about the accident, with lethal consequences for people living near the plant.

After Chernobyl, Communist Party meetings suddenly included complaints about the highest leaders and their policies. Television shows adopted the outspoken methods of American investigative reporting, and instead of publishing made-up letters praising the great Soviet state, newspapers were flooded with real ones complaining of shortages and abuse. One outraged "mother of two" protested that the cost-cutting policy of reusing syringes in hospitals was a source of AIDS, the deadly disease that had recently begun to spread worldwide. "Why should little kids have to pay for the criminal actions of our Ministry of Health?" she asked. Debate and factions arose across the political spectrum. In the fall of 1987, one of Gorbachev's allies, Boris Yeltsin, quit the government after denouncing perestroika as insufficient to produce real reform. Yeltsin's political daring inspired others to organize in opposition to crumbling Communist rule. In the spring of 1989, in a remarkably free balloting in Moscow's local elections, not a single Communist was chosen.

Recognizing how severely the cold war arms race was draining Soviet resources, Gorbachev began scaling back missile production. In 1985, Reagan and Gorbachev initiated a personal relationship and began defusing the cold war. "I bet the hard-liners in both our countries are bleeding when we shake hands," said Reagan at one meeting. In early 1989, Gorbachev withdrew all Soviet forces from the debilitating war in Afghanistan, and the United States started to cut back its own vast military buildup.

Gorbachev's reforms started spiraling out of his control and dissent kept rising across the Soviet bloc. In the summer of 1980, Poles had gone on strike to protest government-increased food prices; workers at the Gdan'sk shipyards, led by electrician Lech Walesa and crane operator Anna Walentynowicz, created an independent labor movement called **Solidarity**. The organization soon embraced much of the adult population, including a million members of the Communist Party. Both intellectuals and the Catholic church, long in the forefront of opposition to antireligious communism, supported Solidarity workers as they occupied factories in protest against the deteriorating conditions of everyday life. The members of Solidarity waved Polish flags and paraded giant portraits of the Virgin Mary and Pope John Paul II — a Polish native.

Global media coverage encouraged Solidarity leaders. As food became scarce and prices rose, tens of thousands of women joined in with marches, crying “We’re hungry!” They also protested working conditions, but as both workers and the caretakers of home life, it was the scarcity of food that sent them into the streets. The Communist Party teetered on the edge of collapse, until the police and the army, with Soviet support, imposed a military government and in the winter of 1981 outlawed Solidarity. Using world communications networks, dissidents kept Solidarity alive and workers kept meeting, creating a new culture outside the official Soviet arts and newscasts. Poets read dissident verse to overflow crowds, and university professors lectured on such forbidden topics as Polish resistance in World War II. Activism in Poland and the news about it set the stage for communism’s downfall across the Soviet bloc.

The year 1989 saw uprisings around the world — in Chile, the Philippines, Haiti, South Africa, and China, for example. The global Cable News Network (CNN), established in 1980, linked many individual movements for democratic change through its twenty-four-hour coverage of world events. Inspired by Gorbachev’s visit to Beijing, in the spring of 1989 thousands of Chinese students massed in the city’s Tiananmen Square, the world’s largest public square, to demand democracy. They used telex machines and e-mail to rush their messages to the international community, and they conveyed their goals through the cameras that Western television, broadcasting via satellite, trained on them. As workers began joining the pro-democracy forces, the government crushed the movement and executed unknown numbers of rebels.

News of the protests in Tiananmen Square fortified resistance in eastern Europe. In June 1989, the Polish government, lacking Soviet support for its bungling and repression, held free parliamentary elections. Solidarity candidates overwhelmingly defeated the Communists, and Walesa became president in early 1990. Gorbachev reversed the Brezhnev Doctrine, refusing to interfere in the political course of another nation. With that, the fall of communism repeated itself across the Soviet bloc.

Communism next collapsed in Hungary, in part because Hungarians, too, had experimented with "market socialism" since the 1960s. Hungarian citizens were already protesting, lobbying, for example, against ecologically unsound government projects like the construction of a new dam. They encouraged boycotts of Communist holidays, and on March 15, 1989, they boldly commemorated the anniversary of the Hungarian uprising. In the fall of 1989, the parliament dismissed the Communist Party as the official ruling institution.

In the summer of 1989, crowds of East Germans flooded their country's borders to escape the crumbling Soviet bloc, and hundreds of thousands of protesters rallied throughout the fall against the regime. Satellite television had brought them visions of prosperity and of open public debate in West Germany. East German churches had held peace demonstrations for years; punk rockers, sporting Western grunge, were often shielded by these same churches. Crowds of demonstrators greeted Gorbachev, taken as a hero by many, when he visited the country in October 1989. On November 9, guards at the Berlin Wall allowed free passage to the west, letting East Berliners see firsthand the goods available in a successful postindustrial society. Soon thereafter, citizens — east and west — released years of frustration by assaulting the Berlin Wall with sledgehammers. A year later the two cold war German states reunified into a single nation.

Bildarchiv - ullstein bild/Granger, NYC – All Rights Reserved.

November 1989: East Germany Meets West Germany The fall of the Berlin Wall and the “iron curtain” separating the Soviet Union from the western bloc was a joyous occasion across Europe, but nowhere more so than in Germany. Divided from one another into two countries after World War II, Germans would find that reunification was a problem, initially bringing unemployment and social dislocation. In November 1989, however, West Germans lined up to welcome their fellow citizens traveling from the east to see what life was like beyond the Soviet sphere.

In Czechoslovakia people also watched televised news of glasnost expectantly and resisted. Dissidents had long maintained their critique of Communist rule. In an open letter to the Czechoslovak Communist Party leadership, playwright Václav Havel accused Marxist-Leninist rule of making people materialistic and indifferent to public life. In 1977, Havel, along with fellow intellectuals and workers, signed Charter 77, a public protest against the regime that resulted in the arrest of the signers. Watching Gorbachev call for free speech on television, protesters clamored for democracy, but the government kept making arrests, especially when activists in January 1989 commemorated the death of Jan Palach. In November 1989, responding to police beatings of students, Alexander Dubček, leader of the Prague Spring of 1968, called on crowds in Prague’s Wenceslas Square to oust the Stalinists. Almost immediately, the Communist leadership resigned. Capping what became known as the “velvet revolution” for its lack of bloodshed, the formerly Communist-dominated parliament elevated Havel to the presidency.

From the mid-1960s on, Nicolae Ceauşescu had ruled Romania as the harshest dictator in Communist Europe since Stalin. In the name of modernization, he destroyed whole villages; to build up the population, he outlawed contraceptives and abortions, a restriction that led to the abandonment of tens of thousands of children. He preached the virtues of a very slim body so that he could cut rations and use the savings to buy private castles and to build himself an enormous palace in Bucharest. He crushed opponents of the gaudy project to make it appear popular. Yet in early December 1989, workers and the army turned on Ceauşescu’s dictatorship. On Christmas Day, viewers watched on television as the dictator and his wife were tried by a military court and then executed. For many, the death of Ceauşescu meant that the very worst of communism was over.

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

A Citizen's Experience of Gorbachev's Reforms

Some people — especially in the U.S. bloc — interpreted Gorbachev's reforms as noble and enlightened, opening the way to free markets and free speech. In particular, the policy of glasnost led to lively television programming and newspaper investigations. In 1987, the weekly Ogonyok, *whose name means "A Small Fire," began publishing letters to the editor from actual readers. Before that, most letters to newspapers and magazines in the Soviet Union had been written by editors to tow the proper political line. The feature became so popular that within two years the magazine was receiving as many as 150,000 letters a year covering every situation imaginable — from corruption to waiting in line, from privileges given to officials to the shortcomings of Gorbachev's reforms themselves. Presented here is a letter from a schoolteacher writing in 1988 about her own experience of glasnost.*

As a member of the "Knowledge" Society and a deputy to the local soviet, I was asked to prepare a speech for the evening in honor of the Seventieth Anniversary of the October Revolution. I studied M. S. Gorbachev's speech, "The October Revolution and *Perestroika*: The Revolution Continues," thoroughly and collected material about exemplary production workers in our village. In my speech I pointed out not only the successes, but also the shortcomings of our village, district and school. I gave the speech on November 6, and a week later I was called into the Executive Committee of the village society. I was accused of being apolitical [disloyal] and told that I would not be allowed onto the podium … because I was airing dirty linen in public.

… [A]fter a rebuke like that I have lost my desire to tell the truth, especially since the Party organization of the Cheremkhovsky collective farm and the chairman of the village soviet have suffered because of me. They were both reprimanded for not checking my speech, and for letting me onto the podium. Apparently, *glasnost* and *perestroika* have not reached us yet.

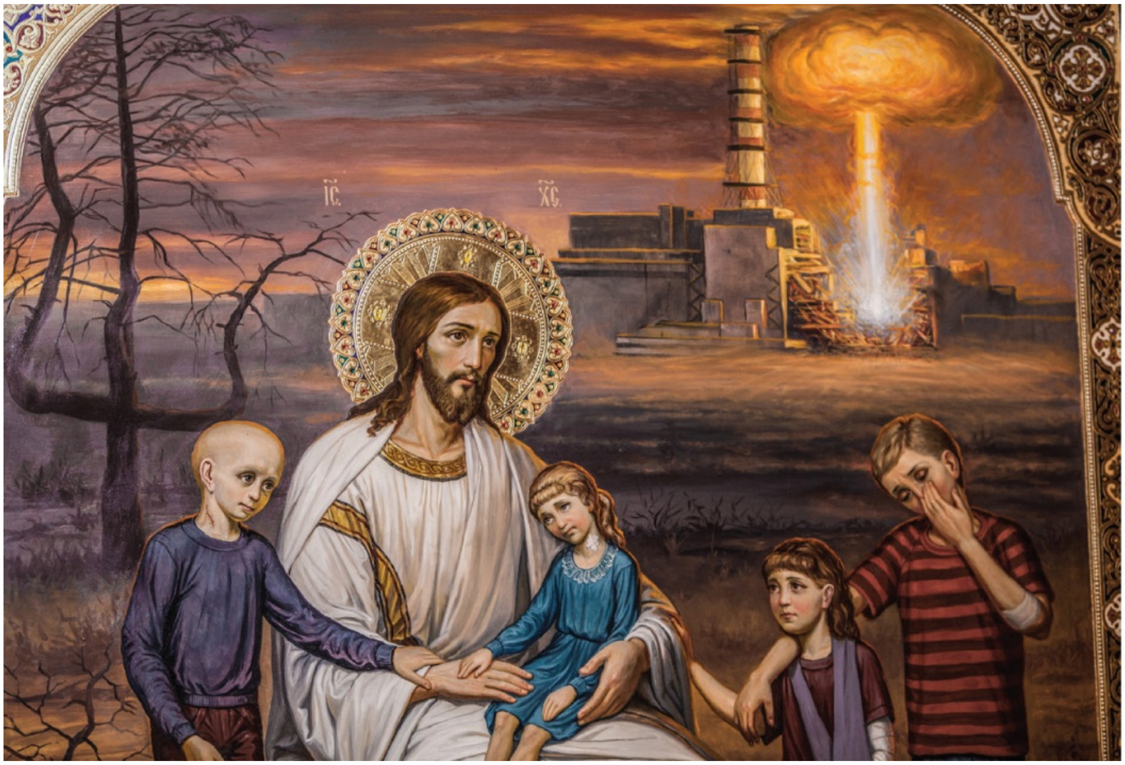
Source: Letter of Z. I. Kupriyanova, January 1988, in *Small Fires: Letters from the Soviet People to* Ogonyok *Magazine 1987–1990*, ed. Christopher Cerf and Marina Albee (New York: Summit Books, 1990), 60.

QUESTION TO CONSIDER

What aspects of Gorbachev’s policy does the speaker address in her letter, and what is the letter’s tone?

ENVIRONMENT MATTERS

Chernobyl



NurPhoto/Getty Images

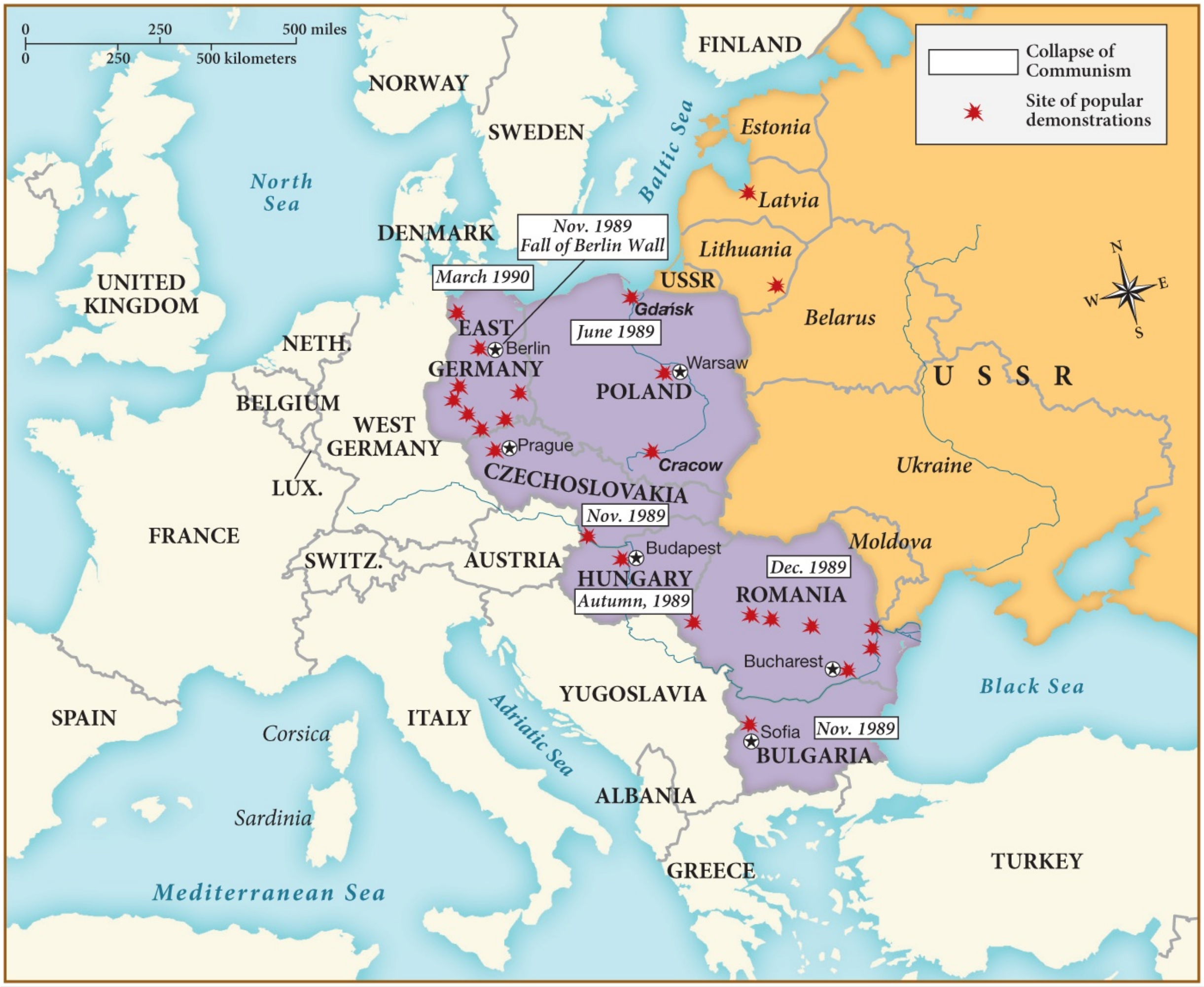
After the disaster at Chernobyl, the Communist government built the town of Slavutich. It was near enough to the site that workers could live there supposedly in safety from radiation but at the same time travel back and forth to dismantle the worst of the destruction and continue monitoring conditions. Citizens were moved to this new town and provided with amenities such as good housing; Slavutich also included this church filled with commemorative and spiritual paintings. The church was just one of the many memorials to the suffering and death of citizens in the region due to the explosion at Chernobyl, causing tourism to grow up in later years.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. What elements in this image direct the viewer to think of Chernobyl?
2. What emotions, reflections, and judgments do you think the painting aroused in viewers? What emotions, reflections, and judgments do you think officials hoped for in the building of the town and the sponsorship of such images?

REVIEW QUESTION

How and why did the balance of world power change during the 1980s?



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAPPING THE WEST

The Collapse of Communism in Europe, 1989–1990

The 1989 overthrow of the Communist Party in the USSR satellite countries of eastern Europe occurred with surprising rapidity. The transformation began when Polish voters tossed out Communist Party leaders in June 1989, and then accelerated in September when thousands of East Germans fled to Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Between October and December, Communist regimes were replaced in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania. Within three years, the Baltic states would declare their independence, the USSR itself would dissolve, and the breakup of Yugoslavia would lead to war in the Balkans.

Analyzing the Map: What characteristics of the fall of communism can one chart from the map?

Making Connections: Connect the map to the conduct and outcomes of World Wars I and II.

Conclusion

The collapse of communism in the Soviet satellites surprised the world, for U.S.-bloc analysts had reported throughout the 1980s that the Soviet empire was a growing menace in dangerously robust health. Yet no one should have been unaware of dissent or economic discontent. Since the 1960s, rebellious youth, ethnic and racial minorities, and women had all been condemning conditions across the West, along with criticizing the threat posed by the cold war. By the early 1980s, wars in Vietnam and Afghanistan, protests against scarcity in the Soviet bloc, the power of oil-producing states, and the growing political force of Islam had cost the superpowers their resources and reputations. Margaret Thatcher in Britain and Ronald Reagan in the United States tried to put their postindustrial and cold war houses in order. Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of glasnost and perestroika in the Soviet Union — aimed at political and economic improvements — brought on collapse.

Glasnost and perestroika were supposed to yield high levels of prosperity and moral rejuvenation. Across the West, including the USSR, an unprecedented set of technological developments had transformed businesses, space exploration, and the functioning of government. Technological advances also had an enormous impact on everyday life. Work changed as society reached a stage called postindustrial, in which the service sector predominated. New patterns of family life, new relationships among the generations, and revised standards for sexual behavior also characterized these years. In the United States and western Europe, the benefits of postindustrialization reached a large percentage of ordinary people, with many excluded however. The attainment of a high-tech society demanded levels of coordination and cooperation unattainable in the Soviet bloc.

Many complained, nonetheless, about the dramatic changes resulting from postindustrial development. The protesters of the late 1960s addressed postindustrial society’s concentrations of bureaucratic and industrial power (often enabled by technology), racial and gender inequality, corruption, and environmental degradation. In the Soviet sphere, protests were continuous but little heeded until the collapse of Soviet domination of eastern Europe in 1989. Soon communism would be overturned in the USSR itself. However, an era of painful adjustment opened for hundreds of millions of people across the region. Amid this rapid change was the growing awareness — via technology’s instantaneous coverage of events across the globe — that the world’s peoples were more tightly connected than ever before.

Chapter 28 Review

Key Terms and People

Be sure you can identify the term or person and explain its historical significance.

DNA
in vitro fertilization
multinational corporation
pop art
Ostpolitik
samizdat
Civil Rights Act
Richard Nixon
Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)
stagflation
Margaret Thatcher
neoliberalism
Mikhail Gorbachev
perestroika
glasnost
Solidarity

Review Questions

1. What were the technological and scientific advances of the 1960s and 1970s, and how did they change human life and society?
2. How did Western society and culture change in the postindustrial age?
3. What were the main issues for protesters in the 1960s, and how did governments address them?
4. How and why did the balance of world power change during the 1980s?

Making Connections

1. What were the differences between industrial society of the late nineteenth century and postindustrial society of the late twentieth century?
2. Why were there so many protests, acts of terrorism, and uprisings across the West in the decades between 1960 and 1990?
3. What have been the long-term consequences of Communist rule in the Soviet bloc between 1917 and 1989?
4. How did technology shape politics over the course of the twentieth century?

Important Events

1963	Betty Friedan publishes *The Feminine Mystique*
1966	Willy Brandt becomes West German foreign minister and develops Ostpolitik
1967	First successful human heart transplant
1968	Revolution in Czechoslovakia; student uprisings throughout Europe and the United States
1969	U.S. astronauts walk on the moon’s surface
1972	SALT I between the United States and Soviet Union
1973	End of Vietnam War; OPEC raises price of oil and imposes oil embargo on the West
1973–1976	Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn publishes *The Gulag Archipelago*
1978	The first test-tube baby is born in England
1978–1979	Islamic revolution in Iran; hostages are taken at U.S. embassy in Teheran
1980	Solidarity organizes resistance to Polish communism; British prime minister Margaret Thatcher begins downsizing the welfare state
1981	Ronald Reagan becomes U.S. president
1985	Mikhail Gorbachev becomes Soviet premier
1986	Explosion at Chernobyl nuclear plant; Spain joins the Common Market
1989	Chinese students revolt in Tiananmen Square; Communist governments are ousted in eastern Europe; Berlin Wall is demolished

Consider three events

Betty Friedan publishes *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn publishes *The Gulag Archipelago* (1973–1976), and British prime minister Margaret Thatcher begins downsizing the welfare state (1980). How can all of these be considered responses to postindustrial society?

Suggested References

The history-changing events of the 1960s to 1989 ran the gamut from life-changing technology to dramatic political upheavals — all of them chronicled in the following innovative books. The story of television in post-uprising Czechoslovakia illustrates that even dictatorships used this new technology to “soften” their control. Biographies for this period are especially informative.

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[i]Freedman, Estelle B. *The Essential Feminist Reader*. 2007.

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[i] Primary source.

CHAPTER 29

A New Globalism

1989 TO THE PRESENT

Guillaume Souvant/AFP/Getty Images.

Global Citizens Nadia Mladjao was born in France to parents from the island nation of Comoros, off the coast of Africa. Athletic as a teen, she became a model and then a top singer of pop, folk, blues, and soul music. She took as her professional name Imany, which means “faith” in Arabic and thus highlights not only her values but her complex identity and, in fact, that of most of the West. This photo shows Imany performing in 2016 at a music festival in Cognac, France.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

Collapse of the Soviet Union and Its Aftermath

What were the major issues facing the former Soviet bloc in the 1990s and early 2000s?

The Nation-State in a Global Age

What trends suggest that the nation-state was a contested institution at the beginning of the twenty-first century?

An Interconnected World's Challenges

What were the principal challenges facing the West at the beginning of the twenty- first century?

Global Culture and Society in the Twenty-First Century

What social and cultural questions has globalization raised?

Thérèse is a Congolese immigrant to France who arrived in Paris in the late 1970s with the help of a brother who worked for an airline. Thérèse had been well known in Africa as the teenage girlfriend of pop singer Bozi Boziana, who wrote a hit song about her. Congo's political instability had made her search for safety in Paris, however. Once there, Thérèse remained famous among African immigrants because she ran *nganda*, or informal bars, for them. Like Thérèse, the immigrants who frequent her nganda are often Congolese and other Africans who have settled in Paris, many of them illegally. They flock to her nganda because they like her stylish dress, the African food she cooks, the African music she plays, and the African products she sells. As landlords raise rents on her flourishing small bars and eateries, Thérèse keeps business going by moving her faithful clientele around her Paris neighborhood from basement to shop front to spare room. Thérèse is a new global citizen, counting on networks back home for supplies, constantly on the move because she lives on the margins of legality and always striving to make a good living.

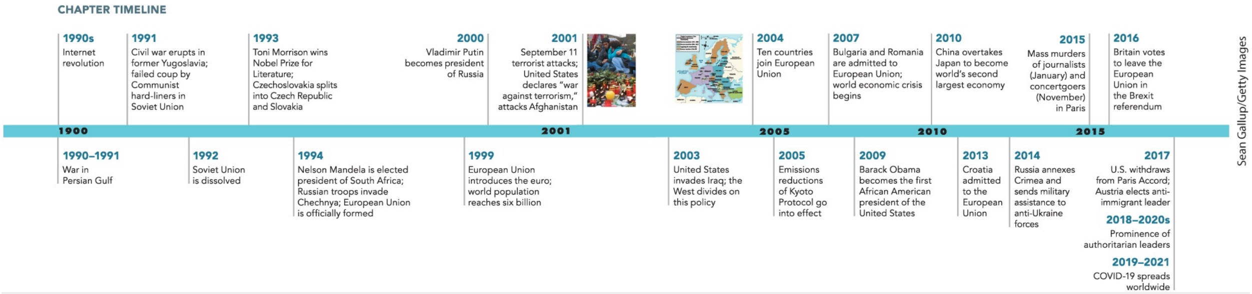
Thérèse's story is just one example of the ways in which people in the post–cold war world crossed national boundaries while maintaining crucial ties around the globe. The end of the cold war rivalry between the superpowers paved the way for a more intimately connected world but one still facing dangers. In the 1990s, globalization advanced further with the dramatic collapse of communism in Yugoslavia and then of the Soviet Union itself. The world was no longer divided in two by heavily guarded borders and hostile cold war propaganda, allowing nations and individuals more opportunity to trade and interact freely. The Common Market transformed itself into the European Union, which from 2004 on admitted many states from the former Soviet bloc. The telecommunication systems put in place in the 1960s evolved further and advanced **globalization** (see Terms of History on page 1080), binding peoples and cultures together in an ever more complicated social and economic web. The World Wide Web and its thriving social networking at first united people and then came to fire up hatreds against one another, including against their fellow citizens.

The global age created an expanding global marketplace of popular music, books, films, and television shows. On the negative side, the new globalization brought lethal disasters such as horrific epidemic diseases, environmental deterioration, genocide, and terrorism. Another aftereffect was a torrent of desperate migrants. The rising economic power of Asia and Latin America, advancing efficiencies, and the global spread of disease often destroyed jobs. Millions of workers in this interlinked economy discovered that the global age delivered both opportunities and rising insecurities.

The end of superpower rivalry resulted in the early dominance of a single power, the United States, in world affairs, but soon European states — as well as a new Russia and China — resisted, albeit in different ways. New forces, including the economic power of non-Western countries and the cultural might of Islam, created diverse centers of influence. Some observers predicted a huge "clash of civilizations" because of supposedly sharp differences between Western civilization and cultures beyond the West. Others, however, saw a different clash — one between a Europe reborn after decades of disastrous wars as a peace-seeking group of nations confronting an imperial United States that rejected alliances and cooperation with former partners. A resurgent Russia used globalization to complicate these scenarios.

For many individuals, globalization produced economic struggles. Beginning in 2007, the global economy collapsed, resulting in widespread hardship. U.S. recovery came first, followed by European and other economies, but hundreds of thousands of jobs permanently disappeared, calling for novel solutions. Instead of faulting labor-saving technology, the blame was often placed on legal and illegal immigrants who continued to move into Europe and the United States in search of safety and opportunity. More devastating was the viral coronavirus pandemic that began late in 2019, killing more than three million people worldwide at the time of publication and destroying the economic and personal well-being of tens of millions. The fate of Thérèse amid this uncertainty we do not know.

CHAPTER TIMELINE



1990s Internet revolution

1991 Civil war erupts in former Yugoslavia; failed coup by Communist hard-liners in Soviet Union

1993 Toni Morrison wins Nobel Prize for Literature; Czechoslovakia splits into Czech Republic and Slovakia

2000 Vladimir Putin becomes president of Russia

2001 September 11 terrorist attacks; United States declares "war against terrorism," attacks Afghanistan

2004 Ten countries join European Union

2007 Bulgaria and Romania are admitted to European Union; world economic crisis begins

2010 China overtakes Japan to become world's second largest economy

2015 Mass murders of journalists (January) and concertgoers (November) in Paris

2016 Britain votes to leave the European Union in the Brexit referendum

1990–1991 War in Persian Gulf

1992 Soviet Union is dissolved

1994 Nelson Mandela is elected president of South Africa; Russian troops invade Chechnya; European Union is officially formed

1999 European Union introduces the euro; world population reaches six billion

2003 United States invades Iraq; the West divides on this policy

2005 Emissions reductions of Kyoto Protocol go into effect

2009 Barack Obama becomes the first African American president of the United States

2013 Croatia admitted to the European Union

2014 Russia annexes Crimea and sends military assistance to anti-Ukraine forces

2017 U.S. withdraws from Paris Accord; Austria elects anti-immigrant leader

2018–2020s Prominence of authoritarian leaders

2019–2021 COVID-19 spreads worldwide

Sean Gallup/Getty Images

TERMS OF HISTORY

Globalization

Globalization refers to the worldwide connections linking peoples, economies, cultures, and politics. A globalized world today means a world without borders, in which human activities flow without — or in spite of — official restrictions. The current definition of *globalization* includes economic policies such as free trade and outsourcing of work, collective security mechanisms such as the United Nations, and environmental agreements such as the Kyoto Protocol. Flows of information, migration, disease, and fashions also make up globalization.

When globalization began is a matter of opinion. Commonly the idea is that globalization began some twenty years ago when the Internet allowed economic activity to operate more globally. The rise of economic competitors to the West is seen as a recent phenomenon. This view also holds that the fall of the Soviet Union contributed to globalization because it stopped the division of the world into two competing spheres of influence. The cold war blocked the free exchange not only of ideas but also of goods and services. It hindered cooperation in politics as well as effective activity by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and the United Nations.

Historians, however, tend to date globalization in the distant past: some put it in the fifteenth century when Europeans crossed the Atlantic and began exploiting their new connections with the Western Hemisphere. Other historians look back further, to large-scale regional exchanges:

the Indus Valley civilizations, the Hellenistic Age, the Islamic Golden Age, and the reign of the Mongol khans have all been cited as examples of globalization. In both these longer views, large-scale, high-speed exchanges are not defining factors in globalization; rather, constant dealings outside of a specific political and economic center are key.

In the broadest definition of *globalization*, the phenomenon has had mixed results for the West. Early globalization promoted enriched diets and biological diversity as plants and animals spread from the Middle East and North Africa to Europe. Goods traveled across Asia to Europe via the early Silk Road, and Christianity and Judaism were notable non-Western religions that changed European culture. Migrants from Asia and Africa also appeared in the West before European pathfinders set out on their voyages. In fact, knowledge of African gold and Asian riches inspired those voyages in the first place. On the negative side, groups of Asian nomads often wreaked havoc on European centers, and Europeans later brought devastation to them. Plagues also traveled these routes before the age of Columbus, devastating populations in and beyond Europe, and today once again killing the world’s peoples.

Globalization even in ancient times included attempts to see the world as a whole. From the ancient Hellenic author Polybius, who traveled the Mediterranean, to the English scholar Arnold Toynbee, historians have tried to write universal history and to rise above the parochial, local, and temporary with the goal of viewing humanity altogether. The end of the cold war provided the most recent incentive to achieve a universal perspective. For some thinkers, the search for a broader view seems part of a new millennium aiming toward cosmopolitanism, as expressed in the slogan “Think globally, act locally.” Globalization is founded on the condition of plural and often conflicting values, aims, and outcomes. Whether in debates over outsourcing, migration, or the role of the World Bank, globalization means complexity, contradictions, and a willingness to deal with the advantages and disadvantages of relationships at a great distance. It is a difficult concept, but one that appears permanently to be with us.

CHAPTER FOCUS

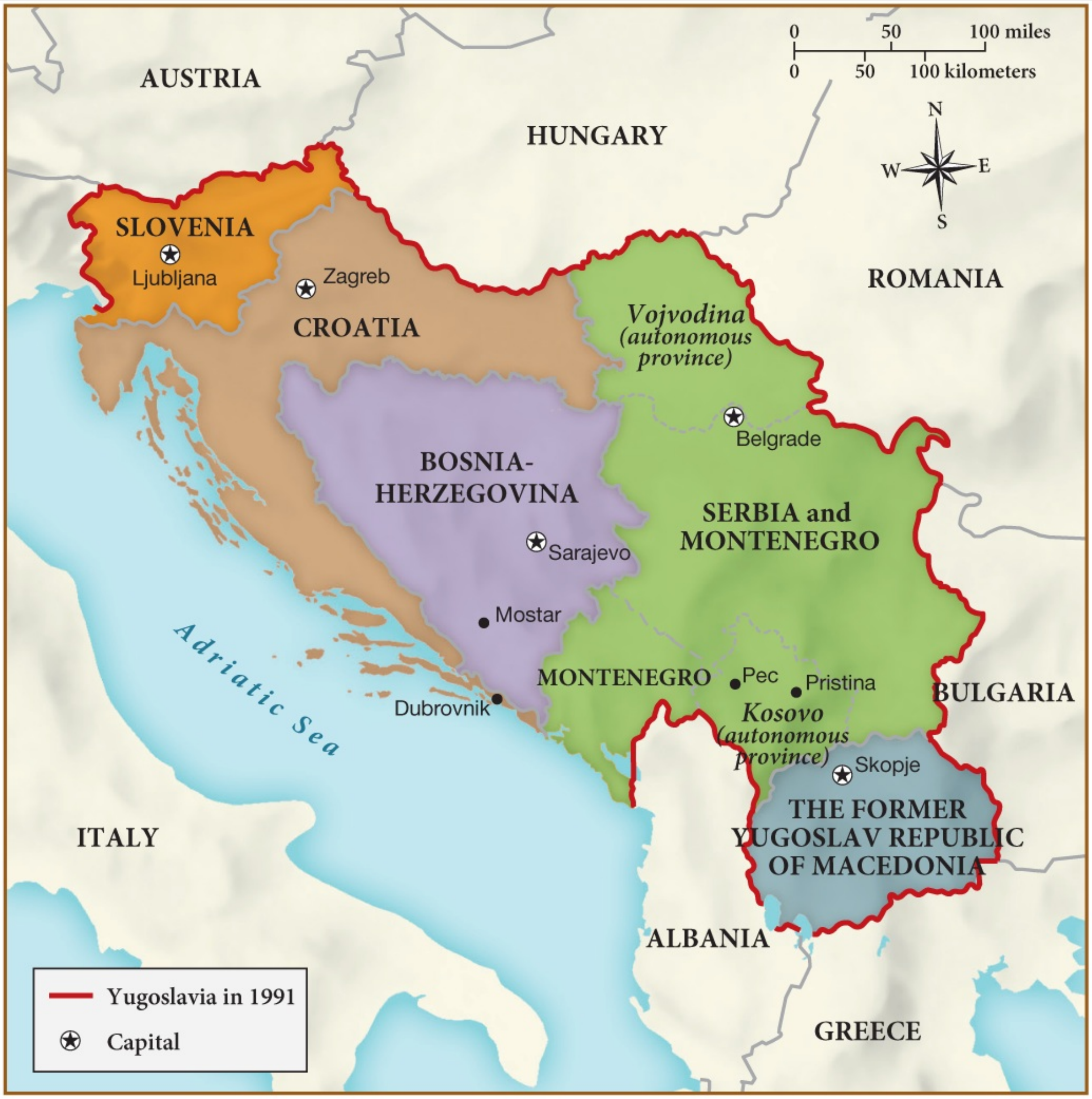
How has globalization been both a unifying and a divisive influence on the West in the twenty-first century?

Collapse of the Soviet Union and Its Aftermath

Following the fall of Communist regimes in eastern Europe, rejection of communism spread in the 1990s, turning events in unpredictable, even violent directions. Yugoslavia and then the Soviet Union itself fell apart as ethnic groups claimed independence. The USSR had held together more than one hundred ethnicities, and the five republics of Soviet Central Asia were home to fifty million Muslims. For more than a century, successive governments had introduced Russian and Soviet culture to these populations, even as individuals built personal fiefdoms and gangs and as nationalism surged among ethnic groups. As Russification and Communist policies failed to build sufficient, heartfelt allegiance, the USSR swiftly collapsed. In Yugoslavia, Communist rulers had also enforced unity among religious and ethnic groups, and intermarriage among them occurred regularly. Beginning in the unstable years of the early 1990s, however, ambitious politicians thrived by inciting ethnic hatreds. Hope for the emergence of peaceful, democratic nations grew increasingly dim.

The Breakup of Yugoslavia

In Yugoslavia, tensions erupted in 1990 after Serbia’s president **Slobodan Milosevic** began to promote control of the entire Yugoslav federation by ethnic Serbs as a replacement for communism. Other ethnic groups in Yugoslavia resisted Milosevic’s militant pro-Serb nationalism and called for secession. “Slovenians … have one more reason to say they are in favor of independence,” warned one of them as Serbs claimed authority over the small republics that comprised Yugoslavia (Map 29.1). In the summer of 1991, two of these republics, Slovenia and Croatia, seceded. The Yugoslav army, eager to enforce Serbian supremacy, invaded, seizing Croatian territory. A devastating civil war broke out in Bosnia-Herzegovina when the republic’s Muslim majority tried to create a multicultural and multiethnic state. Supported by Milosevic’s military, Bosnian Serb men formed a guerrilla army and gained the upper hand. A United Nations (UN) arms embargo prevented the Bosnian Muslims from defensively equipping their forces even as Serbs were massacring them.



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 29.1 The Former Yugoslavia, c. 2000

After a destructive civil war, UN-brokered agreements attempted to protect civilians of the former Yugoslavia from the brutal consequences of post-Communist rule. Ambitious politicians, most notably Slobodan Milosevic, fostered religious and ethnic hatreds as a tool to build support for their leadership. Still further change occurred, as Montenegro and Kosovo declared their independence in 2006 and 2008, respectively. What issues of identity shaped the breakup of Yugoslavia and its aftermath?

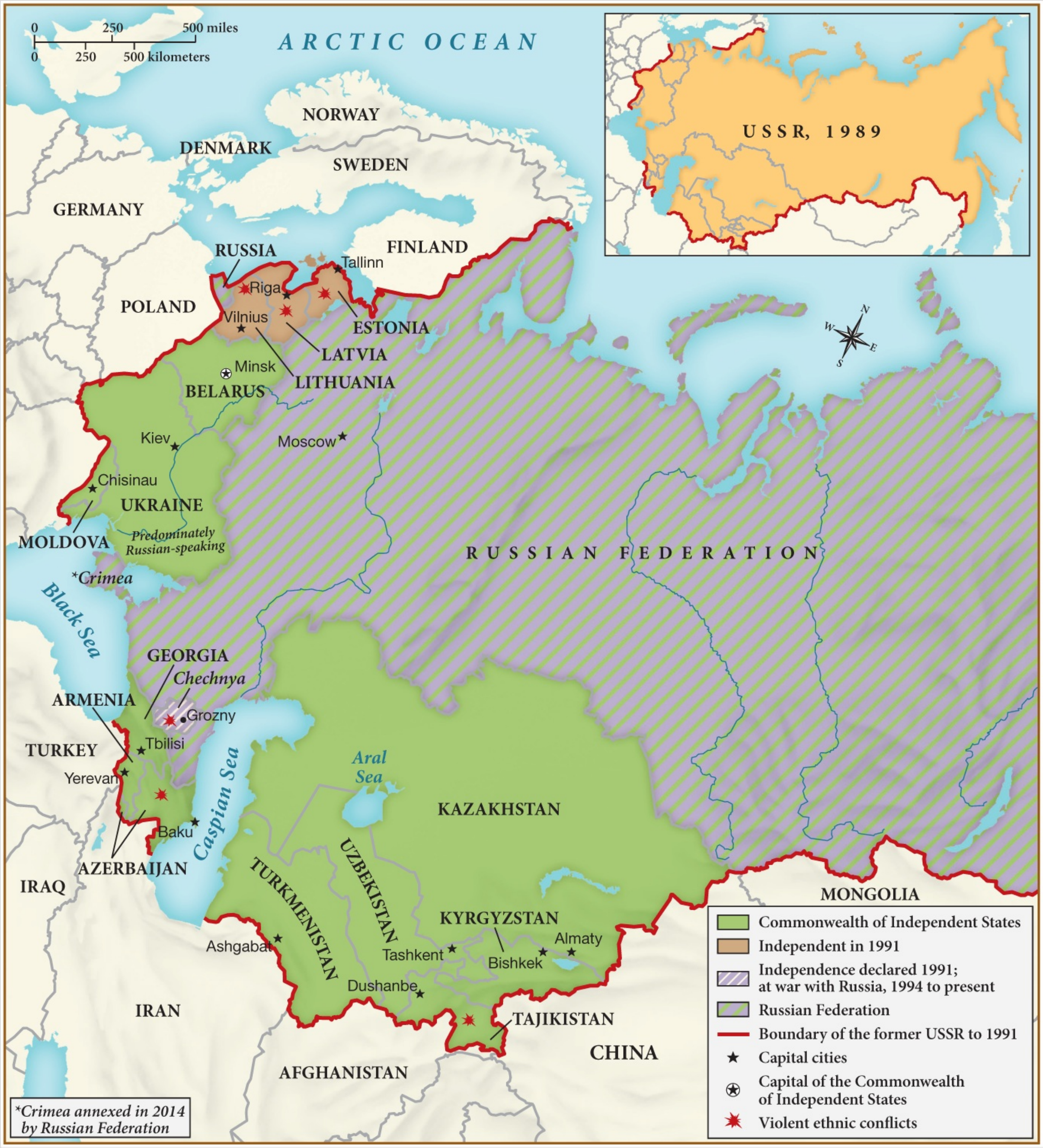
Relentless violence in the Balkans was inflicted on neighbors in the name of creating “ethnically pure” states in a region where ethnic mixture, not ethnic purity, was a centuries-old reality. During the 1990s, civilians died by the tens of thousands as Serbs under Milosevic’s leadership pursued a policy they called **ethnic cleansing** — that is, genocide — against non-Serb ethnicities. Serb men raped women to leave them pregnant with Serb babies as another form of conquest. In 1995, Croatian forces murdered Serbs who had helped seize land from Croatia. Serbs then retaliated by slaughtering eight thousand Muslim boys and men in the town of Srebrenica: “Kill the lot,” the commander of the Serb forces ordered. Military units on all sides destroyed libraries and museums, architectural treasures like the Mostar Bridge, and cities rich with history such as Dubrovnik. Many in the West explained violence in the Balkans as part of “age-old” blood feuds typical of a “backward,” and “almost Asian” society. Others saw the use of genocide to achieve national power as a modern political practice employed by the imperial powers abroad and by European politicians, including Adolf Hitler.

Peacekeepers turned their backs on such atrocities as the Srebrenica massacre and let them proceed to their horrific end. Late in the 1990s, Serb forces moved to attack Muslims of Albanian ethnicity living in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo. From 1997 to 1999, crowds of Albanian Kosovars fled their homes as Serb militias and the Yugoslav army slaughtered the civilian population. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) pilots bombed the region to drive back both the army and militias, but many people believed that this intervention came far too late. A new regime in Serbia emerged alongside the independent republics of Bosnia and Croatia, and Milosevic was turned over to the International Court of Justice, or World Court, to be tried for crimes against humanity. Across eastern Europe, hateful racial, ethnic, and religious rhetoric often inflamed post-Communist politics.

The Soviet Union Comes Apart

Less than three years after the overthrow of communism in its eastern European satellites, the once powerful Soviet Union itself fell apart. Perestroika had brought corruption and soaring prices, and Mikhail Gorbachev's planned "transition to the market [economy]" satisfied no one. In 1991, the Russian parliament elected Boris Yeltsin over a Communist Party candidate as president of the Russian Republic — the last straw for a group of eight antireform hard-liners, including the powerful head of the Soviet secret police, or KGB, who attempted a coup, holding Gorbachev under house arrest. Yeltsin defiantly stood atop a tank outside the Russian parliament building and called for mass resistance. Residents of Moscow and Leningrad filled the streets, and units of the army defected. People used fax machines and computers to coordinate resistance and alert the world. Citizen action defeated the coup, preventing a return to the Communist past.

After the failed coup, the Soviet Union disintegrated. People tore down statues of Soviet heroes. Yeltsin outlawed the Communist Party newspaper, *Pravda,* and the Soviet parliament suspended operations of the Communist Party itself. The Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania declared their independence in September; other republics within the USSR did the same. On December 31, 1991, the final agreements dissolved the USSR, and twelve of the fifteen former Soviet republics banded together to form the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) (Map 29.2).



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 29.2 Countries of the Former Soviet Union, c. 2021

Following an agreement of December 1991, twelve of the countries of the former Soviet Union formed the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Dominated by Russia and with Ukraine often disputing this domination, the CIS worked to bring about common economic and military policies. In 2014, Putin announced the annexation of Crimea, a region of postwar Ukraine, as the European Union and other disapproving nations took actions against this Russian takeover and Russia's subversive activities in eastern Ukraine.

Weakened by events, Gorbachev abandoned politics. Yeltsin stepped in and accelerated the change to a market economy, bringing on an ever-deepening crisis as his political allies, the military, local strongmen, and bureaucrats bought up or simply confiscated national resources. A new class of superwealthy, corrupt Russians (including Yeltsin's own family) called oligarchs arose by stealing the wealth in natural resources and factories once seen as belonging to all the people. Meanwhile, social disorder prevailed as organized criminals interfered in the distribution of goods and services and assassinated legitimate entrepreneurs and anyone who criticized them. Amid these scandals, Yeltsin resigned on December 31, 1999. He appointed a new protégé, **Vladimir Putin**, as interim president.

Putin was a little-known functionary in Russia's new security apparatus, which had evolved from the old KGB. In the presidential elections of spring 2000, Putin surprised everyone when the electorate voted him in. Though associated with corruption after protecting the Yeltsin family from prosecution, he declared himself committed to legality. "Democracy," he announced, "is the dictatorship of law." With a solid mandate, Putin proceeded to drive all competitors from power. When the government arrested the billionaire head of the Yukos Oil Company in 2003, it appeared that the pillaging of the country — the source of ordinary citizens' recent suffering — was finally being punished. However, according to critics including scholars knowledgeable in Russian politics and history, Putin was merely transferring Russia's natural resources and other assets from Yukos to himself and his cronies. The prosecution and similar threats to others that followed also served to keep in line the so-called "oligarchs" — that is, those who benefited from the massive pillaging of national wealth.

AP Images/Pavel Golovkin.

Assassination in Moscow In 2009, Russian citizens honored journalist and human rights activist Anna Politkovskaya, assassinated three years earlier in her Moscow apartment building. Politkovskaya relentlessly investigated the atrocities during the war in Chechnya as well as the corruption in the Putin government. Honest journalism in post-Soviet Russia was increasingly dangerous; scores of journalists were murdered in the twenty years following the collapse of communism. Murders and attempted assasinations of political opponents regularly occurred, including the poisoning of chief opposition leader, Alexei Navalny, in 2020.

Toward a Market Economy

Steps toward developing free markets and democracies initially brought misery to Russia and the rest of eastern Europe. Salaries went unpaid, food remained in short supply, and essential services disintegrated. In 1994, inflation soared at a rate of 14 percent a month in Russia, while industrial production dropped by 15 percent. Hotel lobbies became clogged with prostitutes because women were the first people fired as governments privatized industry and cut service jobs. Yet people with enough money were able to travel freely for the first time, including the young and highly educated who chose permanent emigration to more prosperous parts of the world. However, hundreds of thousands of ethnic Russians, earlier sent by the state as colonizers of ethnic regions and of Soviet satellite states, returned to Russia as hated refugees.

Amid chaos, the former Soviet Union itself became, in the words of one critic, a vast “kleptocracy” as the country’s resources continued to be stolen for individual gain. An economist described the new scene as “piratization” rather than privatization. Without a powerful representative government, former officials and local bosses easily operated as criminals as long as top officials received something in return. Corruption fed on the Soviet system of off-the-books dealing, tax evasion, bribery, favoritism, and outright theft. Additionally, because industry had not benefited from technological change or competition, free trade often meant closing backward factories and firing all the workers.

For many in the former Soviet bloc, the first task was getting their economies running again on new terms. With the collective farms up for sale to the wealthy or well-connected, most farmers on them faced landlessness and starvation. The countries that experienced the most success were those in which farmers already sold their produce on the open market or in which independent entrepreneurs dealt in international trade. Hungary and Poland initially felt less strain, because both had adopted some free-market practices early on and worked to attract foreign capital, anchoring themselves securely to the world economy. Additionally, a region-wide brain drain followed in a rush of migration from eastern Europe to western Europe, often involving those with marketable skills. “I knew in my heart that communism would collapse,” said one Romanian ex-dissident, commenting sadly on the exodus of youth from his country, “but it never crossed my mind that the future would look like this.”

REVIEW QUESTION

What were the major issues facing the former Soviet bloc in the 1990s and early 2000s?

The Nation-State in a Global Age

Initially the fracturing of the USSR's large regional economy gave a boost to European unification. In the 1990s and early 2000s, the European Economic Community (Common Market), which renamed itself the European Community in 1993, was healthy and economically robust. Its economic success provoked the formation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which established a free-trade zone of the United States, Canada, and Mexico. The nationalist function of cities diminished as major urban areas like London and Paris became packed with people from other countries. Organizations for world governance grew in influence alongside large regional economic blocs. There was also resistance to these trends from those who wanted to preserve their local traditions, or who felt that global interconnections had cost them their jobs, or who saw refugees and migrants not as new neighbors to be welcomed but as menacing foreigners to be driven out.

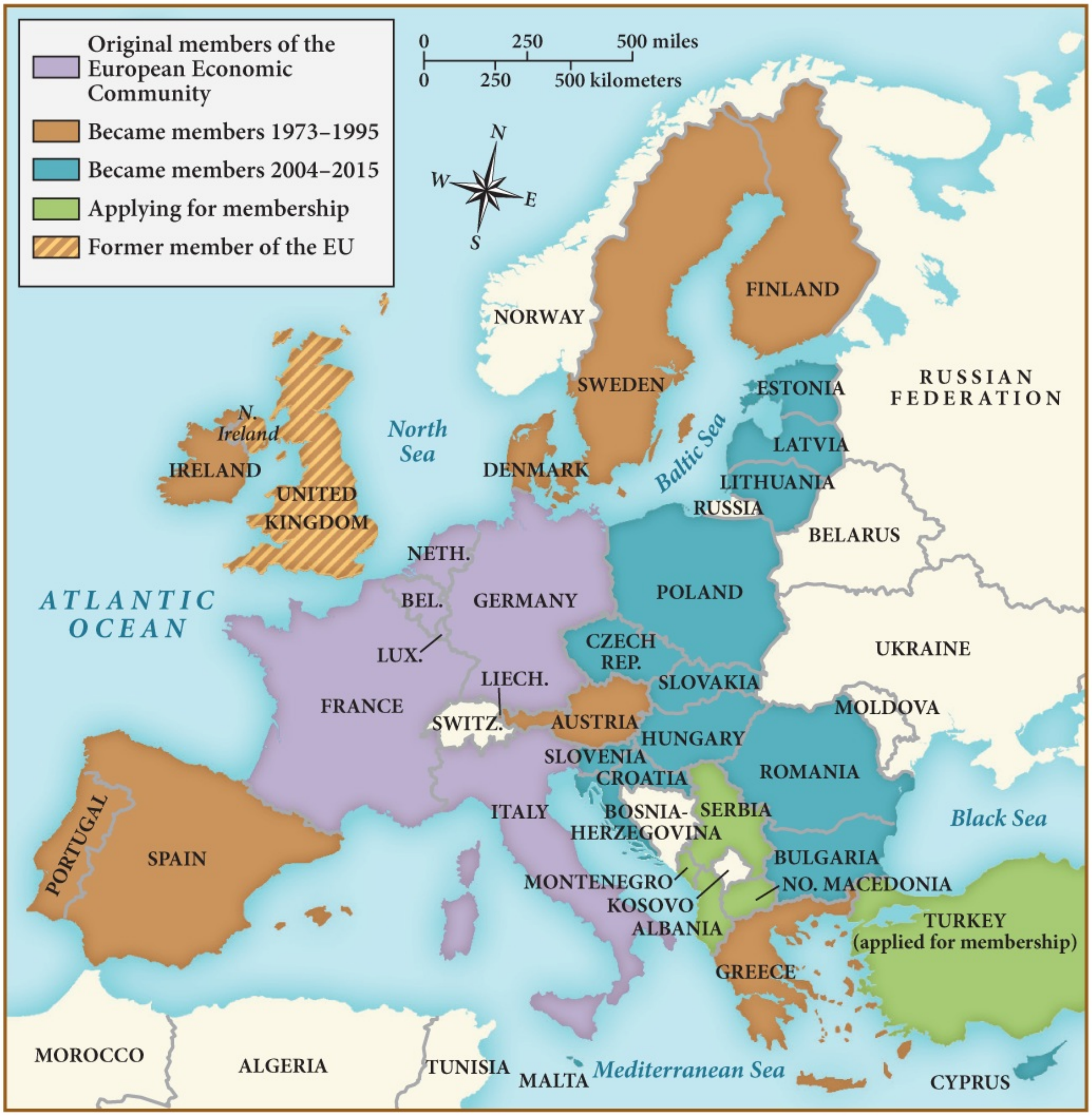
Europe Looks beyond the Nation-State

The European Community changed dramatically after the demise of European communism. In 1992, the twelve countries of the Common Market ended national distinctions in certain business activities, border controls, and transportation, even closing down passport controls at their shared borders and issuing a single passport to citizens of member countries. In 1994, by the terms of the **Maastricht Treaty**, the European Community became the **European Union (EU)**, and in 1999 a common currency — the **euro** — came into being, first for transactions among financial institutions and then in 2002 for general use by the public.

Common policies governed everything from the number of American soap operas aired on television to pollution controls on automobiles. The EU parliament convened regularly in Strasbourg, France, while an EU central bank came to guide interest rates and economic policy.

The EU was seen as the key to a peaceful Europe. “People with the same money don’t go to war with one another,” said a French nuclear scientist about the introduction of the euro. Greece initially pushed for the admission of its traditional enemy Turkey in 2002 and 2003 despite the warnings of a former president of France that a predominantly Muslim country could never fit in with the Christian traditions of EU members (see Contrasting Views on pages 1088–1089). Both Greece and Turkey stood to benefit by having their disputes adjudicated by the larger body of European members, principally because they would be able to cut purchases of weapons directed against each other. With President Recep Erdogan’s crackdown on free speech and political opponents after a failed coup attempt in 2016, however, the EU’s criticisms of these antidemocratic moves made Turkey’s EU membership seem remote.

Countries of eastern Europe clamored to join, working hard to meet not only the EU’s fiscal requirements but also those pertaining to human rights and social policy (Map 29.3). Cash-rich companies in the wealthy western countries of the EU snapped up eastern European assets. For example, the Czech Republic in 2001 sold its major energy distributor, Transgaz, and eight other regional distributors for 4.1 billion euros to a German firm. Lower wages and costs of doing business in eastern Europe attracted foreign investment, especially to Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovenia — the most developed state spun off from Yugoslavia. Eastern European nations sought membership to advance their economies further.



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 29.3 The European Union in 2021

The European Union (EU) appeared to increase the economic health of its members despite the rocky start of its common currency, the euro. The EU helped end the traditional competition among its members and facilitated trade and worker migration by providing common passports and business laws and open borders. It poured funds into disadvantaged regions of its member states. In its “Brexit” referendum, ironically the regions of the United Kingdom that had received the greatest financial help voted against remaining in the EU. All the while receiving assistance, other eastern European leaders ran anti-EU slogans, including racist ones.

In 2004, the EU admitted ten new members — the Czech Republic, Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia; in 2007 it welcomed Bulgaria and Romania; and in 2013, Croatia. Just before its admission to the EU, Poland's standard of living was 39 percent of EU standards, up from 33 percent in 1995. The Czech Republic and Hungary were at 55 and 50 percent, respectively. Citizens in eastern Europe were not always happy at joining the EU. A retiree foresaw the cost of beer going up and added, "If I wanted to join anything in the West, I would have defected." Still others felt that having just established an independent national identity, they should not allow themselves to be swallowed up once again. Although still weak by comparison with most of western Europe, the economic life of eastern Europe had in fact picked up considerably by 2000. In contrast to the massive layoffs, soaring inflation, and unpaid salaries of the first post-Communist years, in 2002, residents of Poland, Slovenia, and Estonia had purchasing power some 40 percent higher than in 1989. Outsourcing by international companies began to flourish across the region, increasing opportunities for those with language and commercial skills. Shopping malls sprang up, mostly around capital cities, and superstores like the furniture giant IKEA and the electronics firm Electroworld became a consumer's paradise to those long starved of goods. "When Electroworld opened in Budapest [April 2002], it provoked a riot. Two hundred thousand people crowded to get in the doors," reported one amazed observer, a sign of U.S.-style "consumania" of materialism and frenzied shopping. For consumers, however, learning to read labels and to compare prices offered by superstores indicated their membership in a free, global community.

CONTRASTING VIEWS

The Dutch Debate Globalization, Muslim Immigrants, and Turkey's Admission to the EU

Early in the twenty-first century, Westerners debated a series of intertwined issues springing from conditions created by the new globalized world. The issue of immigration and the accommodation of peoples from outside the West was one of them. The Netherlands was one of the European countries that began debating whether globalization hadn't gone too far in this direction. The debate came to the fore in the Netherlands after an animal rights activist in 2002 assassinated Pim Fortuyn, a candidate for prime minister who ran on a popular anti-immigrant platform and proclaimed, "Holland is full." When, in 2004, a Muslim radical assassinated filmmaker Theo van Gogh, who took special pride in insulting Islam, the Dutch debate over globalization fixated on the presence of foreigners, especially Muslims, in the Netherlands and the admission of Turkey to the European Union.

1. The View from Everyday Life

Leon was a Rotterdam window cleaner who did not want his last name revealed. Here is his opinion of the main problem of Dutch life brought about by globalization.

There are too many people coming here who don't want to work. Before long there will be more foreigners than Dutch people, and Dutch people won't be the boss of their own country. That's why this has to be stopped.

Source: Jennifer Ehrlich, "Liberal Netherlands Grows Less So on Immigration," *Christian Science Monitor*, December 19, 2003.

2. Too Much Islamic Architecture

Many immigrants and their descendants, all of whom could become Dutch citizens, often lived in cities where there was economic opportunity. Although mosques existed in many cities, most were *tucked away in obscure and shabby parts of town near the ghettos where many Muslim immigrant families lived. When the Muslim community in Rotterdam proposed building a stately mosque with 164-foot minarets, many in Rotterdam opposed the project. Ronald Sorenson, a member of Rotterdam's city council, objected in particular to the design of the proposed mosque and its cultural connotations.*

There's no reason the minarets have to be that high — it will not be Rotterdam; it will be Mecca on the Maas [River].

Source: Jennifer Ehrlich, "Liberal Netherlands Grows Less So on Immigration," *Christian Science Monitor*, December 19, 2003.

3. Opposing Immigration and Turkey's Membership in the European Union

Acceptance of new members has made the EU the largest economic power in the world. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, some Europeans looked to the integration of Turkey into the EU as further expansion of EU influence. Others, however, opposed it, as the issue of EU enlargement had implications for immigration. Geert Wilders, member of Dutch parliament, voiced his opposition. In 2010, he was put on trial for inciting hatred against Muslims.

Turkey is an Islamic country and as such doesn't belong in the EU. The flow [of Turks] is already too big…. There is a big problem with the integration of immigrants already in Holland. They top the list in terms of criminality, unemployment, welfare payments, domestic violence…. Let us concentrate on solving the problems with the immigrants already here properly.

Source: *Expatica*, October 5, 2004.

4. A Student's Thoughts on Muslims in the Netherlands

Loubna el Morabet, a PhD candidate in social science at Leiden University, gave this reaction to Geert Wilders's pronouncements on Muslims and to the media's coverage of him and his political party.

This is an ongoing process. Muslims in the Netherlands are already very Dutch. I have done research in the Netherlands and England and learnt that Muslim students here have adopted the Dutch mentality. This is their country.

Of course I feel threatened when I hear Wilders speaking. But if I take a step back, I realize he will never be able to carry out his ideas. Taxing headscarves is nonsense and halting immigration from Islamic countries is discrimination. The principle of equality is deeply embedded in Dutch law.

I think it is ridiculous that media pay so much attention to a party that has garnered a handful of seats in the municipal elections. [Left-wing liberal party] D66 was the real winner of the local elections and that happens to be the one party that tells Wilders: “You are shutting people out, you discriminate.” That gets relatively little attention.

Source: “Muslims Quietly Take Wilders’ Abuse,” Radio Netherlands Worldwide, March 25, 2010.

5. An Evaluation of Dutch Values

Popular Amsterdam actress Funda Müjde admitted to being called a “filthy Turk” during the debates over immigration and ethnic violence in the city. [1] *In her online stage performances and journalism, she gave sharp-witted responses to the anti-immigration furor around her.*

“Do aliens actually love Holland?” This question woke me up with a start. After work (a workshop at the Employment Office) I traveled back [home from the job] with a colleague because he needed to be in Amsterdam. We have been working together for a while now and I notice that our conversations are always about something substantial.

Now it seemed as if he was even bolder in asking all kinds of questions.

Hurray! Do we aliens (read: mainly the first-generation Moroccans and Turks) really love Holland? Immediately I want to answer this question with another question. “Does Holland really love aliens?” Just in time, I bite my tongue.

Source: Funda Müjde Web site, http://www.fundam.nl.

6. Encouragement for Religious Tolerance in the EU

On July 21, 2004, Dutch prime minister Jan Peter Balkenende gave a speech before the European Parliament that called on Europeans to reconsider their position on immigration.

We must not allow ourselves to be guided by fear, for example, of Islam. The raising of barriers to any particular religion is not consistent with Europe’s shared values. Our opposition should be directed not against religions, but against people and groups misusing their religion to get their way by force. Islam is not the problem.

Source: European Stability Initiative, "Speech by the President, Jan Peter Balkenende, to the European Parliament, in Strasbourg on 21 July 2004," http://www.esiweb.org

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. What are the main points of view in the debate over Muslims, immigration, and the admission of Turkey to the European Union?
2. How do you evaluate the strength of each position?
3. Given that globalization brought about a wide variety of changes, why would Muslim immigration and Turkish EU membership become such heated issues?
4. What sense do you get of the Muslim reaction to hostility and discrimination?

[1] Ian Buruma, *Murder in Amsterdam: The Death of Theo van Gogh and the Limits of Tolerance* (New York: Penguin, 2006), 175.

Globalizing Cities and Fragmenting Nations

After the collapse of communism, the West experienced the further globalization of major cities. These were cities whose institutions, functions, and visions were overwhelmingly global rather than regional or national. They contained stock markets, legal firms, insurance companies, financial service organizations, and other enterprises that operated worldwide. Within these cities, high-level decision makers set global economic policy and enacted global business. The presence of high-powered and high-income global business people made urban life extremely costly, driving middle managers and engineers to lower-priced living quarters in the suburbs, which nonetheless provided good schools and other amenities for well-educated white-collar earners. Crowded into the slums of global cities and the poorer suburbs were the lowest-paid workers, including refugees. Their maintenance and domestic labor provided for the needs and comfort of those at the top.

Global cities became centers for migration of highly skilled and menial workers alike. Paris, London, Moscow, and New York were global spaces in direct contact with institutions, businesses, and governments around the world. In contrast, citizens of more locally oriented cities or rural areas took pride in maintaining a national culture or local sense of community and often denounced global cities as rootless and lacking patriotic focus. Lacking access to the best health care and other services, residents of these small cities and rural areas often declined in well-being. Global cities, in contrast, were the base for diasporas of prosperous migrants, such as the estimated ninety thousand Japanese in England in the mid-1990s who staffed Japan's thriving global businesses. Because these migrants did not aim to become citizens, global cities were said to produce a "deterritorialization of identities" — meaning that many city dwellers lacked both a national and a local sense of themselves. Globalization often frayed relationships among citizens of the same country, especially as many rural towns and surrounding areas deteriorated.

Amid globalization, there came to be more European nation-states in the twenty-first century than there had been in 1945. Claims of ethnic distinctiveness caused individual nation-states to break apart and separatist movements — like that in Chechnya — to grow. Despite two centuries aimed at unification of the Slavs, for example, Slavs separated themselves from one another in the 1990s and early twenty-first century. Yugoslavia came apart into several states, and in 1993, Czechoslovakia split into the Czech Republic and Slovakia (see Map 29.3 on page 1087). In western Europe after a heated campaign, Scotland’s voters rejected separating from the United Kingdom in 2014, but the impulse reemerged several years later with the UK’s departure from the EU on January 31, 2020. In 2017 and 2018, Catalonians continued aiming for independence from Spain. Eastern Ukraine with its many Russian speakers also contained a powerful separatist movement, which, like those in Spain and the United Kingdom, was said to be financed by Russia.

Politicians agitated for additional secessions. The push for an independent northern Italy began when politicians saw its attractiveness to voters and loudly demanded secession. In 2017, European Commission Chief Jean-Claude Junker spoke for many in rejecting fragmentation: “I wouldn’t like a European Union in fifteen years that consists of some ninety-eight states.” He felt that the smooth operation of the EU’s twenty-eight states was difficult enough. Any more would be, in this opinion, “impossible.” The steady beat of national disunion and clashes of many sorts contributed to a sense that the world was falling into disarray.

Global Organizations

Supranational organizations also challenged the nation-state’s power, influence, and relevance, and in so doing raised hackles. The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Trade Organization (WTO) raised money from national governments and dealt, for example, with the terms of trade among countries and the overall economic fairness among individual nations. The IMF made loans to developing countries on the condition that those countries restructure their economies according to neoliberal principles. Other supranational organizations were charitable foundations, think tanks, or service-based organizations acting independently of governments, many of them based in Europe and the United States; they were called **nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)**. Because some of these groups — the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Open Society Foundation, for example — controlled and could contribute so much money, NGOs often had considerable international power, especially in the post-Communist eastern European nations. Some charitable and activist NGOs, like the French-based Doctors Without Borders, depended on global contributions and used them to provide medical attention in such places as the former Yugoslavia, when people facing war there had no other medical help. Small, locally based NGOs excelled at inspiring grassroots activism, while the larger NGOs were often criticized for directing government policies with no regard for democratic processes.

William West/AFP/Getty Images.

Christine Lagarde, Head of the European Central Bank An international lawyer, Christine Lagarde served as French minister of the economy before she became head of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), a global institution that helped nations with financial and other economic issues, and then of the European Central Bank. She was much criticized because of the IMF’s stern attitude toward financial responsibility. Here, however, she shares a light-hearted moment with G-20 finance ministers and governors of central banks at one of their regular meetings.

Ironically, antiglobalization activists also formed worldwide networks to influence its course. The Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions and Aid to Citizens (ATTAC), founded in France in 1998 but composed of over forty national units, had as its major policy goal to tax international financial transactions and to create with the tax a fund for people living in poor countries. It opposed transnational tax havens and supported a range of other antiglobal policies, even as it held global conferences such as that in Brazil in 2002. Another globally known opponent, French farmer José Bové, protested the opening of

McDonald’s franchises in France and destroyed stocks of genetically modified seeds: “The only regret I have now,” Bové claimed at his trial in 2003, “is that I didn’t destroy more of it.” Bové went to jail, but he remained a hero worldwide to antiglobalism activists who saw him as an enemy of standardization and an honest champion, in his own words, of “good food.”

Review Question

What trends suggest that the nation-state was a contested institution at the beginning of the twenty-first century?

An Interconnected World's Challenges

The rising tide of globalization, including the globalization of massive criminal networks or cartels, ushered in as many challenges as opportunities. First, world health and the environment faced attacks from nuclear disaster, acid rain, the global circulation of contagious diseases, weather extremes due to climate change, and surging population. Second, economic prosperity and physical safety continued to elude great masses of people across the globe as inequality intensified. Third, as suprastate organizations developed, advocates of transnational connections and religious and ethnic movements vied for power. Finally, beginning in 2008, a devastating economic crisis rippled from Wall Street; recovery from it was followed in 2019–2021 by a lethal pandemic and its accompanying economic wreckage.

The Earth and Its People Threatened

By the early years of the twenty-first century, industrial growth and energy use continued to threaten the environment. The 1986 nuclear explosion at Chernobyl had killed more than a dozen people instantly; in the aftermath, levels of radioactivity rose for hundreds of miles in all directions and, lacking adequate warning, thousands of people from the area eventually perished from the effects of radiation (see Environment Matters in Chapter 28). Later, post-Communist officials revealed that Soviet managers and officials had thrown toxic waste into thousands of square miles of lakes, rivers, and the seas. Nuclear and other tests had left entire regions of Asia unfit for human, animal, and plant life. In 2011, Japan experienced an earthquake and tsunami that caused its nuclear operations at Fukushima to melt down. In this series of events some twenty thousand people died. In Europe, the German government determined to close down its nuclear plants within the decade, while several other European nations voted for similar policies.

Everyday practices also had devastating global effects. Pollutants from fossil fuels produced acid rain that destroyed forests in industrial areas. In eastern Europe, the unchecked use of fossil fuels turned trees into brown skeletons and inflicted ailments such as chronic bronchial disease on children. In other areas, clearing the world's rain forests to develop the land for cattle grazing or for cultivation of cash crops depleted the global oxygen supply. By the late 1980s, scientists determined that the use of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) in aerosol and refrigeration products and automobile and industrial emissions of chemicals were producing **global warming**, an increase in the temperature of the planet's lower atmosphere. Already in the 1990s, the Arctic ice pack was breaking up, and between 1993 and 2014 sea levels had increased 2.6 inches, with a more than 10-inch increase predicted by 2100, flooding coastal areas and harming the fresh water supply. Climate extremes such as persistent drought, drenching rain, and catastrophic weather events such as deadly storms and their opposite — massive fires — also resulted.

Activism against unchecked environmental decline took decades to develop as an effective political force. Rachel Carson's powerful critique *Silent Spring* (1962) advocated the urgent rescue of rivers, forests, and the soil from the ravages of factories and chemical farming in the United States. In West Germany, environmentalism united both old and young around a political tactic called citizen initiatives, in which local people blocked plans for urban growth that menaced forests and farmland. In 1979, the **Green Party** was founded in West Germany; two decades later Green Party candidates across Europe forced other politicians to voice their concern for the environment.

Spurred by successful Green Party campaigns, Europeans attacked environmental problems on local and global levels even in the late twentieth century. Some European cities — Frankfurt, Germany, for example — developed car-free zones, and in Paris, whenever automobile emissions reached dangerous levels, most cars were banned from city streets until the emission levels fell. The Smart car, a very small vehicle using reduced amounts of fuel, became common in Europe. European cities also developed bicycle lanes on major city streets, with some U.S. cities following their lead several decades later. Reducing dependence on fossil fuels, wind power produced 8 percent of European Union electricity in 2014, and in 2018 renewable energy such as wind and solar generated 18.9 percent of all energy in the EU. In 2015, the Paris Climate Agreement, signed by 195 nations, dealt with reducing greenhouse gas emissions, with countries setting specific individual reductions. The United States, the world's second-leading polluter after China, withdrew from this agreement in 2017, suggesting that the West was fragmenting over values, but then rejoined the Agreement in 2021.

SERGEI SUPINSKY/AFP/Getty Images.

Skateboarder in Front of Soviet-Era Monument As terrorism, economic catastrophe, death from the COVID-19 pandemic, and the undermining of democracy and individual rights by authoritarian leaders mounted, life proceeded and people experienced moments and even weeks and months of joy. As you observe this skateboarder and those you see around you with scooters, videogames, and other engrossing amusements, consider the relationship between our everyday pastimes and the dramatic events and trends of history. What is the role of everyday life in understanding history?

North versus South?

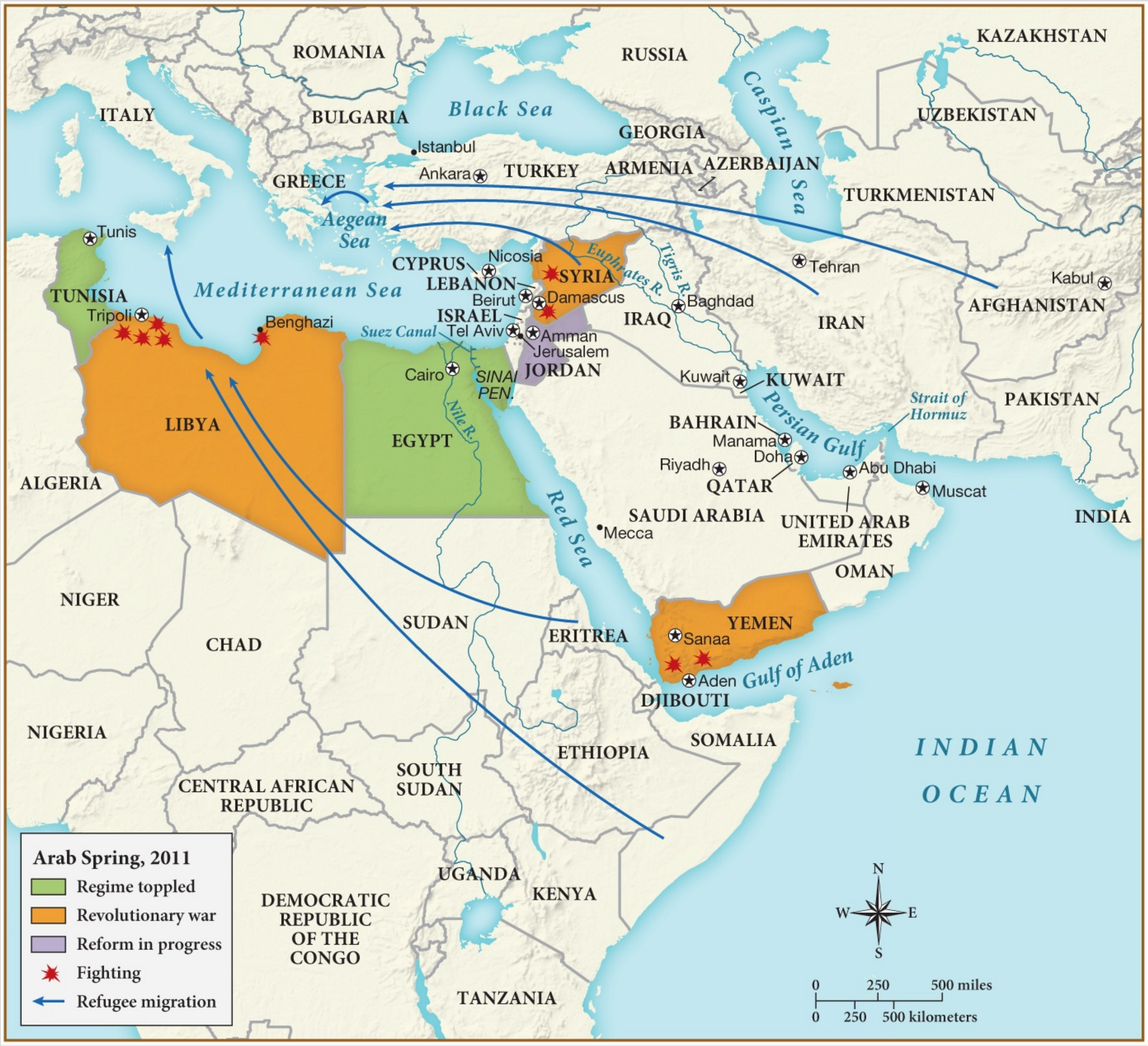
During the 1990s and thereafter, world leaders and activists tried to address the differences between the planet’s northern and southern regions. Other than Australians and New Zealanders, southern peoples generally experienced lower living standards and poorer health than northerners. Emerging from colonial rule, environmental destruction, and economic exploitation by northerners, government support for welfare services and education in the southern regions was uneven. Although organizations like the World Bank and the IMF provided loans for economic development, the conditions tied to those loans, such as cutting government spending for education, the environment, and health care, led to criticism.

Southern regions of the world experienced other barriers to economic well-being. Latin American nations grappled with government corruption, multibillion-dollar debt, widespread crime, and grinding poverty, though some countries — prominent among them Brazil — began to strengthen their economies by marketing their oil and other natural resources more effectively. Africa suffered from drought, famine, and civil war, while in countries such as Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, and Myanmar the military rule, factionalism, and ethnic antagonism encouraged under imperialism produced lethal conflict and genocide in the 1990s and early 2000s. Millions of people perished; others were left starving and homeless due to kleptocracies — that is, as in Russia, government regimes in which officials drained off resources and revenues to increase their personal wealth. By 2015, as corrupt practices were increasingly exposed, reforms and a resurgence of commodity prices made many parts of Africa and Latin America major targets for new investment. Unevenly, the entrepreneurial spirit was reviving and prosperity rising.

Radical Islam Meets the West

North–South antagonisms became evident in the rise of radical Islam, which often flourished where good government and prosperity for the masses were missing. The rise of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini in Iran, the overthrow of the shah, and the Iranian hostage crisis that began in 1979 revealed a strong anti-Western sentiment among Islamic fundamentalists. Khomeini’s program — “Neither East, nor West, only the Islamic Republic” — had wide appeal even after his death in 1989. Renouncing the Westernization that had flourished under the shah, Khomeini began a regime in Iran that eliminated a range of rights such as free speech for men and women alike. Buoyed by the prosperity that oil had brought and following Khomeini’s lead, Islamic revolutionaries across the wider region aimed to restore pride in Islamic identity that imperialists had stripped from Middle Eastern men.

The Middle East remained fragmented, however, as war plagued the region. In 1980, Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein, fearing a rebellion from Shi‘ites in Iraq, attacked Iran in hopes of channeling Shi‘ite discontent into a patriotic crusade against non-Arab Iranians. Stalemate resulted amid extensive loss of life on both sides. In 1990, Saddam invaded neighboring Kuwait unsuccessfully in hopes of annexing the oil-rich country to pay off Iraq’s wartime debt (see Map 29.4). To the east, the Taliban — a militant Islamic group initially funded by the United States, China, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan during the cold war — took over the government of Afghanistan in the late 1990s. Its leaders imposed a regime that forbade girls from attending schools and women from leaving their homes without a male escort and demanded that men adhere to its rules for dress. To the west, conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians continued amid Israeli seizure of Palestinian homes and land and the murder of Israeli citizens by Palestinian suicide bombers in the late 1990s. In 2006, the Israelis, responding to the political militia Hezbollah’s kidnapping of Israeli soldiers, attacked Lebanon, sending missiles into its capital city of Beirut and killing hundreds of civilians.



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 29.4 The Middle East in the Twenty-First Century

Tensions among states in the Middle East, especially the ongoing conflict between the Palestinians and Israelis and animosities among Shiʻites and Sunnis, became more complicated from the 1990s on. The situation in the Middle East grew more uncertain in 2003 when a U.S.- and British-led invasion of Iraq so destabilized the country that Isis established it as a terrorist base. By 2018, however, the most devastated region was Syria — made into a battleground by both international and national military forces after the uprisings and political activism of the Arab Spring (2011). Migration and destruction of cities and towns reached epic proportions.

Beginning in the 1980s and continuing into the 2000s, terrorists from the Middle East and North Africa planted bombs in European cities, blew airplanes out of the sky, and bombed the Paris subway system to punish Western support both for Israel and for Middle Eastern dictatorships. On September 11, 2001, Muslim militants hijacked four planes in the United States and flew two of them into the World Trade Center in New York City and one into the Pentagon in Virginia. The fourth plane, en route to the Capitol, crashed in Pennsylvania when passengers forced the hijackers to lose control of the aircraft.

Sean Gallup/Getty Images.

Europeans React to September 11 Terror Attacks On September 11, 2001, terrorists killed thousands of people from dozens of countries in airplane attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon. Throughout the world, people expressed their shock and sorrow in vigils, and, like this couple at an improvised shrine in Prague, marked the deaths of thousands in other ways. Terrorism, which had plagued Europeans for several decades, traveled the world in the days of more open borders, economic globalization, and cultural exchange.

The hijackers, followers of Saudi Arabia–based al-Qaeda, aimed to end the presence of U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia where Islam's holiest sites were located. They had trained in terrorist camps in Afghanistan and learned to pilot planes in the United States. The loss of more than three thousand lives led the United States to declare a "war against terrorism" and to forge a multinational coalition, with the main goal of driving the ruling Taliban out of Afghanistan. Ultimately, however, the coalition fragmented when the United States claimed without evidence that Saddam Hussein was concealing weapons of mass destruction in Iraq and had allied with al-Qaeda. U.S. war fever mounted with the suggestion that France, Syria, and Iran should also be invaded, though not the actual home of al-Qaeda — Saudi Arabia. Many Europeans at the time condemned what seemed to them American blood lust while the United States countercharged that the Europeans were too selfishly enjoying their creature comforts to help fund the military defense of freedom. The Spanish withdrew from the U.S. occupation of Iraq after terrorists linked to al-Qaeda bombed four Madrid commuter trains on March 11, 2004. A year later, terrorists exploded bombs in three subway cars and a bus in central London. Barack Obama, who was elected the first African American U.S. president in 2008, brought home most troops from Iraq in 2012 after overseeing the assassination of al-Qaeda's top leader **Osama bin Laden**, in 2011. It was too late for peace, however. Iraq began falling apart as a unified state, fostering a surge in terrorist forces from across the globe.

Population, Health, and Disease

Both locally and internationally, issues of disease, health, and the maintenance of human well-being were as difficult in the early twenty-first century as they had been a century earlier. Europe experienced more deaths than births after 1995. Thus less industrially developed countries accounted for 98 percent of worldwide population growth, in part because the spread of Western medicine enabled people there to live much longer than before. By 2020, the global population had reached 7.8 billion, even as fertility rates slowed. Many European countries faced the problem of an aging citizenry and a shortage of younger people to bring new ideas and promote change. In fact, Europe as a region had the lowest fertility in the world: the fertility rate in Italy and Spain was only 1.3 children per woman of reproductive age, far below the replacement level of 2.1 needed to maintain a steady population number. As a consequence, fewer young workers contributed new solutions to their nations or paid into the social security system to fund retirees' pensions and health care.

Population problems were especially urgent in Russia: male life expectancy declined at a catastrophic rate from a peak of seventy years in the mid-1970s to fifty-one years at the beginning of the twenty-first century but rebounded by 2020 to 72.57 years. Still, this was ten years less than the life expectancy of French men and of Russian women. The ten-year gap between male and female longevity in Russia is generally attributed to increased drinking, smoking, drug use, poor diet, and general stress. Meanwhile, fertility rates throughout the former Soviet bloc, which had fallen to shockingly low levels, had begun to rise to the EU norm of around 1.5 by 2015.

Good health was also spread unevenly around the world. By the second decade of the twenty-first century, the less-developed world increased its use of vaccines and drugs for diseases such as malaria and smallpox. However, up to half of all Africans lacked the basic requirements of well-being such as safe drinking water. Drought and poverty, along with the corruption of politicians in some cases, spread famine in Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, and elsewhere. Globally, the poor and the unemployed suffered more chronic illnesses than those who were better off, but they received less care. Whereas in many parts of the world people still died from malnutrition and infectious diseases, in the West noncontagious illnesses (heart disease, stroke, cancer, autoimmune diseases, and depression) were more lethal.

Still, disease, like population and technology, operated on a global terrain. In the early 1980s, both Western values and Western technological expertise were challenged by the spread of a global epidemic disease: acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS). Within a decade, AIDS became a global epidemic. The disease spread quickly and widely among the heterosexual populations of Africa and Asia, passed mainly by men to and through women, but in 2010, the U.S. capital, Washington, D.C., had a rate of infection as high as that in Africa. Protease-inhibiting drugs helped alleviate the symptoms;

however, treatment was often not provided to poor people living in sub-Saharan Africa and the slums of Asian cities. In addition to the AIDS pandemic, the deadly Ebola virus, severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS), swine flu, and dozens of other viruses smoldered like so many global plagues in the making.

The interconnectedness of the world's peoples and these smoldering viruses yielded the catastrophic COVID-19 pandemic that began in 2019. This virus produced mixed reactions and strategies, as Asian countries in particular succeeded in treatment and preventative measures. In contrast, wealthy countries, especially the United States, which had the highest per capita rates of infection and death, saw citizens often abandoning a belief in science when confronting the infection. In late 2020, teams of researchers began producing vaccines that would block the virus, though rollouts in the West were disorganized, and those doubting that a pandemic even existed were avoiding taking the vaccine. Europe and the United States also suffered the most economically because of citizen disbelief in both the disease and the vaccine, thus adding to the ongoing economic challenges of globalization.

MEHDI FEDOUACH/Getty Images.

COVID-19 in Bordeaux, France As the COVID-19 virus struck the West early in 2020, measures to contain and treat it developed unevenly. By late spring of that year, scientists determined that masks could slow and even arrest the spread of the disease, with the virtual eradication of COVID-19 in Asian countries as primary evidence for masks’ effectiveness. In the United States, COVID-19 cases and deaths rose to the highest in any nation in the world; there, both the disease and masking were called hoaxes aimed at destroying personal liberty. In Bordeaux, France, the government made the wearing of masks obligatory and imposed a fine of more than $150 for those caught without them. Thus these shoppers strolling the main shopping street in Bordeaux had several reasons for being masked.

The Promise and Problems of a World Economy

Amid ongoing political unsteadiness, an immense rise in industrial entrepreneurship and technological development took place outside the West from the late twentieth century on. In 1982, the Asian-Pacific nations accounted for 16.4 percent of global gross domestic product, a figure that had doubled since the 1960s. By 1989, East Asia's share of world production had grown to more than 25 percent as that of the West declined. By 2006, China alone was achieving economic growth rates of more than 10 percent per year, and in 2010, it overtook Japan as the second largest national economy after the United States. In 2020, India placed among the top five world economies, with the United States and Germany the only western states remaining among the five leaders.

South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong were popularly called Pacific tigers for the ferocity of their growth from the 1980s on. South Korea alone had a larger economy than Russia in 2020. Even though the European Union economy as a whole surpassed that of China with 800 million fewer people, in the twenty-first century China became the largest creditor of the United States. As the United States withdrew from global partnership and championed isolation and protectionism between 2016 and 2020, China took over the U.S. role as champion of connectedness and global dynamism and made economic alliances worldwide as the United States rejected them.

Despite rising national prosperity, individual workers often paid dearly for newly created global wealth and technological advance. For example, early on Japan reduced its workforce given its 300,000 robots, twice as many as in the United States or Germany; business people around the world followed suit. Safety standards and working conditions in China were abominable, leading to horrendous mining disasters and suicides among workers. Women in the Asia-Pacific region and Central America labored in sweatshops to produce clothing for U.S.- and

European-based companies. Using the lure of a low-paid and presumably docile female workforce, governments were able to attract electronics and other industries. At the same time, educational standards rose, along with access to birth control and other medical care for these women, and many valued the escape from rural poverty.

Other emerging economies in the Southern Hemisphere continued to increase their share of the world's gross domestic product, and some achieved political gains as well. In South Africa, native peoples began winning the struggle for political rights when, in 1990, the moderate government of F. W. de Klerk released political leader Nelson Mandela, imprisoned for almost three decades because of his anti-apartheid activism. Brazil, Russia, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Nigeria, and Chile initially profited from the need for vast quantities of raw materials such as oil and ores to feed global — especially Chinese — expansion. India made strides in education and women's rights, and India's economy in the twenty-first century achieved soaring growth, taking business from Western firms and making global acquisitions that gave it, for example, the world's largest steel industry.

There were, however, massive downsides to global economic interconnectedness. In 2008, the real estate bubble burst in the United States, setting in motion a financial crisis of global proportions. For several years, lenders had been making home mortgages available to U.S. consumers who could not afford them. Bankers then sold their bad housing debt around the world to those who hoped to make handsome profits based on rate increases written into the mortgage contracts. The boom in housing made the economy as a whole look robust. When people were unable to make their monthly mortgage payments and pay their credit card debt, however, a global credit collapse followed, just as it had in the stock market crash of 1929. Beginning in the United States and continuing around the world, banks and industries became insolvent, and unemployment rose dramatically as businesses and consumers alike stopped purchasing goods.

A decade later, the U.S. economy followed by the economies of European nations recovered, thanks in part to the financial pump priming of central banks. Nonetheless, having experienced insolvency, unacceptable levels of unemployment, and falling wages due to global competition, citizens were angry at their falling standards of living. It looked to some as though the EU itself might collapse due to the aftershocks of the relentless downturn. The globalization of economic crises was another of the perils faced by the world's population. As in the 1930s, the downturn in the West along with visible income and other inequalities fostered rising populism and made authoritarian politicians with promises of easy fixes appealing.

International Politics and the New Russia

Although Gorbachev had pulled the Soviet Union out of its disastrous war with Afghanistan, ambitious politicians began using war and uprisings to achieve or stay in power. The war to prevent the secession of oil-rich Chechnya provided such a political rallying cry. Though, Chechens had been integrated into the Soviet bureaucracy and military, and attempted to secede in the fall of 1991. In December 1994, the Russian government invaded. An official defended the war: “We now need a small victorious war … [to] raise the President’s [Yeltsin’s] rating.” Chechnya’s capital city of Grozny was pounded to bits. In 2002, Chechen loyalists took hundreds of hostages in a Moscow theater; Chechen suicide bombers blew up airplanes, buses, and apartment buildings as Putin pursued the Chechen war into the twenty-first century.

Putin pushed Russian influence into Ukraine, Belarus, India, and China by taking advantage of the politics of energy. Russia had the commodities — especially oil and gas — needed to sustain the growth of emerging industries worldwide and to boost its global standing. Democratic values, however, were not put into practice. Critics of the government were mercilessly assassinated, and newspapers and broadcast media were closed down. In 2014, when Ukraine made gestures toward the European Union and away from Russia, Putin annexed Crimea, part of Ukraine, and fortified pro-Russian forces in the east of the country. Putin’s popularity remained steady as the Russian government used its new wealth to refurbish cities and as everyday life grew easier. Putin served as prime minister between 2008 and 2012, and amid claims of dishonest elections, he was returned to the presidency for a third term in 2012 and in 2018 for yet another.

In 2015, the price of oil collapsed, sinking from a high of $119 a barrel to under $30 and then rising to $40 late in 2020. Lacking a diversified, innovative economy, Putin resorted to geopolitical meddling in Britain’s referendum on the European Union; French, German, Catalonian, U.S., and other elections; and in Middle Eastern conflicts, especially the civil war in Syria. All of these interventions dragged down competitors such as the European Union and the United States while Putin became a star — if an evil one in the eyes of critics. Foreign policy experts began seeing "a world in disarray" in the twenty-first century, with Russia profiting from the chaos as authoritarian rulers had done during the interwar years.

Review Question

What were the principal challenges facing the West in the first decades of the twenty-first century?

Global Culture and Society in the Twenty-First Century

While warfare, economic booms, and a range of crises continued, increased migration and growing global communications were changing culture and society. Many feared an end to national cultures and Western civilization itself. Would the world become a homogeneous mass, they asked, with everyone wearing the same kind of clothing, eating the same kind of food, watching the same films, and communicating with the same smartphones? However, as the twenty-first century progressed, others worried that there might be a new war of religions, or an age of Hitler-like dictators on a global scale. Debates centered not just on economic and political issues but on cultural and social ones as well. The questioning followed on the heels of financial crisis and ongoing terrorism, in part fueled by the disintegrating stability in the Middle East. As global communications technology connected peoples more quickly and effectively than ever before, populist and authoritarian politics, warfare, and a global pandemic added to the appearance of "a world in disarray." Communication and migration, some believed, had changed Western society even more rapidly from the 1980s into the twenty-first century than they had hundreds of years earlier. Confusion reigned and older stabilities seemed to collapse. Refugees by the millions still looked with hope toward the West despite its problems. Still, while populist politicians stoked fears of deterioration and decline, the West continued to exercise cultural influence worldwide. Westerners themselves absorbed and enjoyed the cultures of other regions. Was this all a sign of disarray or more of the interconnectedness that had developed over the centuries?

Redefining the West: The Impact of Global Migration

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

You are an official of a major Greek island to which Syrian and other refugees have flocked to escape the horrific Syrian civil war and violence elsewhere. You've seen the suffering of the many waves of refugees, and now your island has close to 2500 people who've been driven from their homes. What would your immediate concerns be? How would you prioritize the needs of the refugees, the needs of your island, and the needs of Greece as a whole? What role would the European Union's policy to accept refugees play in your judgments? How would you find funds to support the refugee camps and their needs?

The global movement of people and cultures became massive in the twenty-first century. Uneven economic development, political persecution, and warfare (which claimed more than 100 million victims even after the end of World War II in 1945) sent tens of millions in search of opportunity and safety. By 2020, France had some six million Muslims within its borders. The number in Europe as a whole is difficult to estimate because of migration from war-torn Syria. Other parts of the world were as full of migrants as the West. The oil-producing nations of the Middle East employed millions of foreign workers, who generally constituted one-third of the labor force, while in 2020 the United States estimated that it housed over forty million people born in other countries (14 percent of the total U.S. population). Around a quarter of these people are believed to be undocumented. However, the percentage of immigrants in the United States today is less than it was in the 1890s.

In 2017, genocide in Africa and in Myanmar sent still more persecuted ethnic groups searching for protection. The Iraq-Iran War and the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003 caused millions of others to flee. The rise of a violent extremist group — the so-called Islamic State — left 1.7 million additional Iraqis homeless. In 2011, Middle Eastern states experienced often successful civil uprisings against dictatorship and corruption. When calls for reform erupted in Syria, however, a vicious civil war broke out. By 2020, more than 5.5 million Syrians were registered as external refugees escaping the attacks of the Syrian government and the Islamic State. This latter group had grown stronger in the social chaos of the U.S. attack on Iraq and from there moved into Syria. The total number of migrants worldwide rose to an estimated 272 million at the beginning of 2020, many of them, however, relocating to find work.

Byron Smith/Getty Images.

Refugee Women, September 2019 These women look at the remains of a house on the island of Lesbos, Greece, that had burned the night before, killing a woman and child. The island had become a refuge for those escaping the devastating war in Syria, even as conditions in camps became ever worse. Migrants on Lesbos rose up in revolt after the fire as they sometimes did in other camps. Rumors spread across camp networks about possibilities for jobs and shelter elsewhere. Governments across Europe varied in their policies, with some countries being outspoken about the racial and religious inferiority of people who had escaped torture, murder, and other suffering.

Views of migration turned negative in the West, as the economic crisis beginning in 2008 and the advance of neoliberal policies in business attacked household budgets. Populist politicians in Europe and the United States built their followings on hatred of foreigners. Those migrating for work from countries as different as the Yugoslav republics, Egypt, Spain, Mexico, and Pakistan had earlier been accepted as workers, sending home sums of money earned abroad that constituted up to 60 percent of national income. Sometimes migration was coerced: many eastern European and Asian women were held as prostitutes in international crime rings that controlled their passports, wages, and lives. Like the illegal Congolese café proprietor Thérèse, whose story opens this chapter, many others sought to support themselves while living on the margins of the law, maintaining global ties with families from their base as workers in the West. In the context of lingering economic downturn and the rapid growth of economic inequality and insecurity, racism and claims of white supremacy greeted both new migrants and established Black and Brown citizens across Europe and the United States.

Local peoples suffering from economic woes such as unemployment caused by downsizing scapegoated foreign nonwhite workers. On the eve of EU enlargement in 2004, the respected weekly magazine *The Economist* included an article entitled “The Coming Hordes,” which warned of Britain’s being overrun by Roma (Gypsies) from eastern Europe; anti-Roma legislation surged. The Moscow rock band Corroded Metals campaigned for anti-immigrant politicians with hate-filled songs and chants in English of “Kill, kill, kill, kill the bloody foreigners” running in the background. In the spring of 2005, voters in France and the Netherlands had rejected a draft EU constitution that would have strengthened EU ties. At the time, the cause was the EU bureaucracy’s failure to consult ordinary people in decision making. Ten years later, however, EU tolerance of foreigners had swelled to such an extent that in 2016, 51 percent of British citizens voted to leave the European Union — an outcome known as **Brexit**. Many acknowledged that they abhored the EU policy of accepting refugees. In Hungary, Austria, and Poland, explicitly white supremacist governments came to power, uniting citizens around anti-immigrant, anti-homosexual and trans, and anti-EU platforms in the name of fending off terrorists and job-stealing refugees. Viktor Orban, the leader of Hungary, spoke of sustaining the white race “biologically” and not mixing “our” race with others that would drag it and Western civilization down. Still, across the West, employers sought out undocumented immigrants for the low wages they could be paid.

Global Networks and Social Change

Like migration, rapid technological change also weakened clear political, cultural, and economic borders. In 1969, the U.S. Department of Defense began to develop a computer network to carry communications in case of nuclear war. This system grew into an unregulated global system of more than ten thousand networks known as the Internet — shorthand for *internetworking*. Beginning in the 1980s, new “communities” forged via the World Wide Web followed, transcending confines of citizenship imposed by any single, bounded nation-state. By 2020, some 4.5 billion people — more than half of the world’s population — used the Internet, creating an online marketplace that offered goods and services ranging from advanced weaponry to organ transplants, which was itself a booming global business. Critics charged that communications technology favored elites and disadvantaged those without computer skills or the financial resources needed to access computers — thus further promoting inequality. Terrorists of all economic and social strata, however, including white supremacists, plotted destruction on and thrived because of the Internet.

The Internet had brought service jobs to countries that had heretofore suffered unemployment and real poverty. One of the first countries to recognize the possibilities of computing and help-desk services was Ireland, which pushed computer literacy to attract business. In 2003, U.S. firms spent $8.3 billion on outsourcing to Ireland and $7.7 billion on outsourcing to India. In that same year, the United States bought $77.38 billion in services from foreign countries and sold $131.01 billion to them, meaning in fact that more was insourced than outsourced. The Internet allowed for jobs to be apportioned anywhere. Moroccans did help-desk work for French or Spanish speakers, and in the twenty-first century, Estonia, Hungary, and the Czech Republic as well as India and the Philippines rebuilt their economies successfully by providing call-center and other business services, globalizing just as the manufacturing sector had done much earlier.

Globalization of the economy via the Internet and other technology affected the West in complex ways. Benefiting from the booming global economy of the 1990s, the Irish and eastern Europeans became integrated into the Western consumer economy, and by the 2000s, Asians and South Americans were integrated too. Non-Westerners may have taken jobs from the West, but they often sent funds back via their new purchasing power. For example, a twenty-one-year-old Indian woman, working for a service provider in Bangalore under the English name Sharon, used her salary to buy Western consumer items such as a cell phone from the Finnish company Nokia. “As a teenager I wished for so many things,” she said. “Now I’m my own Santa Claus.” Still, Western workers found this aspect of globalization threatening, as it redistributed jobs across the West and worldwide.

Digital media enabled widespread information sharing and allowed individuals and organizations to spread awareness of the daunting problems of contemporary life — population explosion, scarce resources, North–South inequities, global pollution, ethnic hatred, and global terrorism — which demand the exercise of humane values and rational thought. Positive social change has occurred, it is claimed, thanks in part to digital media. In 2011, governments were overturned relatively peacefully in Tunisia and Egypt because Facebook, Twitter, and other electronic media brought protesters together with a common purpose, with less public violence than in revolutions a century earlier.

Critics point out that other organizing, such as that of the Islamic State or U.S. terrorists, centered on violence — both in thought and deed. The Internet also became the locus of massive theft of people's identities and funds. Facebook and Twitter unwittingly promoted the rise of dangerous misinformation fostering authoritarianism. Foreign governments, notably Russia, were known to sow dissension and influence elections via tens of thousands of dollars for ads and disinformation on Facebook and other social networking platforms. Pro-Brexit politicians thus received funding, as did nationalist and anti-EU politicians in most Western countries, as a way of breaking up the economically and politically successful regional union based on democratic politics. Russian funds were also said to influence U.S. elections on behalf of antidemocratic organizations and to encourage violence in the political sphere as a way of weakening Russia's rival. Twitter and Facebook, among other social media sites, facilitated the unsuccessful overthrow of the U.S. government in January 2021. These Internet platforms allowed radicalization, organization, and funding of the attempted coup, including the plans to murder the U.S. vice president and elected members of the U.S. Congress. The paradoxes, enormous problems, and benefits of communications technology remain to be documented and reconciled.

Global Culture versus Nationalist Isolationism

Despite the sense that boundaries are suddenly weakening because of technology, cultural exchange flowing in many directions goes back millennia. In the ancient world, Greek philosophers and traders knew of distant Asian religious beliefs, and Middle Eastern religions such as Judaism and Christianity spread westward to Europe and the Western Hemisphere. Chinese students in Tiananmen Square in 1989 testified to the global power of the West when in the name of freedom they rallied around their own representation of the Statue of Liberty (which itself was a gift from France to the United States). In Japan, businesspeople wore Western-style clothing and watched soccer, baseball, and other Western sports using English terms, while Europeans and Americans wore trousers and flip-flops, carried umbrellas, and practiced yoga and martial arts — all imports from beyond the West. (Yes, a thousand years earlier, Western men had worn dress-like caftans, robes, tights, and short breeches.)

Remarkable innovations in communications integrated cultures, possibly giving them a Western flavor. Yet the flow of these innovations was not unidirectional. Satellite-beamed telecasts transported American television shows and Bollywood movies to Europe and North America — and in fact globally. American rock music sold briskly from the beginning of independence in the former Soviet bloc: more than 100,000 Czechoslovakian rock fans, including President Václav Havel, attended a Rolling Stones concert in Prague in 1990. Young Blacks on several continents forged transnational culture when they created hip-hop, rap, and other pop music styles by combining elements from Africa, the Caribbean, Afro-America, and Europe. K-pop flourished around the world. When star performers of Raï, the popular music of North African cities and the suburbs of French cities housing youth of Algerian descent, appeared onstage in Paris, tens of thousands of fans crowded into arenas and concert halls. Athletes like the Brazilian soccer player Cristiano Ronaldo and pop icons such as Beyoncé became better known to countless people than their own national leaders. Even moral titans — the Nobel Peace Prize winners Nelson Mandela, former president of South Africa, and the Dalai Lama, the spiritual leader of Tibet — were global figures.

As it had done for centuries, the West continued to devour material from other cultures — whether Hong Kong films, African textiles, Indian music, or Latin American literature. Literary hybridity shaped the work of authors with hybrid identities. Daughter of a Jamaican mother, Zadie Smith became a prize-winning author with her novel *White Teeth* (2000), which describes postimperial Britain through the lives of often bizarre and larger-than-life characters from many ethnic backgrounds. Odd science fiction technology, deep emotional wounds, and weird but hilarious situations guide a plot full of heartbreak. By 2016, in *Swing Time,* Smith wrote compassionately of the trajectories of the lives of mixed-race girls and women in Britain, jettisoning the “hysterical realism” often employed by young authors of complex ethnic heritage. In 1993, U.S. novelist **Toni Morrison** won the Nobel Prize for Literature, the first African American to do so. In works such as *Beloved* (1987) and *Home* (2012), Morrison narrates the hopes and nightmares of former slaves and their descendants as they created their lives. Her voice is uniformly realistic and relentless about the pain inflicted by racism and the bravery needed to survive.

Others probed the modern West’s history of oppression inflicted by colonialism, U.S. domination, and Stalinism. Voluntary migrant and author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie depicted the complexities of living in West Africa after colonialism had spawned authoritarian governments. Her novel *Purple Hibiscus* (2003) featured the confusing hope educated Africans found in thinking about exile to the United States. Similarly writing across cultures, Amitav Ghosh, a migrant to Britain from India, shaped his *Ibis Trilogy* (2008–2015) around a global cast of characters engaged in the South Asia–to–China opium trade and wrapped in aspects of colonial history such as indentured labor. Translated into dozens of languages, his works such as *The Glass Palace* (2000) feature global characters, action, and multiple languages intersecting for both good and as often for ill. The 2015 Nobel Prize laureate Svetlana Alexievich, who lived under communism, was a migrant journalist and writer, spending her life investigating women’s testimonies of World War II, the reaction to Chernobyl, and the sweep of Russian history under Stalin, Gorbachev, and Putin — among others. For taking on these subjects, she passed long stretches of her life in exile, as Western literature soared in all its national and multicultural complexity. (See Primary Source Analysis on pages 1106–1107.)

Authoritarianism collapsed and remerged, often disguised as populism and often using anti-Semitism and racism as rallying cries, and authors confronted these events too. In 2014, Polish author Olga Tokarczuk fictionalized a story of an eighteenth-century Jewish religious leader Jakob Frank in *The Book of Jacob*. Tokarczuk was internationally famous and celebrated in Poland following the publication of *Flights* (2007). She had traveled widely, describing the phenomenon to show readers what post-Soviet freedom felt like. The novel about Frank was greeted with rage by Poles because it thoughtfully and artistically described his successive embrace of Judaism, Catholicism, and Islam. In contrast, under populist and post-Soviet leaders, Poles were supposed to imagine themselves as stalwart Catholics virtually from the beginning of time. Tokarczuk, like Alexievich, was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature.

Contemporaneously, authors such as Maxim Osipov, a cardiologist practicing in a small town some 90 miles from Moscow, described the lives of out-of-the-way, forgotten people in a series of short stories. Corruption, religion, making do, and letting life slip away differed significantly in rural Russia, as it did in forgotten areas across the West. Alongside these wordsmiths, ordinary people in eastern Europe rethought the past, creating ceremonies to honor victims of the Gulag and of Stalin's purges, with some trying to sort out what the legacy of communism, anti-Semitism, and massive slaughter of fellow citizens had meant to their lives and to history.

Simultaneously, the United States' success in marketing its culture, along with the legacy of British imperialism, helped make English the dominant international language by the end of the twentieth century. American influence in film was dominant: films such as *Avengers: Endgame* (2019) with its unique premier in China and the *Star Wars* series earned hundreds of millions of dollars from global audiences. Yet Western audiences welcomed a stew of film creations such as the British *Slumdog Millionaire* (2009). "Bollywood" films — happy, lavish films from the Indian movie industry — had a huge following in all Western countries, while the popularity of Latin American soap operas was just one more indication that Western culture was based on mixture and global exchange.

INDRANIL MUKHERJEE/AFP/Getty Images.

***Slumdog Millionaire* Star Returns Home from the Oscars** The blockbuster film joined Bollywood flair and British screenwriting to sweep Hollywood and BAFTA award ceremonies in 2009. A rags-to-riches-amid-adversity story set in the Mumbai slums, the film featured lively young performers as well as more-seasoned Indian actors. Receiving as much acclaim back home in their neighborhoods, the actors captured Bollywood joyfulness and sincerity alongside life's tributions. Audiences globally celebrated the hero's triumphs with their ticket, DVD, and streaming purchases.

Some have called the global culture of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries **postmodernism**, defined in part as intense stylistic mixing in the arts without following an elite set of standards. Striking examples of postmodern art abound in Western society, including the AT&T Building (now known as the Sony Building) in New York City, which looks sleek and modern. Its entryway, however, is a Roman arch, and its cloud-piercing top suggests eighteenth-century Chippendale furniture. The Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain, designed by American Frank Gehry and considered bizarre by classical or even modern standards, includes forms, materials, and perspectives that, by rules of earlier decades, do not belong together. Architects working in a variety of hybrid styles completed the postunification rebuilding of the Reichstag in Berlin, whose traditional facade was given a modern dome of glass and steel, along with solar panels (see Environment Matters).

Some intellectuals defined postmodernism in political terms as part of the decline of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment ideals of human rights, individualism, and personal freedom, which were seen as modern. This political postmodernism included the decline of the Western nation-state but also the decline in respect for science. Disregard for science and the desire for extreme personal freedom — even if it meant the death of fellow citizens — became evident in the exploding pandemic that began in 2019. As computers replaced the autonomous, free self and bureaucracy had rendered representative government obsolete, the Internet became a place for conspiracies and falsehoods, but also a place where one could find health advice and useful information. Some postmodern theorists saw truth and falsehood as simply part of narrative structures and hardly different from one another.

PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

Svetlana Alexievich, Nobel Prize Lecture, December 7, 2015

Svetlana Alexievich, a journalist from Belarus, tried to account for the turmoil of late twentieth-century eastern Europe. She did so by interviewing people involved in the war in Afghanistan, World War II, the Chernobyl nuclear tragedy, the nature and fall of the Soviet Union, and life in the post-Soviet world. Often, her writing differs significantly from ordinary newspaper reporting, appearing like poetry or literary prose. Here, in a lecture on the occasion of receiving the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2015, Alexievich explains her craft.

I do not stand alone at this podium…. There are voices around me, hundreds of voices. They have always been with me, since childhood. I grew up in the countryside. As children, we loved to play outdoors, but come evening, the voices of tired village women who gathered on benches near their cottages drew us like magnets. None of them had husbands, fathers, or brothers. I don't remember men in our village after World War II: during the war, one out of four Belarusians perished, either fighting at the front or with the partisans. After the war, we children lived in a world of women. What I remember most, is that women talked about love, not death. They would tell stories about saying goodbye to the men they loved the day before they went to war, they would talk about waiting for them, and how they were still waiting. Years had passed, but they continued to wait: "I don't care if he lost his arms and legs, I'll carry him." No arms … no legs … I think I've known what love is since childhood….

Flaubert called himself a human pen; I would say that I am a human ear. When I walk down the street and catch words, phrases, and exclamations, I always think — how many novels disappear without a trace! Disappear into darkness. We haven't been able to capture the conversational side of human life for literature. We don't appreciate it, we aren't surprised or delighted by it. But it fascinates me, and has made me its captive. I love how humans talk…. I love the lone human voice. It is my greatest love and passion.

> The road to this podium has been long — almost forty years, going from person to person, from voice to voice. I can't say that I have always been up to following this path. Many times I have been shocked and frightened by human beings. I have experienced delight and revulsion. I have sometimes wanted to forget what I heard, to return to a time when I lived in ignorance. More than once, however, I have seen the sublime in people, and wanted to cry.
>
> I lived in a country where dying was taught to us from childhood. We were taught death. We were told that human beings exist in order to give everything they have, to burn out, to sacrifice themselves. We were taught to love people with weapons. Had I grown up in a different country, I couldn't have traveled this path. Evil is cruel, you have to be inoculated against it. We grew up among executioners and victims. Even if our parents lived in fear and didn't tell us everything — and more often than not they told us nothing — the very air of our life was poisoned. Evil kept a watchful eye on us.
>
> I have written five books, but I feel that they are all one book. A book about the history of a utopia….
>
> Varlam Shalamov once wrote: "I was a participant in the colossal battle, a battle that was lost, for the genuine renewal of humanity." I reconstruct the history of that battle, its victories and its defeats. The history of how people wanted to build the Heavenly Kingdom on earth. Paradise! The City of the Sun! In the end, all that remained was a sea of blood, millions of ruined human lives. There was a time, however, when no political idea of the twentieth century was comparable to communism (or the October Revolution as its symbol), a time when nothing attracted Western intellectuals and people all around the world more powerfully or emotionally….
>
> I am drawn to that small space called a human being … a single individual. In reality, that is where everything happens.
>
> Right after the war, Theodor Adorno wrote, in shock: "Writing poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric." My teacher, Ales Adamovich, whose name I mention today with gratitude, felt that writing prose about the nightmares of the 20th century was sacrilege. Nothing may be invented. You must give the truth as it is. A "super-literature" is required. The witness must speak. Nietzsche's words come to mind — no artist can live up to reality. He can't lift it….
>
> So what is it that I do? I collect the everyday life of feelings, thoughts, and words. I collect the life of my time. I'm interested in the history of the soul. The everyday life of the soul, the things that the big picture of history usually omits, or disdains. I work with missing history…. There are no borders between fact and fabrication, one flows into the other. Witnesses are not impartial. In telling a story, humans create, they wrestle time like a sculptor does marble. They are actors and creators.

I’m interested in little people. The little, great people, is how I would put it, because suffering expands people. In my books these people tell their own, little histories, and big history is told along the way. We haven’t had time to comprehend what already has and is still happening to us, we just need to say it. To begin with, we must at least articulate what happened. We are afraid of doing that, we’re not up to coping with our past….

That is more or less how my conversations with my protagonists begin. People speak from their own time, of course, they can’t speak out of a void. But it is difficult to reach the human soul, the path is littered with television and newspapers, and the superstitions of the century, its biases, its deceptions.

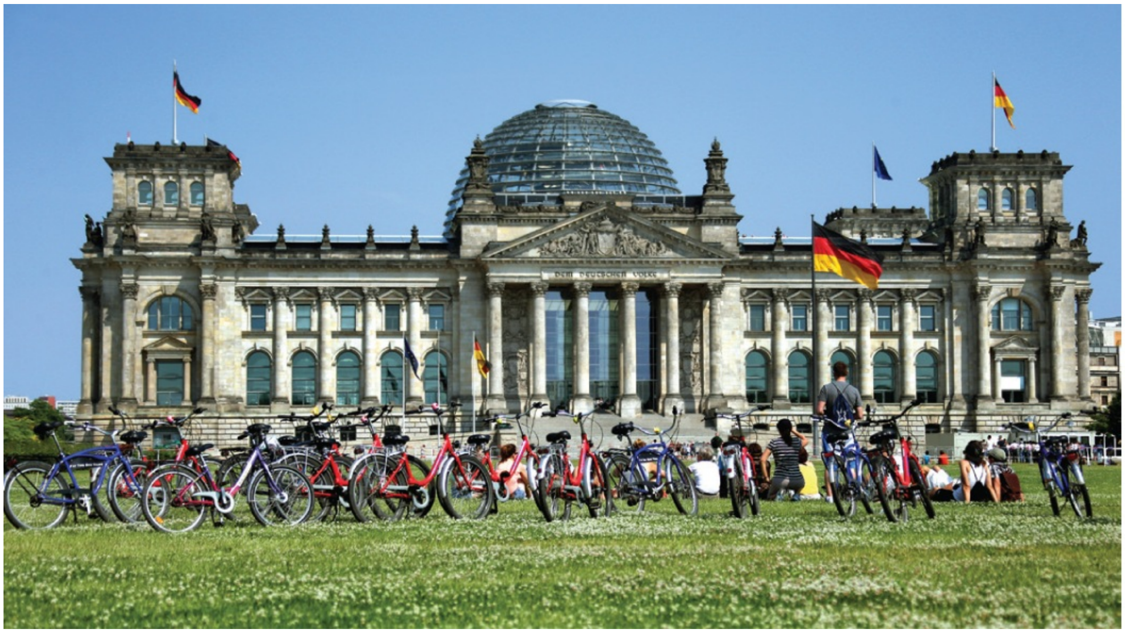
Source: Nobel Prize Web site,
https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/2015/alexievich/lecture/.

QUESTION TO CONSIDER

What is Alexievich saying about writing the history of our modern world? Of her eastern Europe? Do you agree with her approach of being the “human ear” as useful in thinking about history?

ENVIRONMENT MATTERS

The German Reichstag: Reborn and Green



Wolfgang Kumm/picture alliance/Getty Images

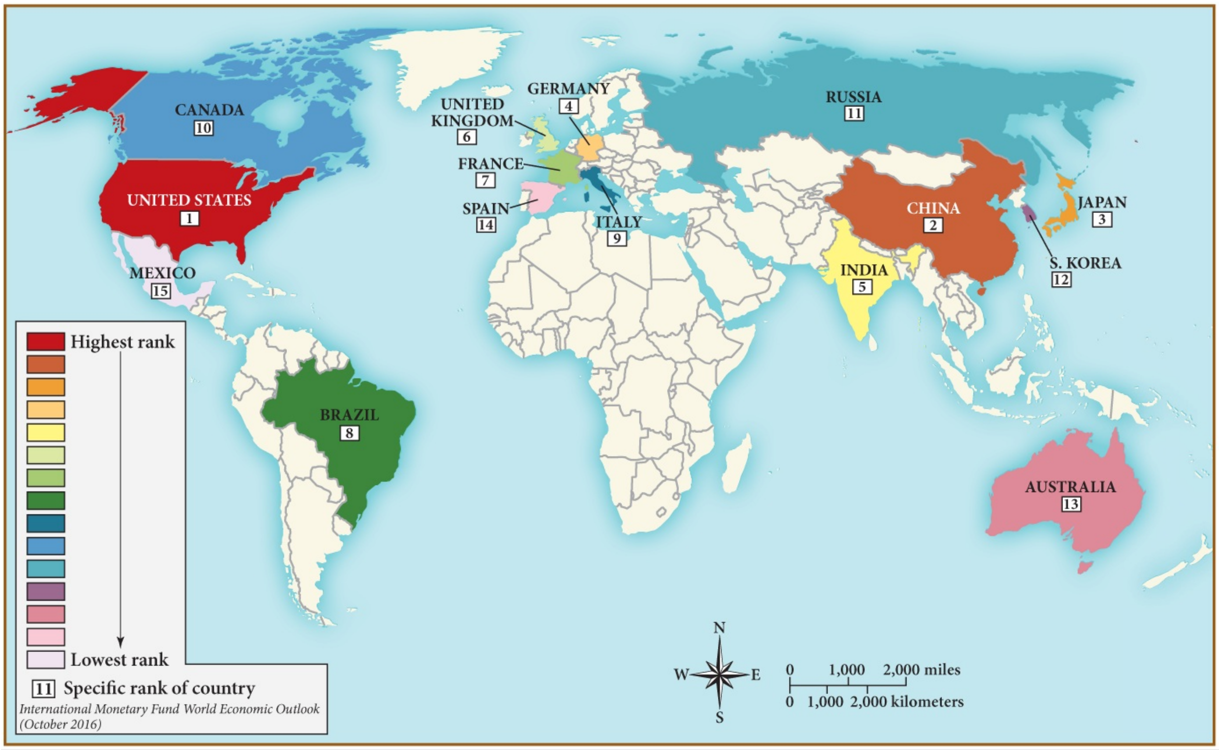
Nothing better symbolizes the end of the postwar era and the new millennium than the restoration of the Reichstag, the parliament building in Berlin. Like other manifestations of postmodernism, the restoration — designed by a British architect — preserves the old, while adding a new dome of glass, complete with solar panels that make the building self-sufficient in its energy needs. Visitors can walk around the glass dome, looking at their elected representatives deliberating below.

QUESTION TO CONSIDER

1. What does the revamping of the Reichstag in this way say about Germany’s approach to the past and the future of the nation?
2. What role do such buildings play, if any, in the drive to halt climate change?

REVIEW QUESTION

What social and cultural questions has globalization raised?



International Monetary Fund World Economic Outlook (October 2016)

Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAPPING THE WEST

The World's Top Fifteen Economies as of 2021

From the nineteenth to the twenty-first centuries, the comparative economic strength of individual nations changed considerably. In the nineteenth century, India and China had the largest economies; they were eclipsed by the European powers as the Industrial Revolution progressed. The European powers in turn were eventually overtaken by the United States. By the end of the twentieth century, the reemergence of non-Western economic powerhouses marked another transformation.

Analyzing the Map: How would you describe economic dynamism in the twenty-first century as shown in the map? How has the place of Western economies changed?

Making Connections: How would you describe the connections between regional wealth around the globe today and the history of modern empires?

Conclusion

Have humane values weakened in the global age? The urge to find practical solutions to the daunting problems of contemporary life — population explosion, scarce resources, pollution, global warming, ethnic hatred and racism, North–South inequities, terrorism, authoritarianism, and a lethal global pandemic — through the careful assessment of facts at best still guides public policy. Some of these global problems were briefly overshadowed by the collapse of the Soviet empire, which initially produced human misery, rising criminality, and the flight of population during the 1990s and into the 2000s. Reformers who sought improved conditions of life by bringing down Soviet and Yugoslav communism saw unexpected dictatorship, bloodshed and even genocide unfold. What appeared to be an economic boom resulting from globalization and the collapse of communism itself had disadvantages, as the sustained crisis from 2007 on cost jobs, harmed human well-being, continued the escalation of economic inequality, and produced a violently racist and hate-filled politics.

Yet the years since 1989 have also seen great improvements. Glimmers of progress toward democracy appeared, even as gains at times appeared fragile and at other times seemed to recede. Human health gradually improved even as scientists sought to cure the victims of global pandemics and to prevent such ravages altogether. The global age ushered in by the Soviet collapse unexpectedly brought denationalization to many regions of the world, leading to weakening of borders and attempts at cooperation among former enemies. The expansion of the European Union and the tightening of many relationships within it are the best example of this development even as they also dealt with economic adversity and the rise of authoritarianism among its members.

Some consequences of increasing globalization are still being determined. The Internet and migration suggest that people’s empathy for one another has grown worldwide. One commentator claimed that there was little bloodshed in the collapse of the Soviet empire because fax machines and television circulated images of events globally, muting the violence often associated with political revolution. At the same time, militants from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Indonesia, the Philippines, North Africa, Britain, France, Germany, the United States, and elsewhere unleashed terrorism on their own citizens and the world. Each incident was shocking, including the planned murder of seventeen French journalists, Jews doing grocery shopping, and police defending society in the winter of 2015, and the killings by “lone wolf” attackers in subsequent years. Nor did powerful countries hesitate to wage wars against Ukraine, Chechnya, Kuwait, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Lebanon — or against their own people, as in Myanmar and Syria. On a different level, even as globalization raised standards of living and education in many parts of the world, in other areas — such as the poorest regions in Africa and Asia — people faced disease and the dramatic social and economic crises specifically associated with genocide in the global age. In wealthy areas, the recent coronavirus pandemic has bred cooperation with public health officials and the simultaneous onslaught of death threats against these same public servants, and homicidal behavior toward fellow citizens as segments of the population mocked the directives of scientists to protect communities from the disease.

In contrast, the most hopeful developments in recent globalization have been communication in the arts and in culture more generally, and the cooperation that many nations undertook with one another in the realms of health, economics, and politics. Social media via the World Wide Web has offered people in families, localities, nations, and the world a new way of communicating, while simultaneously facilitating terrorism, undermining democratic institutions, and promoting the rise of authoritarian politics in the West. Thus, both opportunities and challenges lie ahead for citizens of the West and of the world as they engage in the **Digital Age**.

The challenge to the making of the West today involves the inventive human spirit. Over the centuries, the West has benefited from its philosophical, scientific, and technological advances, and perhaps never more than in our own times. Although communication and information technology have brought people closer to one another than ever before, the use of technology has made the period from 1900 to the present one of the bloodiest, hate-filled eras in human history — and one during which the use of technology has threatened, and still threatens, the future of our planet as a home for the human race. While technology has enhanced daily life, its potential for military mass murder, genocide, terrorism, and environmental deterioration pose great challenges to the West and to the world. The use of digital media to discredit democracy and promote violent causes, including the recruitment of ideologically motivated murderers, makes technology's challenges even more significant. How will the human race adapt to the creativity unleashed by the Digital Age? How will the West and the world manage both the promises and the challenges of Digital Age technology to protect humanity and human values in the years ahead?

Chapter 29 Review

Key Terms and People

Be sure you can identify the term or person and explain its historical significance.

globalization
Slobodan Milosevic
ethnic cleansing
Vladimir Putin
Maastricht Treaty
European Union (EU)
euro
nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)
global warming
Green Party
Osama bin Laden
Brexit
Toni Morrison
postmodernism
Digital Age

Review Questions

1. What were the major issues facing the former Soviet bloc in the 1990s and early 2000s?
2. What trends suggest that the nation-state was a contested institution at the beginning of the twenty-first century?
3. What were the principal challenges facing the West in the first decades the twenty-first century?
4. What social and cultural questions has globalization raised?

Making Connections

1. In what ways were global connections at the beginning of the twenty-first century different from the global connections at the beginning of the twentieth century?
2. How did the Western nation-state of the early twenty-first century differ from the Western nation-state at the beginning of the twentieth century?
3. Migration has been a major factor across the human past. How has it affected the West differently in the twenty-first century?
4. Economic crises caused by climate change, the spread of disease, and trade and financial disturbances have been constants throughout history. How does the economic crisis that began in 2007 compare to earlier crises?

Important Events

1990s	Internet revolution
1990–1991	War in Persian Gulf
1991	Civil war erupts in former Yugoslavia; failed coup by Communist hard-liners in Soviet Union
1992	Soviet Union is dissolved
1993	Toni Morrison wins Nobel Prize for Literature; Czechoslovakia splits into Czech Republic and Slovakia
1994	Nelson Mandela is elected president of South Africa; Russian troops invade Chechnya; European Union is officially formed
1999	European Union introduces the euro; world population reaches six billion
2000	Vladimir Putin becomes president of Russia
2001	September 11 terrorist attacks; United States declares “war against terrorism,” attacks Afghanistan
2003	United States invades Iraq; the West divides on this policy
2004	Ten countries join European Union
2005	Emissions reductions of Kyoto Protocol go into effect
2007	Bulgaria and Romania are admitted to European Union; world economic crisis begins
2009	Barack Obama becomes the first African American president of the United States
2010	China overtakes Japan to become world’s second largest economy
2013	Croatia admitted to the European Union
2014	Russia annexes Crimea and sends military assistance to anti-Ukraine forces

2015	Mass murders of journalists (January) and concertgoers (November) in Paris
2016	Britain votes to leave the European Union in the Brexit referendum
2017	U.S. withdraws from Paris Accord; Austria elects anti-immigrant leader
2018–2020s	Prominence of authoritarian leaders
2019–2021	COVID-19 spreads worldwide

Consider three events

Internet revolution (1990s), Soviet Union is dissolved (1992), and European Union is officially formed (1994). How did each of these events help to bring about a more interconnected, globalized world?

Suggested References

Studies of the globalized world describe both hopeful efforts to cure disease and survive migration and devastating effects of terrorism and ethnic conflict. Interesting works portray politics and everyday life in post-Soviet Russia and eastern Europe.

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Glossary of Key Terms and People

This glossary contains definitions of terms and people that are central to your understanding of the material covered in this textbook. Each term or person in the glossary is in **boldface** in the text when it is first defined. We have also included the page number on which the full discussion of the term or person appears so that you can easily locate the complete explanation to strengthen your historical vocabulary.

For words or names not defined here, two additional resources may be useful: the index, which will direct you to many more topics discussed in the text, and a good dictionary.

abolitionists (645):
Advocates of the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery.

absolutism (561):
A system of government in which the ruler claims sole and uncontestable power.

agricultural revolution (610):
Increasingly aggressive attitudes toward investment in and management of land that increased production of food in the 1700s.

Alexander II (791):
Russian tsar (r. 1855–1881) who initiated the age of Great Reforms and emancipated the serfs in 1861.

Anabaptists (513):
Sixteenth-century Protestants who believed that only adults could truly have faith and accept baptism.

anarchism (814):
The belief that people should not have government; it was popular among some peasants and workers in the last half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth.

appeasement (975):
Making concessions in the face of grievances as a way of preventing conflict.

art nouveau (882):

An early-twentieth-century artistic style in graphics, fashion, and household design that featured flowing, sinuous lines, borrowed in large part from Asian art.

Atlantic system (601):

The network of trade established in the 1700s that bound together western Europe, Africa, and the Americas. Europeans sold slaves from western Africa and bought commodities that were produced by the new colonial plantations in North and South America and the Caribbean.

baroque (buh ROHK) (553):

An artistic style of the seventeenth century that featured curves, exaggerated lighting, intense emotions, release from restraint, and even a kind of artistic sensationalism.

battle of Waterloo (725):

The final battle lost by Napoleon; it took place near Brussels on June 18, 1815, and led to the deposed emperor's final exile.

Beauvoir, Simone de (see MAWN duh bohv WAHR) (1026):

Author of *The Second Sex* (1949), a globally influential work that created an interpretation of women's age-old inferior status from existentialist philosophy.

Beethoven, Ludwig van (735):

The German composer (1770–1827) who helped set the direction of musical romanticism; his music used recurring and evolving themes to convey the impression of natural growth.

bin Laden, Osama (1097):

Wealthy leader of the militant Islamic group al-Qaeda, which executed terrorist plots, including the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States, to end the presence of U.S. forces in his home country, Saudi Arabia.

Bismarck, Otto von (797): 1815–1898.

Leading Prussian politician and German prime minister who waged war in order to create a united German Empire, which was established in 1871.

Blitzkrieg (977):

Literally "lightning war"; a strategy for the conduct of war (used by the Germans in World War II) in which motorized firepower quickly and overwhelmingly attacks the enemy, leaving it unable to resist psychologically or militarily.

Bolívar, Simón (739): 1783–1830.

The Venezuelan-born, European-educated aristocrat who became one of the leaders of the Latin American independence movement in the 1820s. Bolivia is named after him.

Bolshevik Revolution (921):

The overthrow of Russia's Provisional Government in the fall of 1917 by V. I. Lenin and his Bolshevik forces.

Bonaparte, Louis-Napoleon (777): 1808–1873.

Nephew of Napoleon I; he was elected president of France in 1848, declared himself Emperor Napoleon III in 1852, and ruled until 1870.

Bonaparte, Napoleon (712): 1769–1821.

The French general who became First Consul in 1799 and emperor (Napoleon I) in 1804; after losing the battle of Waterloo in 1815, he was exiled to the island of St. Helena.

Brexit (1103):

An invented term first referring to the referendum held in June 2016 to determine whether Britain would leave the European Union. With the referendum outcome favoring leaving, Brexit now refers to the process of negotiating the terms of the withdrawal from Europe.

buccaneers (607):

Pirates of the Caribbean who governed themselves and preyed on international shipping.

bureaucracy (568):

A network of state officials carrying out orders according to a regular and routine line of authority.

Calvin, John (508):

French-born Christian humanist (1509–1564) and founder of Calvinism, one of the major branches of the Protestant Reformation; he led the reform movement in Geneva, Switzerland, from 1541 to 1564.

capital-intensive industry (841):

A mid-to-late-nineteenth-century development in industry that required great investments of money for machinery and infrastructure to make a profit.

Cavour, Camillo di (794):

Prime minister (1852–1861) of the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia and architect of a united Italy.

Chaplin, Charlie (970):
Major entertainment leader, whose sympathetic portrayals of the common man and satires of Hitler helped preserve democratic values in the 1930s and 1940s.

Charles V (508):
Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1519–1556) and the most powerful ruler in sixteenth-century Europe; he reigned over the Low Countries, Spain, Spain's Italian and New World dominions, and the Austrian Habsburg lands.

Chartism (775):
The British movement of supporters of the People's Charter (1838), which demanded universal manhood suffrage, vote by secret ballot, equal electoral districts, and other reforms.

Christian Democrats (1006):
Powerful center to center-right political parties that evolved in the late 1940s from former Catholic parties of the pre–World War II period.

Christian humanism (503):
A general intellectual trend in the sixteenth century that coupled love of classical learning, as in Renaissance humanism, with an emphasis on Christian piety.

Civil Code (716):
The French legal code formulated by Napoleon in 1804; it ensured equal treatment under the law to all men and guaranteed religious liberty, but it curtailed many rights of women.

civil disobedience (956):
The act of deliberately but peacefully breaking the law, a tactic used by Mohandas Gandhi in India and earlier by British suffragists to protest oppression and obtain political change.

Civil Rights Act (1051):
A U.S. civil rights and labor law enacted by President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964 which forbade racial segregation in public facilities and created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to fight job discrimination based on "race, color, national origin, religion, and sex."

classicism (590):
A seventeenth-century style of painting and architecture that reflected the ideals of the art of antiquity; in classicism, geometric shapes, order, and harmony of lines took precedence over the

sensuous, exuberant, and emotional forms of the baroque.

cold war (996):
The rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union from 1945 to 1989 that led to massive growth in nuclear weapons on both sides.

Columbus, Christopher (495):
An Italian sailor (1451–1506) who opened up the New World by sailing west across the Atlantic in search of a route to Asia.

communists (773):
Those socialists who after 1840 (when the word was first used) advocated the abolition of private property in favor of communal, collective ownership.

Congress of Vienna (728):
Face-to-face negotiations (1814–1815) between the great powers to settle the boundaries of European states and determine who would rule each nation after the defeat of Napoleon.

conservatism (731):
A political doctrine that emerged after 1789 and took hold after 1815; it rejected much of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, preferring monarchies over republics, tradition over revolution, and established religion over Enlightenment skepticism.

constitutionalism (561):
A system of government in which rulers share power with parliaments made up of elected representatives.

consumer revolution (608):
The rapid increase in consumption of new staples produced in the Atlantic system as well as of other items of daily life that were previously unavailable or beyond the reach of ordinary people.

Continental System (722):
The boycott of British goods in France and its satellites ordered by Napoleon in 1806; it had success but was later undermined by smuggling.

Corn Laws (770):
Tariffs on grain in Great Britain that benefited landowners by preventing the import of cheap foreign grain; they were repealed by the British government in 1846.

Cortés, Hernán (499):
The Spanish explorer (1485–1547) who captured the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán (present-day Mexico City), in 1519.

Council of Trent (515):
A general council of the Catholic church that met at Trent between 1545 and 1563 to set Catholic doctrine, reform church practices, and defend the church against the Protestant challenge.

Cuban missile crisis (1031):
The confrontation in 1962 between the United States and the USSR over Soviet installation of missile sites off the U.S. coast in Cuba.

cult of the offensive (913):
A military strategy of constantly attacking the enemy that was believed to be the key to winning World War I but that brought great loss of life while failing to bring decisive victory.

Darwin, Charles (819):
The English naturalist (1809–1882) who popularized the theory of evolution by means of natural selection and thereby challenged the biblical story of creation.

de-Christianization (692):
During the French Revolution, the campaign of extremist republicans against organized churches and in favor of a belief system based on reason.

Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (683):
The preamble to the French constitution drafted in August 1789; it established the sovereignty of the nation and equal rights for citizens.

decolonization (1014):
The process — whether violent or peaceful — by which colonies gained their independence from the imperial powers after World War II.

deists (644):
Those who believe in God but give him no active role in human affairs. Deists of the Enlightenment believed that God had designed the universe and set it in motion but no longer intervened in its functioning.

Digital Age (1112):
The twenty first century’s diffusion of powerful micro-computer technology that enabled

information-intensive production and the transformation of personal communication.

DNA (1042):
The genetic material that forms the basis of each cell; the discovery of its structure in 1952 revolutionized genetics, molecular biology, and other scientific and medical fields.

domesticity (764):
An ideology prevailing in the nineteenth century that women should devote themselves to their families and the home.

Dual Alliance (862):
A defensive alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary created in 1879 as part of Bismarck's system of alliances to prevent or limit war. It was joined by Italy in 1882 as a third partner and then called the Triple Alliance.

dual monarchy (800):
The shared power arrangement between the Habsburg Empire and Hungary after the Prussian defeat of the Austrian Empire in 1866–1867.

Duma (895):
The Russian parliament set up in the aftermath of the outbreak of the Revolution of 1905.

Edict of Nantes (531):
The decree issued by French king Henry IV in 1598 that granted the Huguenots a large measure of religious toleration.

Einstein, Albert (879):
Scientist whose theory of relativity (1905) revolutionized modern physics and other fields of thought.

Eliot, George (816):
The pen name of English novelist Mary Ann Evans (1819–1880), who described the harsh reality of many ordinary people's lives in her works.

Elizabeth I (534):
English queen (r. 1558–1603) who oversaw the return of the Protestant Church of England and, in 1588, the successful defense of the realm against the Spanish Armada.

Enabling Act (964):

The legislation passed in 1933 Germany suspending constitutional government for four years in order to meet the crisis in the economy.

enlightened despots (660):
Rulers — such as Catherine the Great of Russia, Frederick the Great of Prussia, and Joseph II of Austria — who tried to promote Enlightenment reforms without giving up their own supreme political power; also called enlightened absolutists.

Enlightenment (628):
The eighteenth-century intellectual movement whose proponents believed that human beings could apply a critical, reasoning spirit to every problem.

Entente Cordiale (899):
An alliance between Britain and France that began with an agreement in 1904 to honor colonial holdings.

Estates General (679):
A body of deputies from the three estates, or orders, of France: the clergy (First Estate), the nobility (Second Estate), and everyone else (Third Estate).

ethnic cleansing (1082):
The mass murder — genocide — of people according to ethnicity or nationality; it can also include eliminating all traces of the murdered people's past. Examples include the post–World War I elimination of minorities in eastern and central Europe and the rape and murders that resulted from the breakup of Yugoslavia in the 1990s.

euro (1086):
The common currency in seventeen member states of the European Union (EU) and of EU institutions. It went into effect gradually, used first in business transactions in 1999 and entering public circulation in 2002.

European Economic Community (EEC or Common Market) (1008):
A consortium of six European countries established in 1957 to promote free trade and economic cooperation among its members; its membership and activities expanded over the years, and it later evolved into the European Union (EU).

European Union (EU) (1086):
Formerly the European Economic Community (EEC, or Common Market), and then the

European Community (EC); formed in 1994 by the terms of the Maastricht Treaty. Its members have political ties through the European parliament as well as long-standing common economic, legal, and business mechanisms.

existentialism (1026):
A philosophy prominent after World War II developed primarily by Jean-Paul Sartre to stress the importance of action in the creation of an authentic self.

family allowance (968):
Government funds given to families with children to boost the birthrate in democratic countries (e.g., Sweden during the Great Depression) and totalitarian ones alike.

fascism (943):
A doctrine that emphasizes violence and glorifies the state over the people and their individual or civil rights; in Italy, the Fascist Party took hold in the 1920s as Mussolini consolidated power.

First Consul (714):
The most important of the three consuls established by the French Constitution of 1800; the title, given to Napoleon Bonaparte, was taken from ancient Rome.

five-year plans (959):
Centralized programs for economic development begun in 1929 by Joseph Stalin and copied by Adolf Hitler; these plans set production priorities and gave production targets for individual industries and agriculture.

Fourteen Points (919):
U.S. president Woodrow Wilson’s World War I peace proposal; based on settlement rather than on conquest, it encouraged the surrender of the Central Powers.

Franco, Francisco (974): 1892–1975.
Right-wing general who in 1936 successfully overthrew the democratic republic in Spain and instituted a repressive dictatorship.

Frederick William of Hohenzollern (586):
The Great Elector of Brandenburg-Prussia (r. 1640–1688) who brought his nation through the end of the Thirty Years’ War and then succeeded in welding his scattered lands into an absolutist state.

Freemasons (655):

Members of Masonic lodges, where nobles and middle-class professionals (and even some artisans) shared interest in the Enlightenment and reform.

Freud, Sigmund (876):
Viennese medical doctor and founder, in the late nineteenth century, of psychoanalysis, a theory of mental processes and problems and a method of treating them.

Gladstone, William (856): 1809–1898.
Liberal politician and prime minister of Great Britain who innovated in popular campaigning and who criticized British imperialism.

glasnost (1066):
Literally “openness” or “publicity”; a policy instituted in the 1980s by Soviet premier Mikhail Gorbachev calling for greater openness in speech and in thinking, which translated to the reduction of censorship in publishing, radio, television, and other media.

globalization (1078):
The interconnection of labor, capital, ideas, services, and goods around the world. Although globalization has existed for hundreds of years, the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries are seen as more global because of the speed with which people, goods, and ideas travel the world.

global warming (1093):
An increase in the temperature of the earth’s lower atmosphere resulting from a buildup of chemical emissions.

Glorious Revolution (579):
The events of 1688 when Tories and Whigs replaced England’s monarch James II with his Protestant daughter, Mary, and her husband, Dutch ruler William of Orange; William and Mary agreed to a Bill of Rights that guaranteed rights to Parliament.

Gorbachev, Mikhail (1065):
Leader of the Soviet Union (1985–1991) who instituted reforms such as glasnost and perestroika, thereby contributing to the collapse of Communist rule in the Soviet bloc and the USSR.

Great Fear (683):
The term used by historians to describe the French rural panic of 1789, which led to peasant attacks on aristocrats or on seigneurial records of peasants’ dues.

Green Party (1093):
A political party first formed in West Germany in 1979 to bring about environmentally sound policies. It spread across Europe and around the world thereafter.

heliocentrism (548):
The view articulated by Polish clergyman Nicolaus Copernicus that the earth and other planets revolve around the sun.

Henry VIII (510):
The English king (r. 1509–1547) who first opposed the Protestant Reformation and then broke with the Catholic church, naming himself head of the Church of England in the Act of Supremacy of 1534.

Hitler, Adolf (961): 1889–1945.
Chancellor of Germany (1933–1945) who, with considerable backing, overturned democratic government, created the Third Reich, persecuted millions, and ultimately led Germany and the world into World War II.

home rule (858):
The right to an independent parliament demanded by the Irish and resisted by the British from the second half of the nineteenth century on.

ideology (748):
A word coined during the French Revolution to refer to a coherent set of beliefs about the way the social and political order should be organized.

imperialism (765):
European dominance of the non-West through economic exploitation and political rule; the word (as distinct from *colonialism*, which usually implied establishment of settler colonies, often with slavery) was coined in the mid-nineteenth century.

impressionism (853):
A mid- to late-nineteenth-century artistic style that captured the sensation of light in images, derived from Japanese influences and in opposition to the realism of photographs.

Industrial Revolution (748):
The transformation of life in the Western world over several decades in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a result of the introduction of steam-driven machinery, large

factories, and a new working class.

in vitro fertilization (1044):
A process developed in the 1970s by which human eggs are fertilized with sperm outside the body and then implanted in a woman's uterus.

Jacobin Club (688):
A French political club formed in 1789 that inspired the formation of a national network whose members dominated the revolutionary government during the Terror.

Jesuits (516):
Members of the Society of Jesus, a Catholic religious order founded by Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) and approved by the pope in 1540. Jesuits served as missionaries and educators all over the world.

Kennedy, John Fitzgerald (1031):
U.S. president (1961–1963) who faced off with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev in the Cuban missile crisis.

Khrushchev, Nikita (nyih KEE tuh kroosh CHAWF) (1013):
Leader of the USSR from c. 1955 until his dismissal in 1964; known for his speech denouncing Stalin, creation of the "thaw," and participation in the Cuban missile crisis.

Kollontai, Aleksandra (941):
A Russian activist and minister of public welfare in the Bolshevik government who promoted social programs such as birth control and day care for children of working parents.

Kulturkampf (818):
Literally "culture war"; a term used in the 1870s by German chancellor Otto von Bismarck to describe his fight to weaken the power of the Catholic church.

laissez-faire (LEH say FEHR) (649):
French for "leave alone"; an economic doctrine developed by Adam Smith that advocated freeing the economy from government intervention and control.

League of Nations (926):
The international organization set up following World War I to maintain peace by arbitrating disputes and promoting collective security.

Lebensraum (972):
Literally, "living space"; the land that Hitler proposed to conquer so that the people he defined as true Aryans might have sufficient space to live their noble lives.

Lenin, V. I. (920):
Bolshevik leader who executed the Bolshevik Revolution in the fall of 1917, took Russia out of World War I, and imposed communism in Russia.

Leopold II (830):
King of Belgium (r. 1865–1909) who sponsored the takeover of the Congo in Africa, which he ran with great violence against native peoples.

Lepanto (533):
A site off the Greek coast where, in 1571, the allied Catholic forces of Spain's king Philip II, Venice, and the papacy defeated the Ottoman Turks in a great sea battle; the victory gave the Christian powers control of the Mediterranean.

Levellers (576):
Disgruntled soldiers in Oliver Cromwell's New Model Army who in 1647 wanted to "level" social differences and extend political participation to all male property owners.

liberalism (770):
An economic and political ideology that — tracing its roots to John Locke in the seventeenth century and Enlightenment philosophers in the eighteenth — emphasized free trade and the constitutional guarantees of individual rights such as freedom of speech and religion; its adherents stood between conservatives on the right and revolutionaries on the left in the nineteenth century.

limited liability corporation (841):
A legal entity, such as a factory or other enterprise, developed in the second half of the nineteenth century whose owners were liable for only restricted (limited) amounts of money owed to creditors in the case of financial failure.

Louis XIV (562):
French king (r. 1643–1715) who in theory personified absolutism but in practice had to gain the cooperation of nobles, local officials, and even the ordinary subjects who manned his armies and paid his taxes.

Louis XVI (679):
French king (r. 1774–1792) who was tried for treason during the French Revolution; he was executed on January 21, 1793.

L'Ouverture, Toussaint (704):
Haitian military general and former enslaved person who led the St. Domingue uprising against the French. He became a hero to abolitionists everywhere and a potent symbol of Black struggles to win freedom.

Luther, Martin (503):
A German monk (1483–1546) who started the Protestant Reformation in 1517 by challenging the practices and doctrines of the Catholic church and advocating salvation through faith alone.

Maastricht Treaty (1086):
The agreement among the members of the European Community to have a closer alliance, including the use of common passports and eventually the development of a common currency; by the terms of this treaty, the European Community became the European Union (EU) in 1994.

mandate system (927):
The political control over the former colonies and territories of the German and Ottoman Empires granted to the victors of World War I by the League of Nations.

Marie-Antoinette (679):
Wife of Louis XVI and queen of France who was tried for treason during the French Revolution and executed in October 1793.

Marshall Plan (1002):
A post–World War II program funded by the United States to get Europe back on its feet economically and thereby reduce the appeal of communism. It played an important role in the rebirth of European prosperity in the 1950s.

Marxism (814):
A body of thought about the organization of production, social inequality, and the processes of revolutionary change as devised by the philosopher and economist Karl Marx.

Mazzini, Giuseppe (769):
An Italian nationalist (1805–1872) who founded Young Italy, a secret society to promote Italian unity. He believed that a popular uprising would create a unified Italy.

Médicis, Catherine de (529):
Italian-born mother of French king Charles IX (r. 1560–1574); she served as regent and tried but failed to prevent religious warfare between Calvinists and Catholics.

mercantilism (568):
The economic doctrine that governments must intervene to increase national wealth by whatever means possible.

mestizos (607):
Individuals born to a Spanish father and a native American mother.

Methodism (653):
A religious movement founded by John Wesley (1703–1791) that broke with the Church of England and insisted on strict self-discipline and a “methodical” approach to religious study and observance.

Metternich, Klemens von (KLAY mehnts fawn MEH tur nihk) (729):
An Austrian prince (1773–1859) who took the lead in devising the post-Napoleonic settlement arranged by the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815).

Milosevic, Slobodan (1081):
President of Serbia (1989–1997) who pushed for Serb control of post-Communist Yugoslavia; in 2002, he was tried for crimes against humanity in the ethnic cleansing that accompanied the dissolution of the Yugoslav state.

mir (mihr) (793):
A Russian farm community that provided for holding land in common and regulating the movements of any individual by the group.

Mitteleuropa (miht el oy ROH pah) (900):
Literally, “central Europe,” but used by military leaders in Germany before World War I to refer to land in both central and eastern Europe that they hoped to acquire.

modernism (877):
Artistic styles around the turn of the twentieth century that featured a break with realism in art and literature and with lyricism in music.

Morrison, Toni (1108):
The first African American woman to win the Nobel Prize for Literature; her works include

Beloved (1987), *Jazz* (1992), and *A Mercy* (2008).

multinational corporation (1044):
A business that operates in many foreign countries by sending large segments of its manufacturing, finance, sales, and other business components abroad.

Mussolini, Benito (942):
Leader of Italian fascist movement and, after the March on Rome in 1922, dictator of Italy.

nation-states (794):
An independent political unit of modern times based on representing a united people.

nationalism (768):
An ideology that arose in the nineteenth century and that holds that all peoples derive their identities from their nations, which are defined by common languages, shared cultural traditions, and sometimes religion.

Nazi-Soviet Pact (976):
The agreement reached in 1939 by Germany and the Soviet Union in which both agreed not to attack the other in case of war and to divide any conquered territories.

neoliberalism (1064):
A theory first promoted by British prime minister Margaret Thatcher, calling for a return to liberal principles of the nineteenth century, including the reduction of welfare-state programs and the cutting of taxes for the wealthy to promote economic growth.

new unionism (855):
A nineteenth-century development in labor organizing that replaced local craft-based unions with those that extended membership to all kinds of workers.

new woman (874):
A woman who, from the 1880s on, dressed practically, moved about freely, and often supported herself.

Nicholas II (888):
Tsar of Russia (r. 1894–1917) who promoted anti-Semitism and resisted reform in the empire.

Nietzsche, Friedrich (877):
Late-nineteenth-century German philosopher who called for a new morality in the face of God's

death at the hands of science and whose theories were reworked by his sister to emphasize militarism and anti-Semitism.

Nightingale, Florence (791):
The Englishwoman who in the nineteenth century pioneered the professionalization of nursing and the use of statistics in the study of public health and the well-being of the military.

Nixon, Richard (1059):
U.S. president (1969–1974) who escalated the Vietnam War, worked for accommodation with China, and resigned from the presidency after trying to block free elections.

nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) (1092):
Charitable foundations and activist groups such as Doctors Without Borders that work outside of governments, often on political, economic, and relief issues; also, philanthropic organizations such as the Rockefeller, Ford, and Open Society Foundations that shape economic and social policy and the course of political reform.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (1004):
The security alliance formed in 1949 to provide a unified military force for the United States, Canada, and their allies in western Europe and Scandinavia.

Nuremberg Laws (966):
Legislation enacted by the Nazis in 1935 that deprived Jewish Germans of their citizenship and imposed many other hardships on them.

Opium War (767):
War between China and Great Britain (1839–1842) that resulted in the opening of four Chinese ports to Europeans and British sovereignty over Hong Kong.

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) (1060):
A consortium that regulated the supply and export of oil and that acted with more unanimity after the United States supported Israel against the Arabs in the wars of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Ostpolitik (1050):
A policy initiated by West German foreign minister Willy Brandt in the late 1960s in which West Germany sought better economic relations with the Communist countries of eastern Europe.

outwork (839):

The nineteenth-century process of having some aspects of industrial work done outside factories in individual homes.

Pan-Slavism (801):
The nineteenth-century movement calling for the unity of all Slavs across national and regional boundaries.

Pankhurst, Emmeline (886): 1858–1928.
Organizer of a militant branch of the British suffrage movement, working actively for women's right to vote.

Parnell, Charles Stewart (858):
Irish politician (1846–1891) whose advocacy of home rule was a thorn in the side of the British establishment.

partition of Poland (662):
Division of one-third of Poland-Lithuania's territory between Prussia, Russia, and Austria in 1772.

Peace of Augsburg (522):
The treaty of 1555 that settled disputes between Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and his Protestant princes. It recognized the Lutheran church and established the principle that all Catholic or Lutheran princes enjoyed the sole right to determine the religion of their lands and subjects.

Peace of Paris (925):
The series of peace treaties (1919–1920) that provided the settlement of World War I. The Treaty of Versailles with Germany was the centerpiece of the Peace of Paris.

Peace of Westphalia (539):
The settlement (1648) of the Thirty Years' War; it established enduring religious divisions in the Holy Roman Empire by which Lutheranism would dominate in the north, Calvinism in the area of the Rhine River, and Catholicism in the south.

perestroika (1066):
Literally, "restructuring"; an economic policy instituted in the 1980s by Soviet premier Mikhail Gorbachev calling for the introduction of market mechanisms and the achievement of greater efficiency in manufacturing, agriculture, and services.

Peter the Great (620):
Russian tsar Peter I (r. 1689–1725), who undertook the Westernization of Russia and built a new capital city named after himself, St. Petersburg.

Philip II (531):
King of Spain (r. 1556–1598) and the most powerful ruler in Europe; he reigned over the western Habsburg lands and all the Spanish colonies recently settled in the New World.

philosophes (f¯e-l-'z˙of) (640):
French for “philosophers”; public intellectuals of the Enlightenment who wrote on subjects ranging from current affairs to art criticism with the goal of furthering reform in society.

Pietism (615):
A Protestant revivalist movement of the early eighteenth century that emphasized deeply emotional individual religious experience.

plantation (603):
A large tract of land that produced staple crops such as sugar, coffee, and tobacco; was farmed by slave labor; and was owned by a colonial settler.

***politiques* (poh lih TEEK) (531):**
Political advisers during the sixteenth-century French Wars of Religion who argued that compromise in matters of religion would strengthen the monarchy.

pop art (1048):
A style in the visual arts that mimicked advertising and consumerism and that used ordinary objects as a part of paintings and other compositions.

Popular Front (969):
An alliance of political parties (initially led by Léon Blum in France) in the 1930s to resist fascism despite philosophical differences.

positivism (821):
A theory developed in the mid-nineteenth century that the study of facts would generate accurate, or “positive,” laws of society and that these laws could, in turn, help in the formulation of policies and legislation.

postmodernism (1109):

A term applied in the late twentieth century to both an intense stylistic mixture in the arts without a central unifying theme or elite set of standards and a critique of Enlightenment and scientific beliefs in rationality and the possibility of certain knowledge.

predestination (509):
John Calvin's doctrine that God preordained salvation or damnation for each person before creation; those chosen for salvation were considered the "elect."

Pugachev (poo guh CHAWF) rebellion (666):
A massive revolt of Russian Cossacks and serfs in 1773 against local nobles and the armies of Catherine the Great; its leader, Emelian Pugachev, was eventually captured and executed.

pump priming (965):
An economic policy used by governments, including the Nazis in Germany, to stimulate the economy through public works programs and other infusions of public funds.

purges (960):
The series of attacks on citizens of the USSR accused of being "wreckers," or saboteurs of communism, in the 1930s and later.

Puritans (535):
Strict Calvinists who in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries opposed all vestiges of Catholic ritual in the Church of England.

Putin, Vladimir (1084):
President of Russia from 2000 to 2008; prime minister 2008–present. He has worked to reestablish Russia as a world power through control of the country's resources and military capabilities.

***raison d'état* (ray ZOHN day TAH) (540):**
French for "reason of state," the political doctrine, first proposed by Cardinal Richelieu of France, which held that the state's interests should prevail over those of religion.

Razin, Stenka (588):
Leader of the 1667 rebellion that promised Russian peasants liberation from noble landowners and officials; he was captured by the tsar's army in 1671 and publicly executed in Moscow.

realism (816):

An artistic style that arose in the mid-nineteenth century and was dedicated to depicting society realistically without romantic or idealistic overtones.

Realpolitik (ray AHL poh lih teek) (787):
Policies developed after the revolutions of 1848 and initially associated with nation building; they were based on realism rather than on the romantic notions of earlier nationalists. The term has come to mean any policy based on considerations of power alone.

Reform Act of 1884 (858):
British legislation that granted the right to vote to a mass male citizenry.

Reform Bill of 1832 (742):
A measure passed by the British Parliament to increase the number of male voters by about 50 percent and give representation to new cities in the north; it set a precedent for widening suffrage.

restoration (729):
The epoch after the fall of Napoleon, in which the Congress of Vienna aimed to "restore" as many regimes as possible to their former rulers.

revocation of the Edict of Nantes (567):
French king Louis XIV's 1685 decision to eliminate the rights of Calvinists granted in the edict of 1598; Louis banned all Calvinist public activities and forced those who refused to embrace the state religion to flee.

Robespierre, Maximilien (roh behs PYEHR) (689):
1758–1794. A lawyer from northern France who, as leader of the Committee of Public Safety, laid out the principles of a republic of virtue and of the Terror; his arrest and execution in July 1794 brought an end to the Terror.

rococo (613):
A style of painting that emphasized irregularity and asymmetry, movement and curvature, but on a smaller, more intimate scale than the baroque.

romanticism (651):
An artistic movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that glorified nature, emotion, genius, and imagination.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (zhahn zhahk roo SOH) (649):

One of the most important philosophes (1712–1778); he argued that only a government based on a social contract among the citizens could make people truly moral and free.

Russification (794):
A program in the 1860s for the integration of Russia's many nationality groups that involved the forced learning of the Russian language and the practice of Russian Orthodox religion as well as the settlement of ethnic Russians among other nationality groups.

salon (592):
An informal gathering held regularly in a private home and presided over by a socially eminent woman; salons spread from France in the seventeenth century to other countries in the eighteenth century.

samizdat (1051):
A key form of dissident activity across the Soviet bloc in which individuals reproduced government-suppressed publications by hand and passed them from reader to reader, thus building a foundation for the successful resistance of the 1980s.

Sand, George (762):
The pen name of French novelist Amandine-Aurore-Lucile Dupin Dudevant (1804–1876), who showed her independence in the 1830s by dressing like a man and smoking cigars. The term *George-Sandism* became an expression of disdain for independent women.

Schlieffen Plan (913):
The Germans' strategy in World War I that called for attacks on two fronts — concentrating first on France to the west and then turning east to attack Russia.

scientific method (547):
The combination of experimental observation and mathematical deduction used to determine the laws of nature; first developed in the seventeenth century, it became the secular standard of truth.

Scott, Sir Walter (737):
A prolific author (1771–1832) of popular historical novels; he also collected and published traditional Scottish ballads and wrote poetry.

Second International (855):
A transnational organization of workers established in 1889, mostly committed to Marxian

socialism.

secularization (547):
The long-term trend toward separating state power and science from religious faith, making the latter a private domain; begun in the seventeenth century, it prompted a search for nonreligious explanations for political authority and natural phenomena.

Seven Years' War (660):
A worldwide series of battles (1756–1763) between Austria, France, Russia, and Sweden on one side and Prussia and Great Britain on the other.

social contract (580):
The doctrine, originated by Hugo Grotius and argued by both Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, that all political authority derives not from divine right but from an implicit contract between citizens and their rulers.

socialism (771):
A social and political ideology, originating in the early nineteenth century, that advocated the reorganization of society to overcome the new tensions created by industrialization and restore social harmony through communities based on cooperation.

Solidarity (1069):
A Polish labor union founded in 1980 by Lech Walesa and Anna Walentynowicz that contested Communist Party programs and eventually succeeded in ousting the party from the Polish government.

South African War (892):
The war (1899–1902) between Britain and the Boer (originally Dutch) inhabitants of South Africa for control of the region; also called the Boer War.

soviets (920):
Councils of workers and soldiers first formed in Russia in the Revolution of 1905; they were revived to represent the people in the early days of the 1917 Russian Revolution.

stagflation (1060):
The combination of a stagnant economy and soaring inflation; a period of stagflation occurred in the West in the 1970s as a result of an OPEC embargo on oil.

Stalin, Joseph (959):

Leader of the USSR who, with considerable backing, formed a brutal dictatorship in the 1930s and forcefully converted the country into an industrial power.

Suleiman the Magnificent (519):
Sultan of the Ottoman Empire (r. 1520–1566) at the time of its greatest power.

Terror (689):
The policy established under the direction of the Committee of Public Safety during the French Revolution to arrest dissidents and execute opponents in order to protect the republic from its enemies.

Thatcher, Margaret (1062):
Prime minister of Britain (1979–1990) who set a new tone for British politics by promoting neoliberal economic policies and criticizing poor people, union members, and racial minorities as worthless, even harmful citizens.

Third Republic (858):
The French government that succeeded Napoleon III's Second Empire after its defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871. It lasted until France's defeat by Germany in 1940.

total war (910):
A war built on the full mobilization of soldiers, civilians, and technology of the nations involved. The term also refers to a highly destructive war of ideologies.

Truman Doctrine (1002):
The policy devised by U.S. president Harry Truman to limit communism after World War II by countering political crises with economic and military aid.

United Nations (UN) (1020):
An organization set up in 1945 for collective security and for the resolution of international conflicts through both deliberation and the use of force.

urbanization (756):
The growth of towns and cities due to the movement of people from rural to urban areas, a trend that was encouraged by the development of factories and railroads.

Vatican II (1025):
A Catholic Council held between 1962 and 1965 to modernize some aspects of church teachings (such as condemnation of Jews), to update the liturgy, and to promote cooperation among the

faiths (i.e., ecumenism).

Voltaire (630):
The pen name of François-Marie Arouet (1694–1778), who was the most influential writer of the early Enlightenment.

Walpole, Robert (619):
The first, or "prime," minister (1721–1742) of the House of Commons of Great Britain's Parliament. Although appointed initially by the king, through his long period of leadership he effectively established the modern pattern of parliamentary government.

war guilt clause (925):
The part of the Treaty of Versailles that assigned blame for World War I to Germany.

War of the Austrian Succession (625):
The war (1740–1748) over the succession to the Habsburg throne that pitted France and Prussia against Austria and Britain and provoked continuing hostilities between French and British settlers in the North American colonies.

Warsaw Pact (1004):
A security alliance of the Soviet Union and its allies formed in 1955, in retaliation for NATO's admittance of West Germany.

Weimar Republic (924):
The parliamentary republic established in 1919 in Germany to replace the monarchy.

welfare state (1008):
A system (developed on both sides during the cold war) comprising government-sponsored social programs to provide health care, family allowances, disability insurance, and pensions for veterans and retired workers.

Westernization (620):
The effort, especially in Peter the Great's Russia, to make society and social customs resemble counterparts in western Europe, especially France, Britain, and the Dutch Republic.

William, prince of Orange (579):
Dutch ruler who, with his Protestant wife, Mary (daughter of James II), ruled England after the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

Zionism (890):
A movement that began in the late nineteenth century among European Jews to found a Jewish state.

Acknowledgments

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A note about the index:

Names of individuals appear in boldface.

Letters in parentheses following pages refer to:

(*i*) illustrations, including photographs and artifacts

(*f*) figures, including charts and graphs

(*m*) maps

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- Mapping The West: The World's Top Fifteen Economies as of 2021
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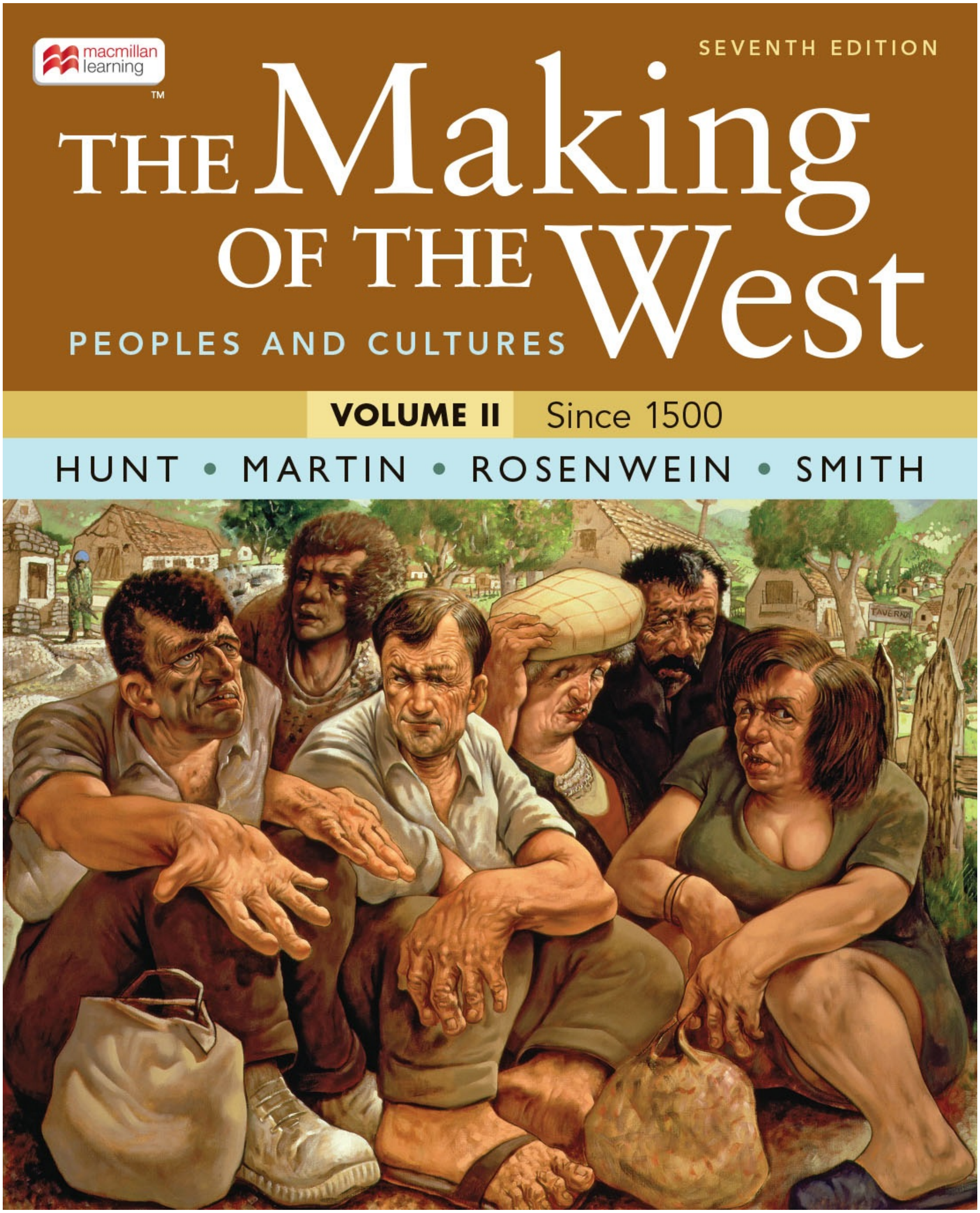
Extended description for Front Cover



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SEVENTH EDITION

THE Making OF THE West

PEOPLES AND CULTURES

VOLUME II Since 1500

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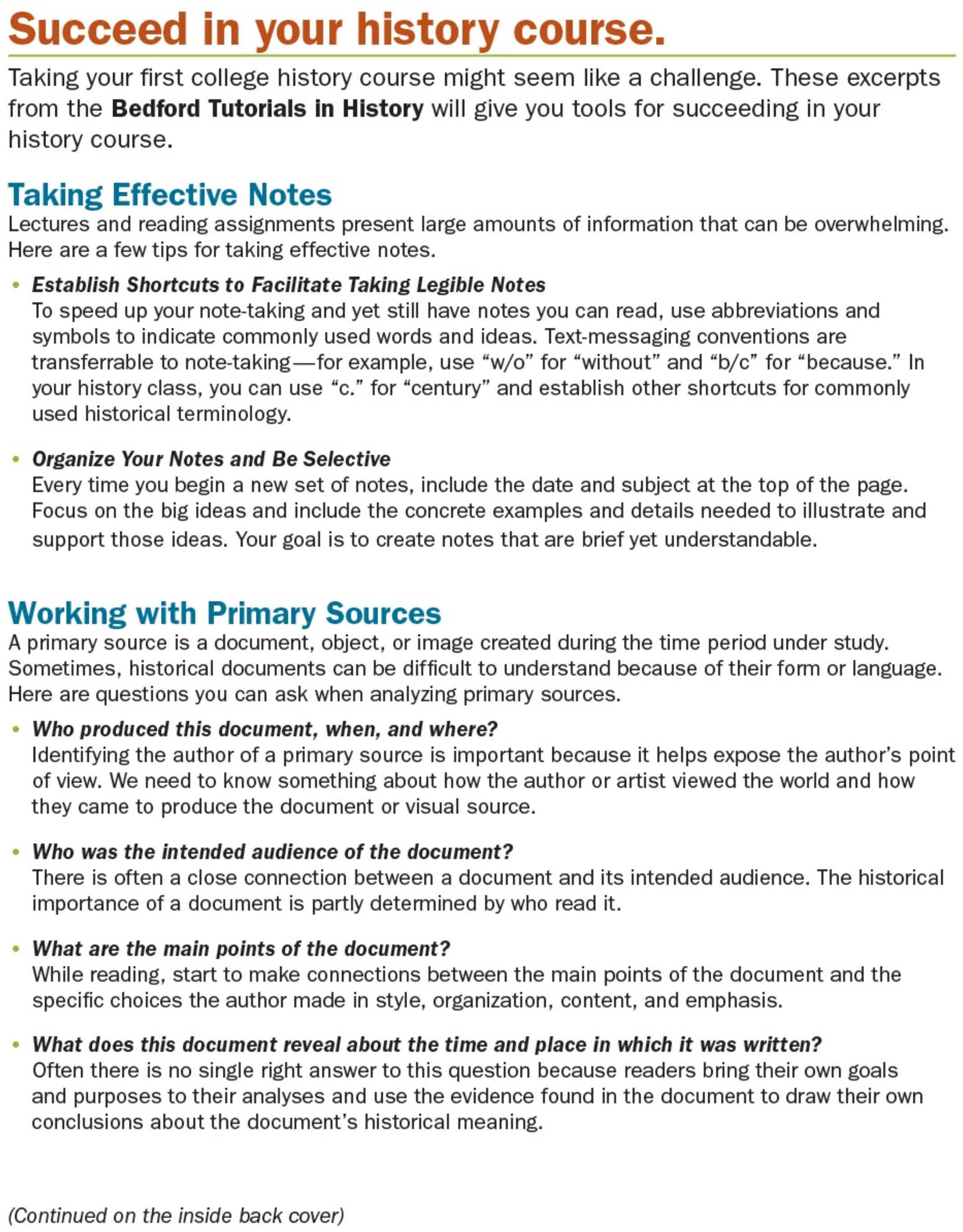
The cover features a painting depicting six refugees, including three men and three women, sitting on the ground in a village with two small bags. The hands and legs of the men and the women appear exaggerated, with dark lines. All of them have lines and wrinkles on their faces, and their figures fill most of the space in the painting. The logo of macmillan learning is at the top left corner.

Return to Front Cover

Extended description for Inside Front Cover



Succeed in your history course.

Taking your first college history course might seem like a challenge. These excerpts from the **Bedford Tutorials in History** will give you tools for succeeding in your history course.

Taking Effective Notes

Lectures and reading assignments present large amounts of information that can be overwhelming. Here are a few tips for taking effective notes.

- ***Establish Shortcuts to Facilitate Taking Legible Notes***
  To speed up your note-taking and yet still have notes you can read, use abbreviations and symbols to indicate commonly used words and ideas. Text-messaging conventions are transferrable to note-taking—for example, use "w/o" for "without" and "b/c" for "because." In your history class, you can use "c." for "century" and establish other shortcuts for commonly used historical terminology.

- ***Organize Your Notes and Be Selective***
  Every time you begin a new set of notes, include the date and subject at the top of the page. Focus on the big ideas and include the concrete examples and details needed to illustrate and support those ideas. Your goal is to create notes that are brief yet understandable.

Working with Primary Sources

A primary source is a document, object, or image created during the time period under study. Sometimes, historical documents can be difficult to understand because of their form or language. Here are questions you can ask when analyzing primary sources.

- ***Who produced this document, when, and where?***
  Identifying the author of a primary source is important because it helps expose the author's point of view. We need to know something about how the author or artist viewed the world and how they came to produce the document or visual source.

- ***Who was the intended audience of the document?***
  There is often a close connection between a document and its intended audience. The historical importance of a document is partly determined by who read it.

- ***What are the main points of the document?***
  While reading, start to make connections between the main points of the document and the specific choices the author made in style, organization, content, and emphasis.

- ***What does this document reveal about the time and place in which it was written?***
  Often there is no single right answer to this question because readers bring their own goals and purposes to their analyses and use the evidence found in the document to draw their own conclusions about the document's historical meaning.

(Continued on the inside back cover)

The text reads as follows.

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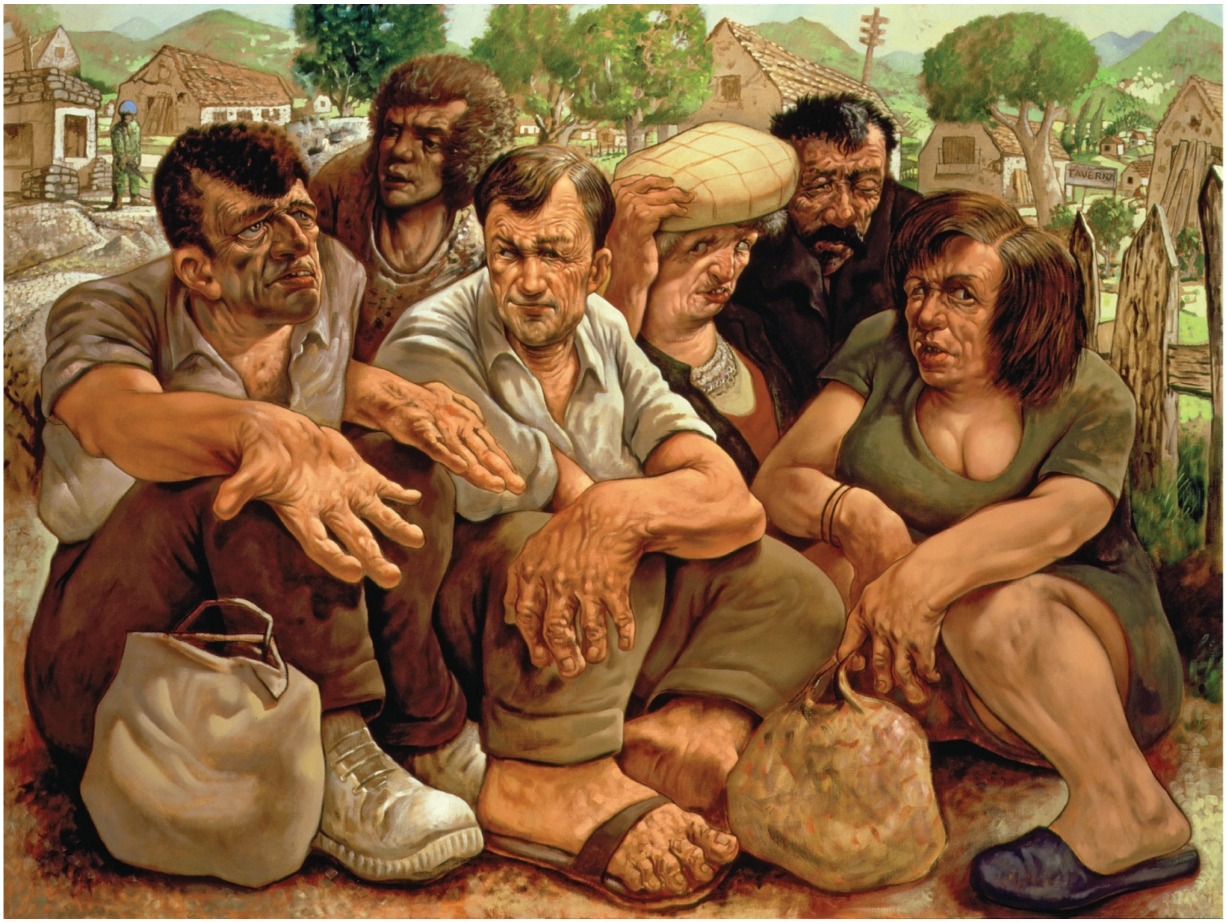
(Continued on the inside back cover)

Return to Inside Front Cover

Extended description for Bosnian Muslim refugees, Bosnian War (1992 to 1995)

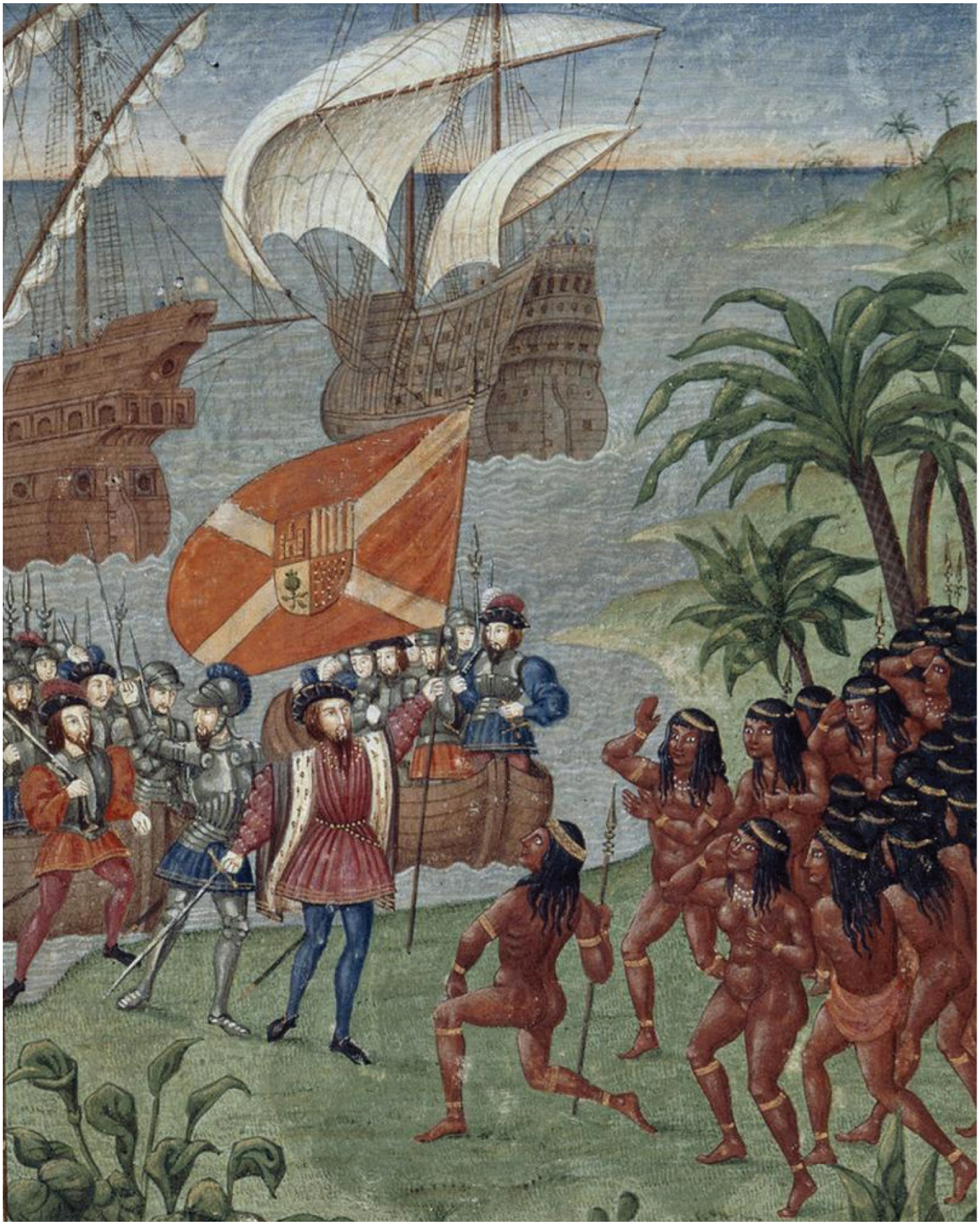


Cleansed, 1994 (oil on canvas) by Peter Howson (b. 1958). © Imperial War Museum (Art.IWM ART 16521)

The hands and legs of the men and the women appear exaggerated, with dark lines. All of them have lines and wrinkles on their faces, and their figures fill most of the space in the painting.

Return to Bosnian Muslim refugees, Bosnian War (1992 to 1995)

Extended description for Cortés

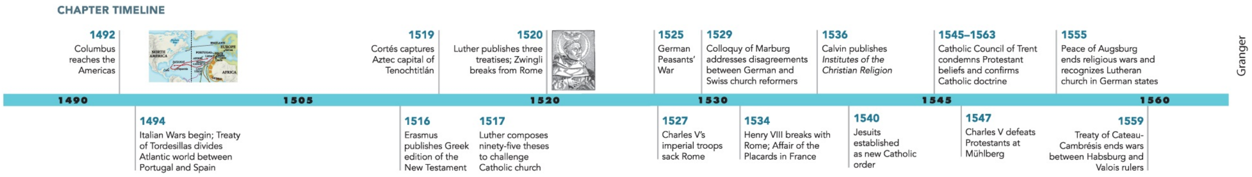


Abu Castor/Alamy Stock Photo.

The background shows ships sailing in the ocean. Cortes holds a flag and precedes the heavily armed troops. A group of indigenous people meets them on the shore. The leader of the indigenous people kneels before Cortes.

Return to Cortés

Extended description for a timeline of events between 1490 and 1560


CHAPTER TIMELINE
1492
Columbus reaches the Americas
NORTH AMERICA
EUROPE
AFRICA
1519
Cortés captures Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán
1520
Luther publishes three treatises; Zwingli breaks from Rome
1525
German Peasants' War
1529
Colloquy of Marburg addresses disagreements between German and Swiss church reformers
1536
Calvin publishes *Institutes of the Christian Religion*
1545–1563
Catholic Council of Trent condemns Protestant beliefs and confirms Catholic doctrine
1555
Peace of Augsburg ends religious wars and recognizes Lutheran church in German states
Granger
1490
1505
1520
1530
1545
1560
1494
Italian Wars begin; Treaty of Tordesillas divides Atlantic world between Portugal and Spain
1516
Erasmus publishes Greek edition of the New Testament
1517
Luther composes ninety-five theses to challenge Catholic church
1527
Charles V's imperial troops sack Rome
1534
Henry VIII breaks with Rome; Affair of the Placards in France
1540
Jesuits established as new Catholic order
1547
Charles V defeats Protestants at Mühlberg
1559
Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis ends wars between Habsburg and Valois rulers

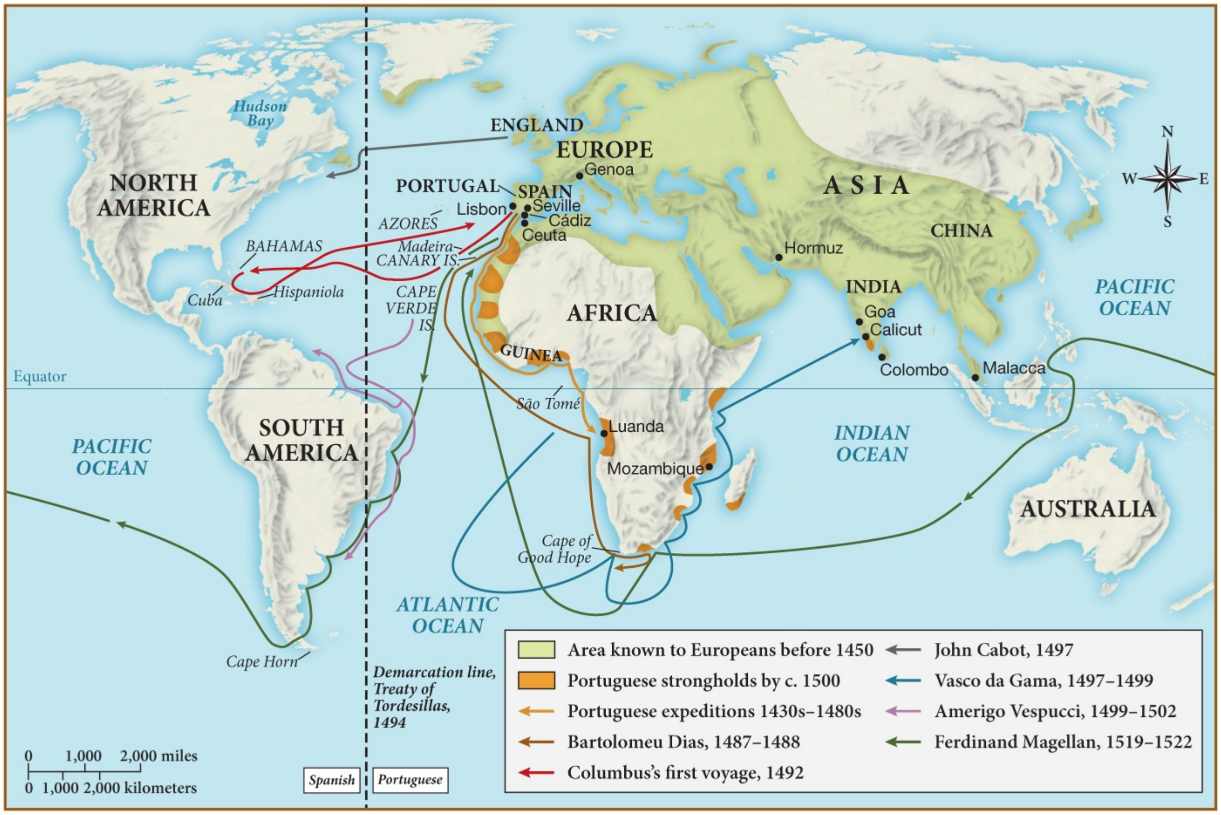
The events of the timeline are as follows.

1492: Columbus reaches the Americas; 1494: Italian Wars begin; Treaty of Tordesillas divides Atlantic world between Portugal and Spain; 1516: Erasmus publishes Greek edition of the New Testament; 1517 Luther composes ninety-five theses to challenge Catholic Church; 1519: Cortés captures Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán; 1520: Luther publishes three treatises; Zwingli breaks from Rome.

1525: German Peasants' War; 1527: Charles V's imperial troops sack Rome; 1529: Colloquy of Marburg addresses disagreements between German and Swiss church reformers; 1534: Henry VIII breaks with Rome; Affair of the Placards in France; 1536: Calvin publishes Institutes of the Christian Religion; 1540: Jesuits established as new Catholic order; 1545–1563: Catholic Council of Trent condemns Protestant beliefs and confirms Catholic doctrine; 1547: Charles V defeats Protestants at Mühlberg; 1555: Peace of Augsburg ends religious wars and recognizes Lutheran church in German states; 1559: Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis ends wars between Habsburg and Valois rulers.

Return to a timeline of events between 1490 and 1560

Extended description for Map 14.1 Early Voyages of World Exploration



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

Area known to Europeans before 1450 included Europe, Africa north of the Sahara and along the its western coast, and Asia with the exception of Siberia. Important cities included Goa and Calicut in India; Hormuz in modern Iran; Colombo in Sri Lanka; Malacca in southeast Asia; Ceuta in Morocco; and Cadiz, Seville, and Genoa in Europe.

Portuguese strongholds around 1500 included Guinea, Luanda, Mozambique, the Cape of Good Hope, Calicut, Madagascar, and a few parts of northwest Africa.

Portuguese expeditions between the 1430s and 1480s included routes from Seville to Luanda passing through Guinea, Sao Tome, and northwest South Africa.

Bartholomeu Dias's journey of 1487 and 1488 traveled from Seville to the Cape of Good Hope, passing through Guinea, Luanda, Sao Tome, and north-west Africa

Columbus' first voyage, in 1492, traveled from Lisbon to the Bahamas, passing through Madeira and the Canary Islands, and then returned to Lisbon by way of Cuba, Hispaniola, and the Azores.

John Cabot, in 1497, sailed from England toward Newfoundland in North America.

Vasco da Gama, in 1497 through 1499, sailed from Sao Tome to Calicut, passing through the Cape of Good Hope, Mozambique, and southeast Africa.

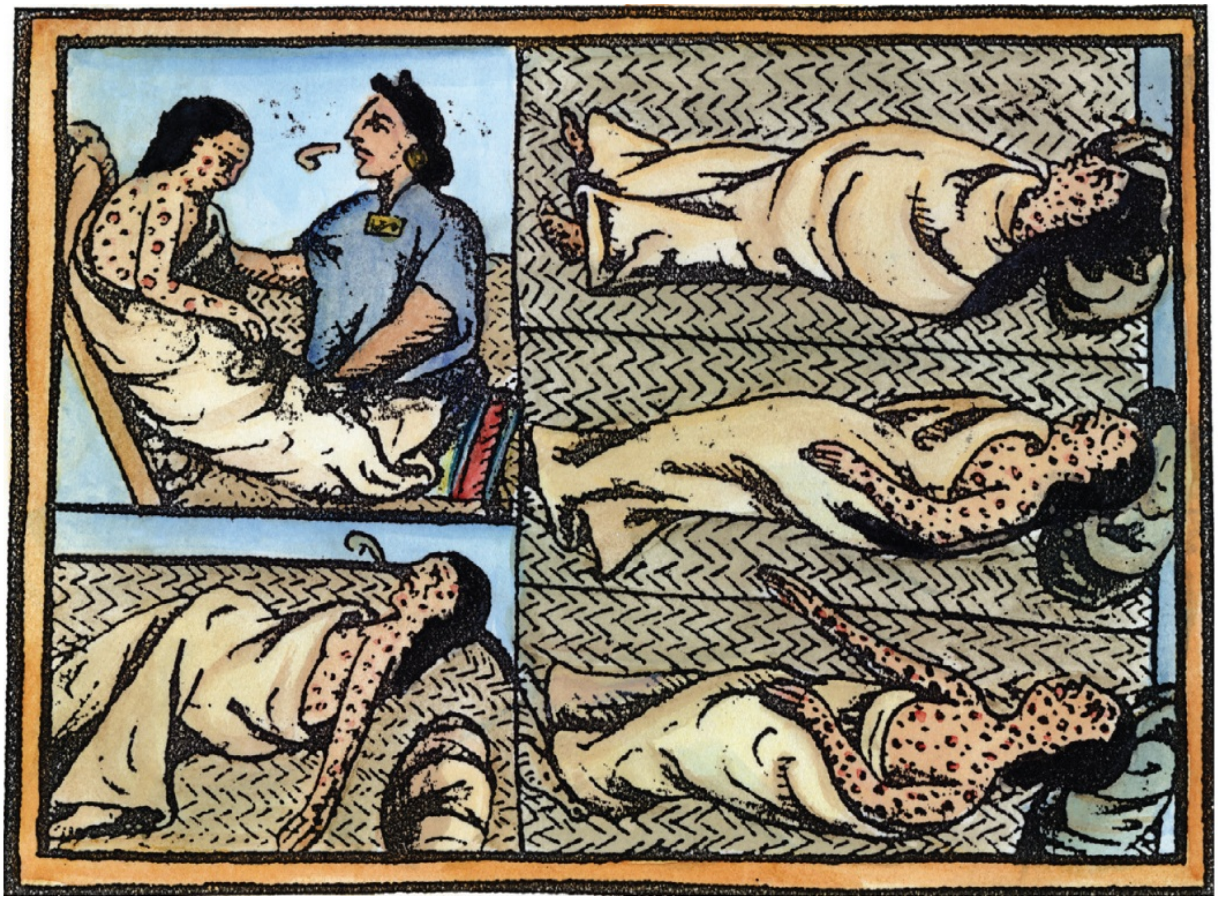
Amerigo Vespucci, in 1499 through 1502, sailed from the Cape Verde Islands to the northern portion of South America and then south along the Atlantic coast of modern Brazil and Argentina.

Ferdinand Magellan, in 1519 through 1522, sailed from Ceuta to South America, around Cape Horn, across the Pacific to Malacca, across the Indian Ocean to the Cape of Good Hope, then north to Sao Tome and the Canary Islands.

A dotted vertical line labelled ‘Demarcation line, Treaty of Tordesillas, 1494’ divides Spanish from Portuguese claims in South America.

Return to Map 14.1 Early Voyages of World Exploration

Extended description for a five-panel illustration from a sixteenth century manuscript shows a Nahua woman affected with smallpox

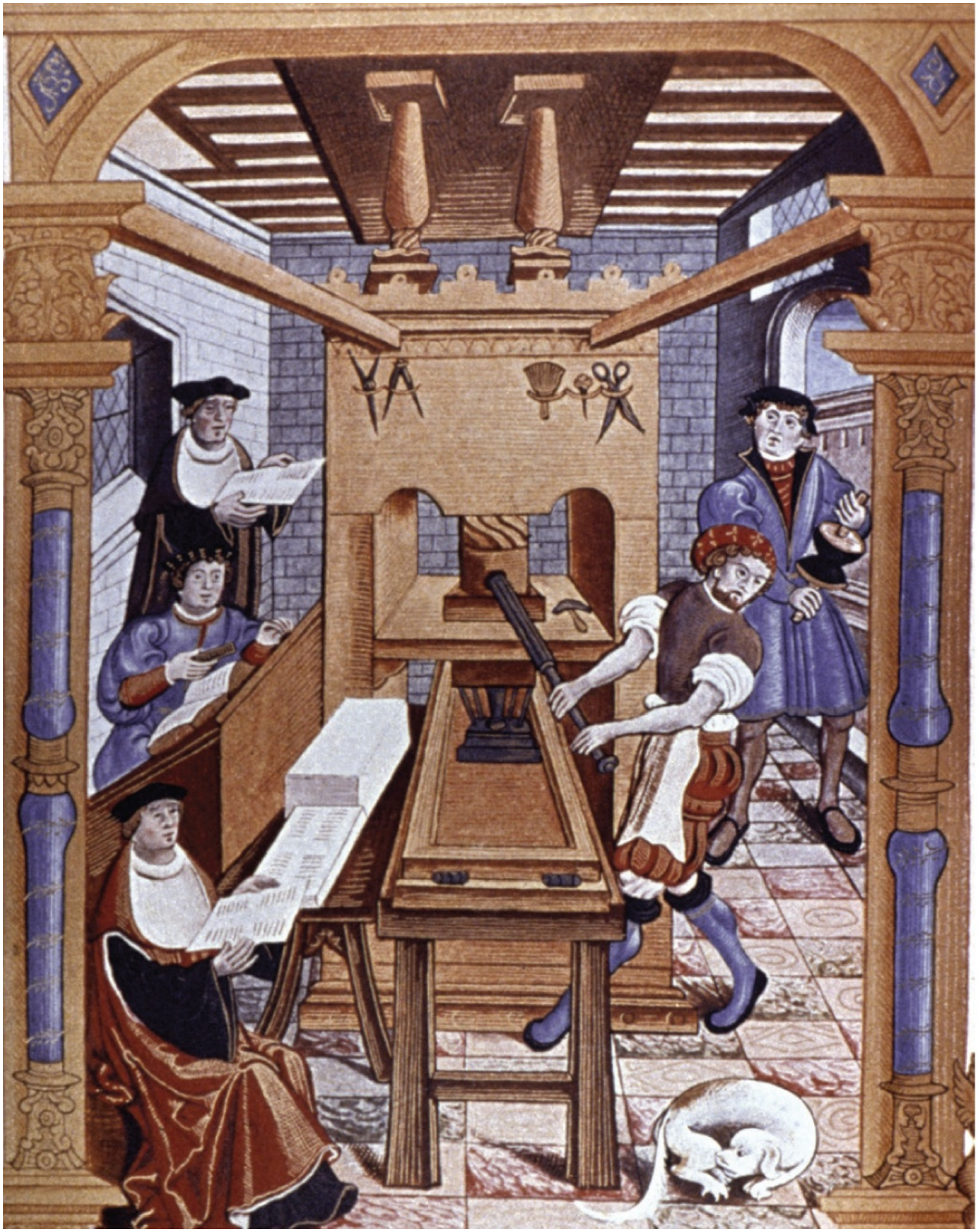


Sarin Images/Granger

The first panel shows the woman suffering with smallpox while a person attends her. The second panel shows the woman lying in bed, loosely covered by a blanket. There is no one to attend her. The third panel shows her tightly wrapped in the blanket, in bed. The fourth and the fifth panels show her almost dying in bed, with no one around to take care of her.

Return to a five-panel illustration from a sixteenth century manuscript shows a Nahua woman affected with smallpox

Extended description for Printing Press

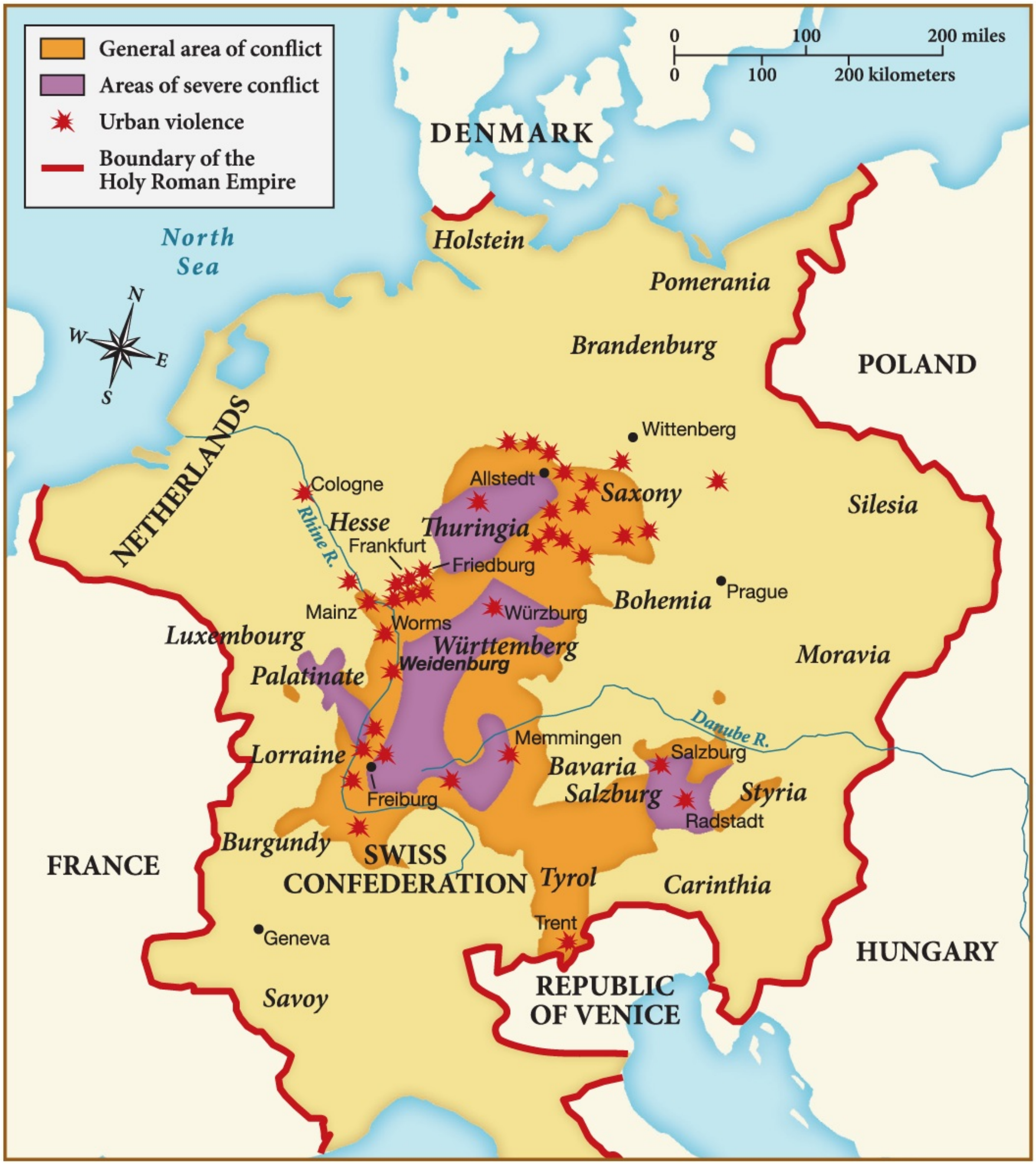


Granger

The illustration shows an artisan using a screw press to apply inked type to paper. Composed type is secured in a chase, a seated proofreader examines the pages, another worker handles a spool or roller, and volume is bound by a worker at a desk. People in the background read the bound book.

Return to Printing Press

Extended description for Map 14.2 The Peasants’ War of 1525



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin’s

The data from the map are as follows.

The general area of conflict covers the central area of the Holy Roman Empire and includes Saxony, Bohemia, Allstedt, Friedburg, Salzburg, Styria, Tyrol, and Prague.

Areas of severe conflict include Thuringia, the Palatinate, an area around Salzburg in Bavaria. and a large area around Wurttemberg between the Rhine and Danube rivers.

Urban violence occurred in the cities of Cologne, Frankfurt, Trent, Radstadt, Mainz, Worms, Wurzberg, Friedburg, Freiburg, Memmingen, Salzburg, Styria, and Hesse.

Boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire included Savoy, Burgundy, Geneva, Republic of Venice, Poland, Hungary, Denmark, Brandenburg, Carinthia, Swiss Confederation, Lorraine, Luxembourg, Moravia, Silesia, Pomerania, Holstein, and the Netherlands.

Return to Map 14.2 The Peasants’ War of 1525

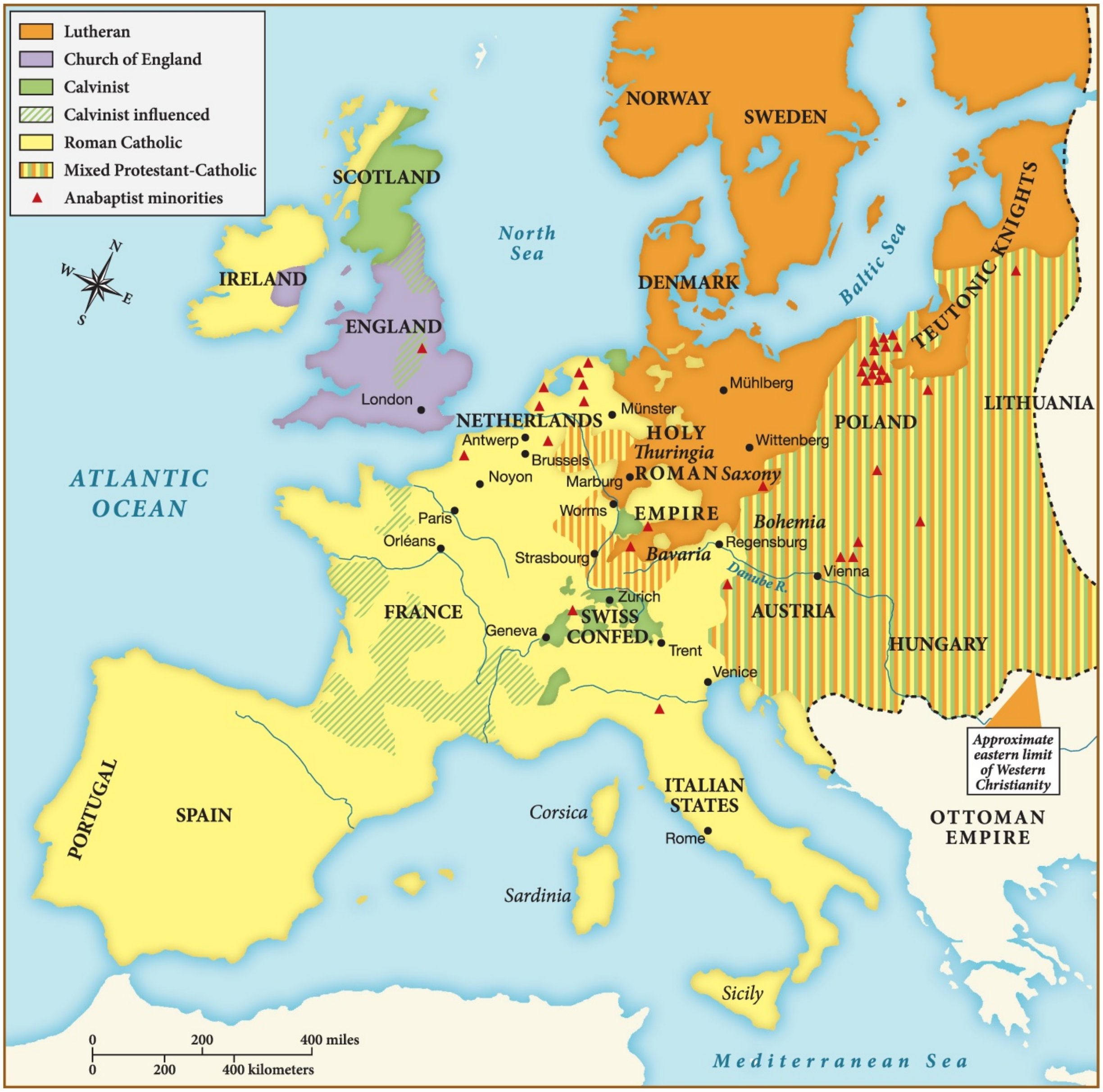
Extended description for King Francis I and His Court

Musee Conde Chantilly, France/Bridgeman Images.

The illustration shows King Francis sitting behind a table with his three sons, listening to a man wearing the black robe of an official, who is reading from a book in his hands. The king and his sons are surrounded by several courtiers, a dog, and a monkey.

Return to King Francis I and His Court

Extended description for Mapping the West: Reformation Europe, c. 1560



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

Lutheran areas include Norway, Denmark, Sweden, the kingdoms of the Teutonic Knights in the Baltic region, and the Holy Roman Empire around Münster, Thuringia, Saxony, Bohemia, Bavaria, Wittenberg, Mühlberg, and Marburg.

The Church of England controlled England, including London, and a small portion of Ireland.

Calvinist areas included Scotland and the Swiss Confederation, including Zurich, Trent, and Geneva.

Calvinist influenced areas included France, with Paris, Orleans, and Geneva, as well as parts of central and northern England.

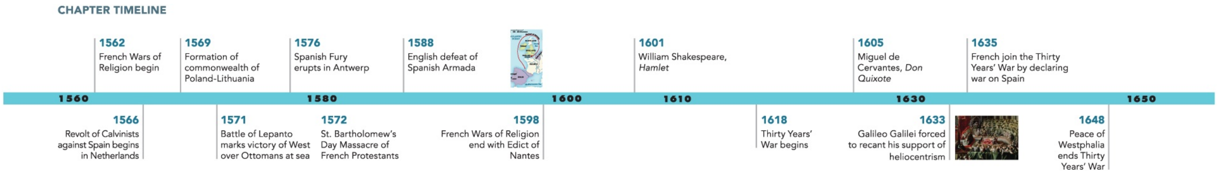
Roman Catholic areas included Ireland, Spain, Portugal, the Italian States, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and few portions of France, the Swiss Confederation, and the Netherlands.

Mixed Protestant and Catholic areas included Hungary, Austria, Lithuania, and Poland.

Anabaptist minorities were present in England, Venice, Antwerp, Brussels, Bavaria, Brussels, Saxony, the Swiss Confederation, the kingdoms of the Teutonic Knights, the Netherlands, and scattered regions of the Holy Roman Empire.

Return to Mapping the West: Reformation Europe, c. 1560

Extended description for a timeline of events between 1560 and 1650


CHAPTER TIMELINE
1562
French Wars of Religion begin
1569
Formation of commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania
1576
Spanish Fury erupts in Antwerp
1588
English defeat of Spanish Armada
1601
William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*
1605
Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*
1635
French join the Thirty Years' War by declaring war on Spain
1560
1580
1600
1610
1630
1650
1566
Revolt of Calvinists against Spain begins in Netherlands
1571
Battle of Lepanto marks victory of West over Ottomans at sea
1572
St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of French Protestants
1598
French Wars of Religion end with Edict of Nantes
1618
Thirty Years' War begins
1633
Galileo Galilei forced to recant his support of heliocentrism
1648
Peace of Westphalia ends Thirty Years' War

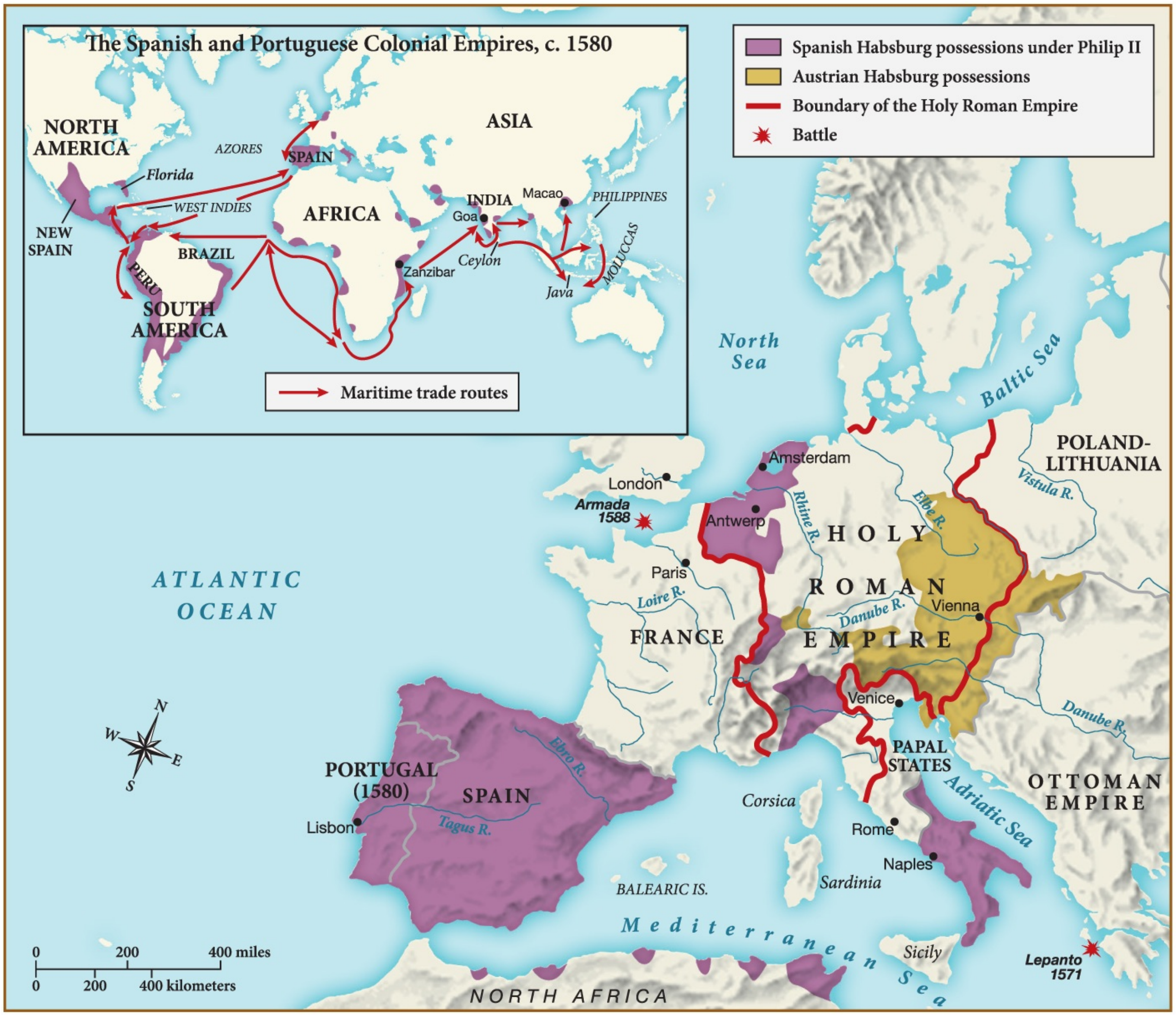
Bridgeman Art Library/Image Partner/Getty Images

The data from the timeline are as follows.

1562: French Wars of Religion begin; 1566: Revolt of Calvinists against Spain begins in Netherlands; 1569: Formation of commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania; 1571: Battle of Lepanto marks victory of West over Ottomans at sea; 1572: St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre of French Protestants; 1576: Spanish Fury erupts in Antwerp; 1588: English defeat of Spanish Armada; 1598: French Wars of Religion end with Edict of Nantes.1601: William Shakespeare, Hamlet; 1618: Thirty Years’ War begins; 1605: Miguel de Cervantes, Don Quixote; 1633: Galileo Galilei forced to recant his support of heliocentrism; 1635: French join the Thirty Years’ War by declaring war on Spain; 1648: Peace of Westphalia ends Thirty Years’ War.

Return to a timeline of events between 1560 and 1650

Extended description for Map 15.1 The Empire of Philip II, r. 1556–1598



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows. Spanish Habsburg possessions under Philip Two include Antwerp, Amsterdam, and the Low Countries; portions of the southwest Holy Roman Empire; southern Italy including Naples; Spain and Portugal (1580); scattered areas along the north coast of Africa; Florida; and New Spain in central America and along the Pacific and Atlantic coasts of South America.

Austrian Habsburg possessions are centered on Vienna and include most of the eastern Holy Roman Empire and areas to the east of it, as well as a small section in the western Holy Roman Empire.

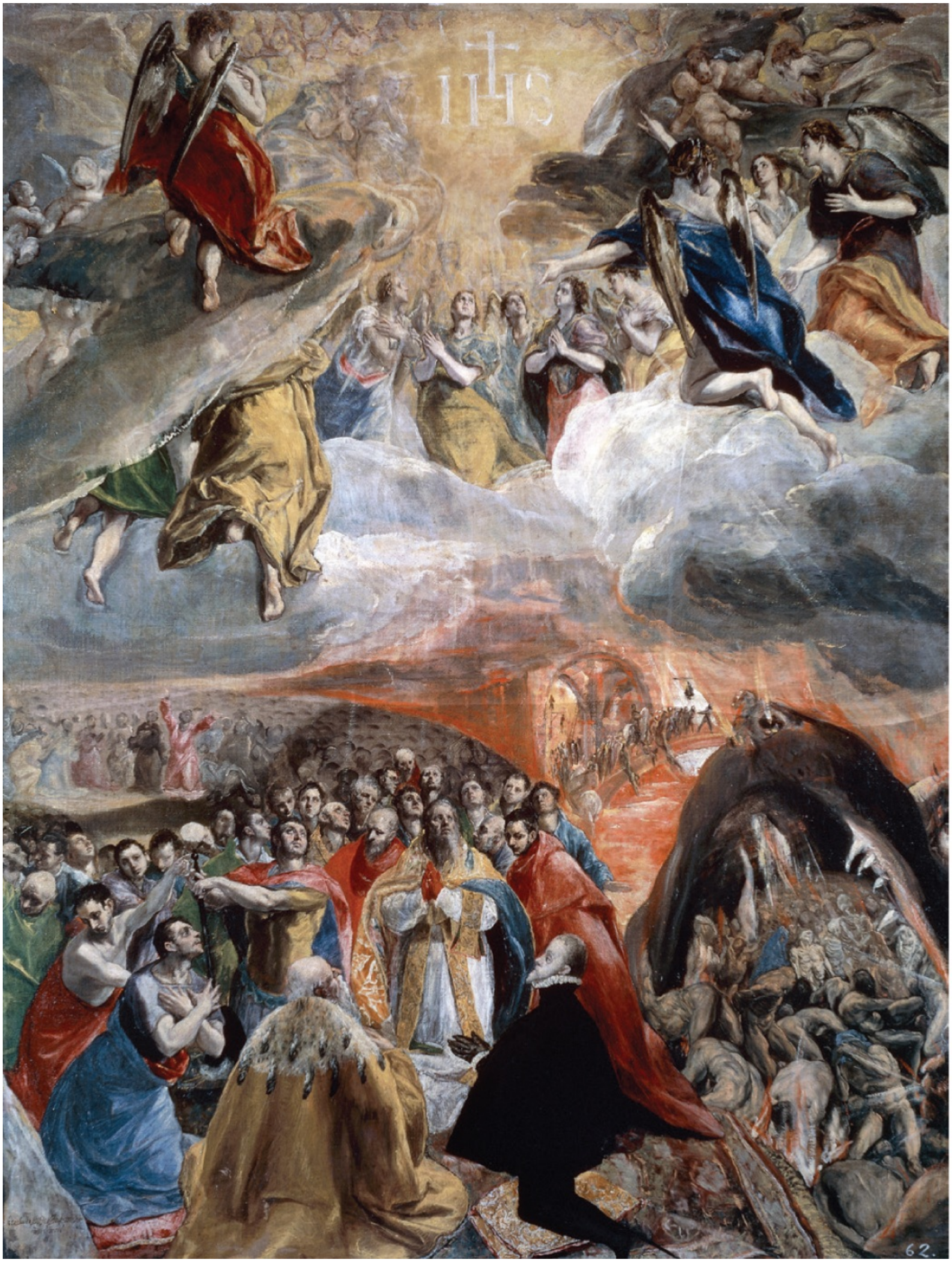
Boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire extended from the north sea near modern-day Belgium south to the Mediterranean in southern France, from the Baltic Sea south to the northern coast of the Adriatic, and across Italy north of the Papal states. Another border runs along the southern edge of modern Denmark.

Battles included the Armada (1588) in the English Channel and Lepanto (1571), off the coast of Greece.

An inset map at top left shows maritime trade routes: From New Spain to Spain and then to Amsterdam; from Spain to the West Indies and then across Panama to Peru; from Peru north to the Yucatan and south to Chile; from northwest Africa to Brazil, from northeast South America to a few parts of northwest, midwest, and southern Africa, and then around South Africa toward Zanzibar and then Goa in India, then moving to Ceylon and eastern India then to Macau, Ceylon, Java, and Moluccas.

Return to Map 15.1 The Empire of Philip II, r. 1556–1598

Extended description for Philip II of Spain



Monasterio de El Escorial, Spain/Bridgeman Images.

The painting shows King Philip, kneeling among his allies at the battle of Lepanto. A man in a yellow robe is on his left, and the pope and a cardinal are on his right. People in common clothes pray with them. Behind the king are mutilated bodies, and in the background people are fighting on a bridge. At the top of the painting, the clouds are parted to reveal angels kneeling and praying to god, represented as a symbol made up of the letters I, H, and S with a cross.

Return to Philip II of Spain

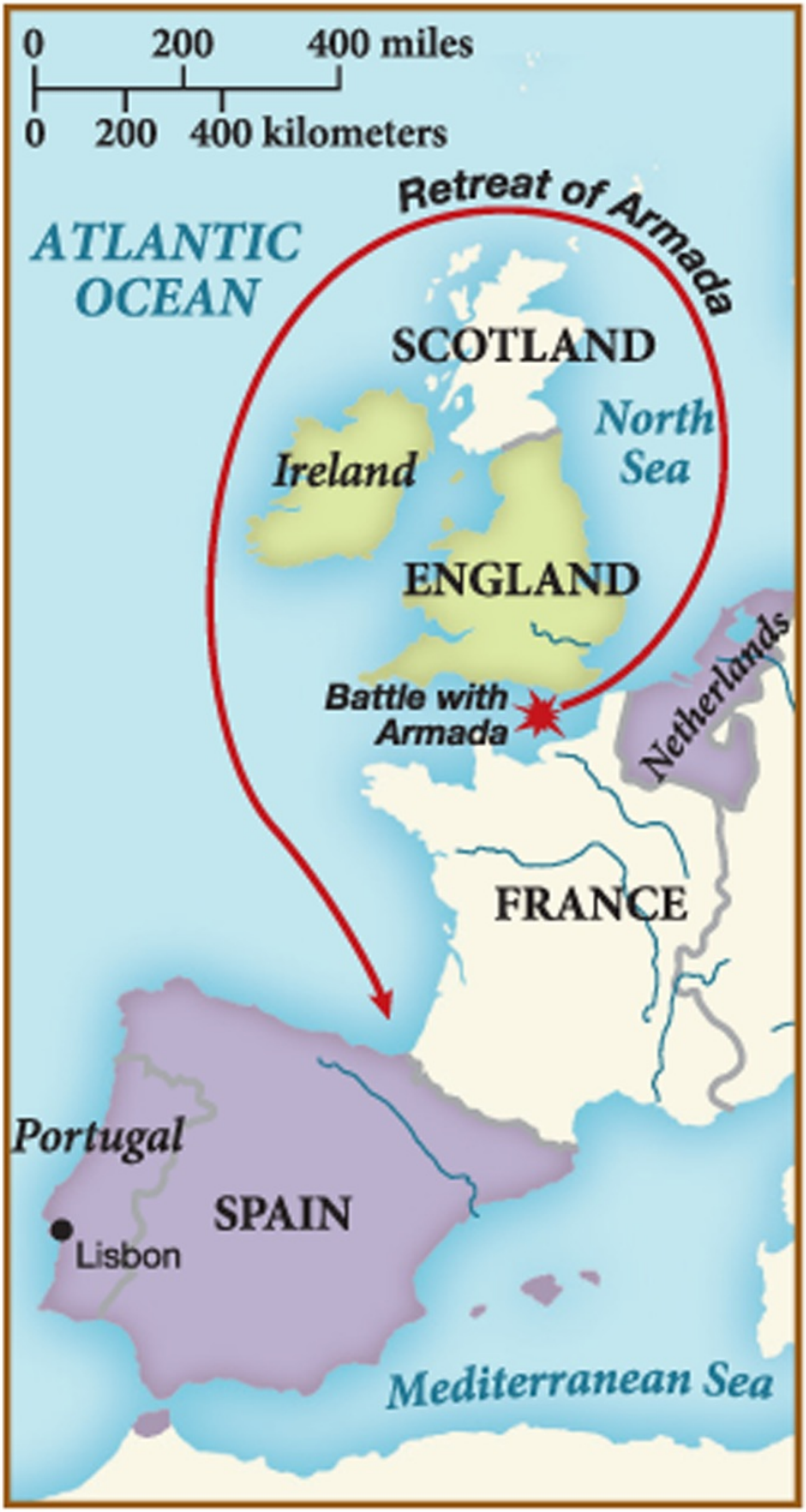
Extended description for Elizabeth I, Queen of England

Print Collector/Getty Images.

The portrait shows Elizabeth looking cold, wearing a masculine doublet with a lace ruff collar. A double string of pearls is looped around her neck. She carries an ostrich-feather fan in her hand. Her crown lies on a table behind her. She wears a crimson and golden dress.

Return to Elizabeth I, Queen of England

Extended description for Retreat of the Spanish Armada, 1588

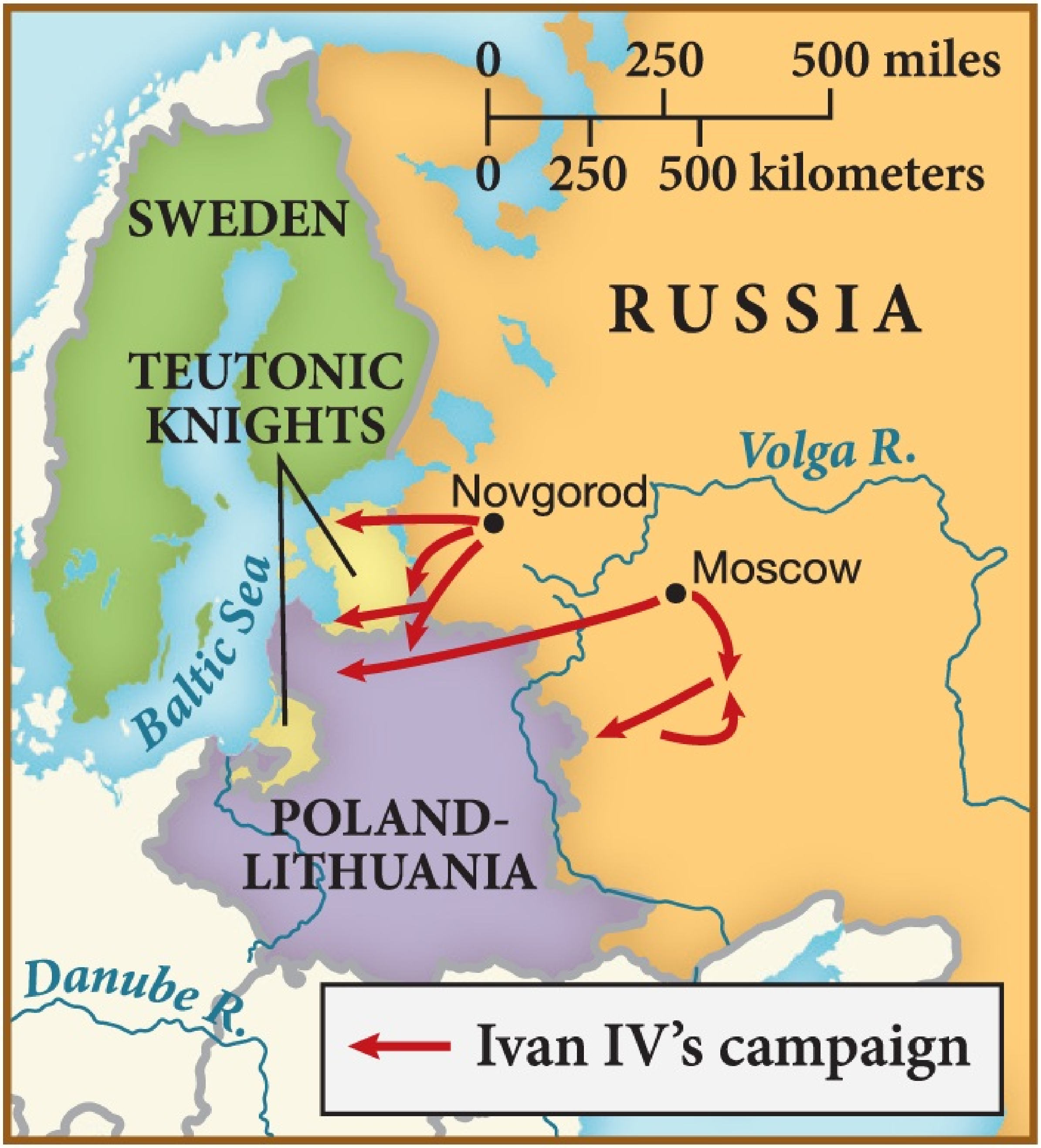


Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The map shows the battle with the Armada in the English Channel north of France. The retreat moves through the North Sea to the east of England, then counterclockwise around Scotland and Ireland to return to Spain.

Return to Retreat of the Spanish Armada, 1588

Extended description for Russia, Poland-Lithuania, and Sweden in the Late 1500s



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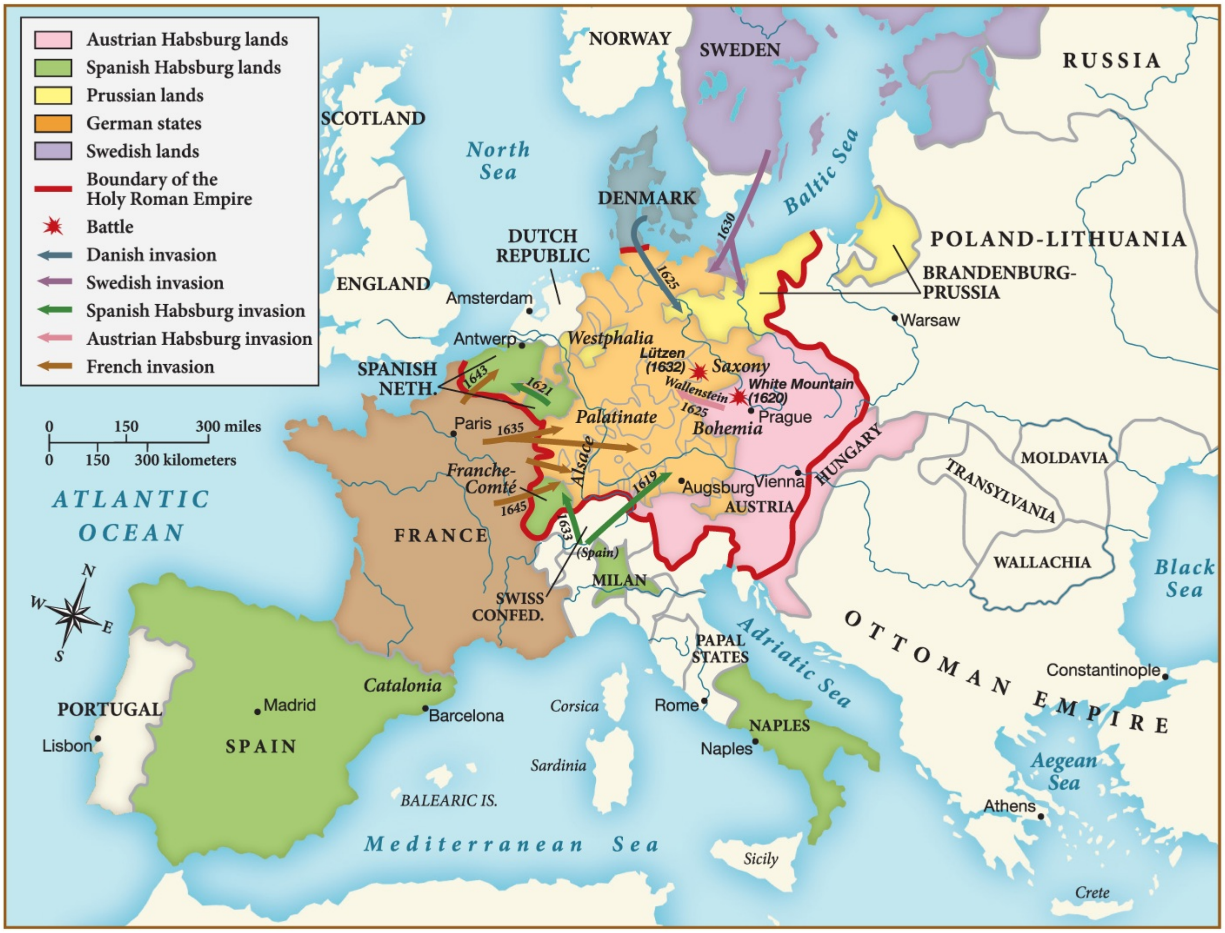
The map shows Sweden, the Teutonic Knights in two enclaves in the Baltic Sea, Russia in northeast, and Poland-Lithuania in the south. One campaign starts from Novgorod, Russia, and moves toward the northern

Teutonic Knights territory, and also forks south into Poland-Lithuania in two columns, one of which further forks toward the Teutonic Knights. A campaign also started from Moscow and moved west through Poland-Lithuania toward the southern Teutonic Knights. A second campaign from Moscow went south and then east toward Poland Lithuania before retreating back to Moscow.

Return to Russia, Poland-Lithuania, and Sweden in the Late 1500s

Extended description for Map 15.2 The Thirty Years' War and the Peace of Westphalia, 1648



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The map extends from Portugal in the west to Scotland, Sweden and Russia in the north; Poland-Lithuania, the Black Sea, and the Ottoman Empire in the east; to the Mediterranean Sea in the south.

The map marks Austrian Habsburg lands, Spanish Habsburg lands, Prussian lands, German states, Swedish lands, and the Holy Roman Empire. Danish, Swedish, French, Spanish Habsburg, and Austrian Habsburg invasions are also identified.

Austrian Habsburg lands extend from Poland in the north and Austria in the south to Germany in the west and include the cities of Prague and Vienna.

Spanish Habsburg lands cover Spain, the region of Milan in the south of Germany, Naples in the south of Italy, and small areas along the western border of Germany. Cities include Antwerp, Naples, Barcelona, and Madrid.

Prussian lands (Brandenburg-Prussia) include small northern parts of Poland-Lithuania and the Holy Roman Empire (both along the Baltic Sea) and the small region of Westphalia.

German states include much of present day Germany.

Swedish lands include present-day Sweden and a few western regions of Russia along the Baltic Sea.

The boundary of the Holy Roman Empire encircles most of Germany, Austria, and present-day Poland.

Battles occurred at Lutzen (1632) in German States and White Mountain (1620) in Austrian Habsburg lands.

The Danish invasion starts from Denmark to Brandenburg Prussia in 1625.

The Swedish invasion starts from Sweden south across the Baltic Sea in

1630.

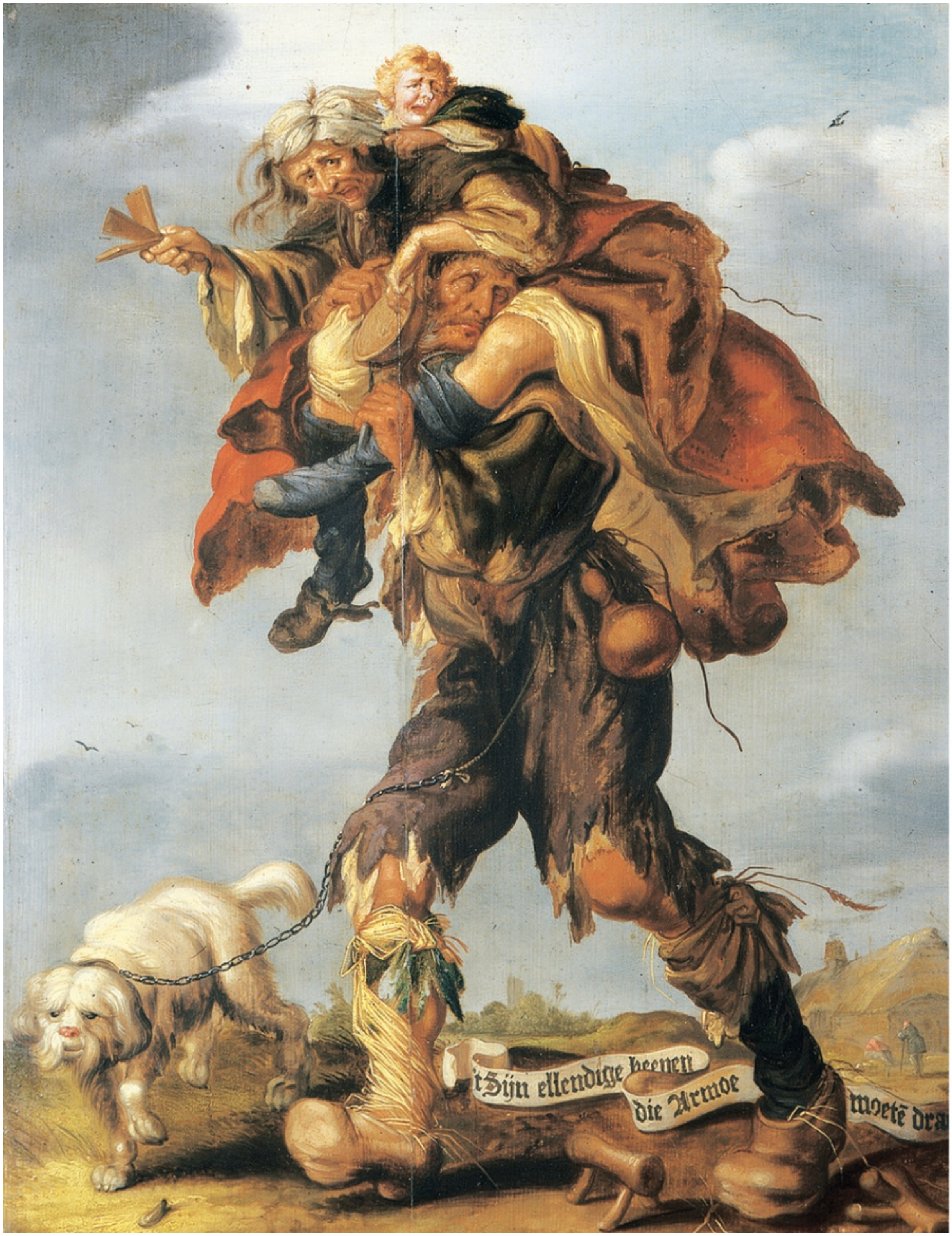
The Spanish Habsburg invasions move north from Milan to Augsburg in 1619, west from Palatinate in 1621, and north into Alsace in 1633.

Austrian Habsburg invasion starts at Wallenstein in 1625.

French invasions head east into the German states in 1635 and 1645.

Return to Map 15.2 The Thirty Years' War and the Peace of Westphalia, 1648

Extended description for The Life of the Poor

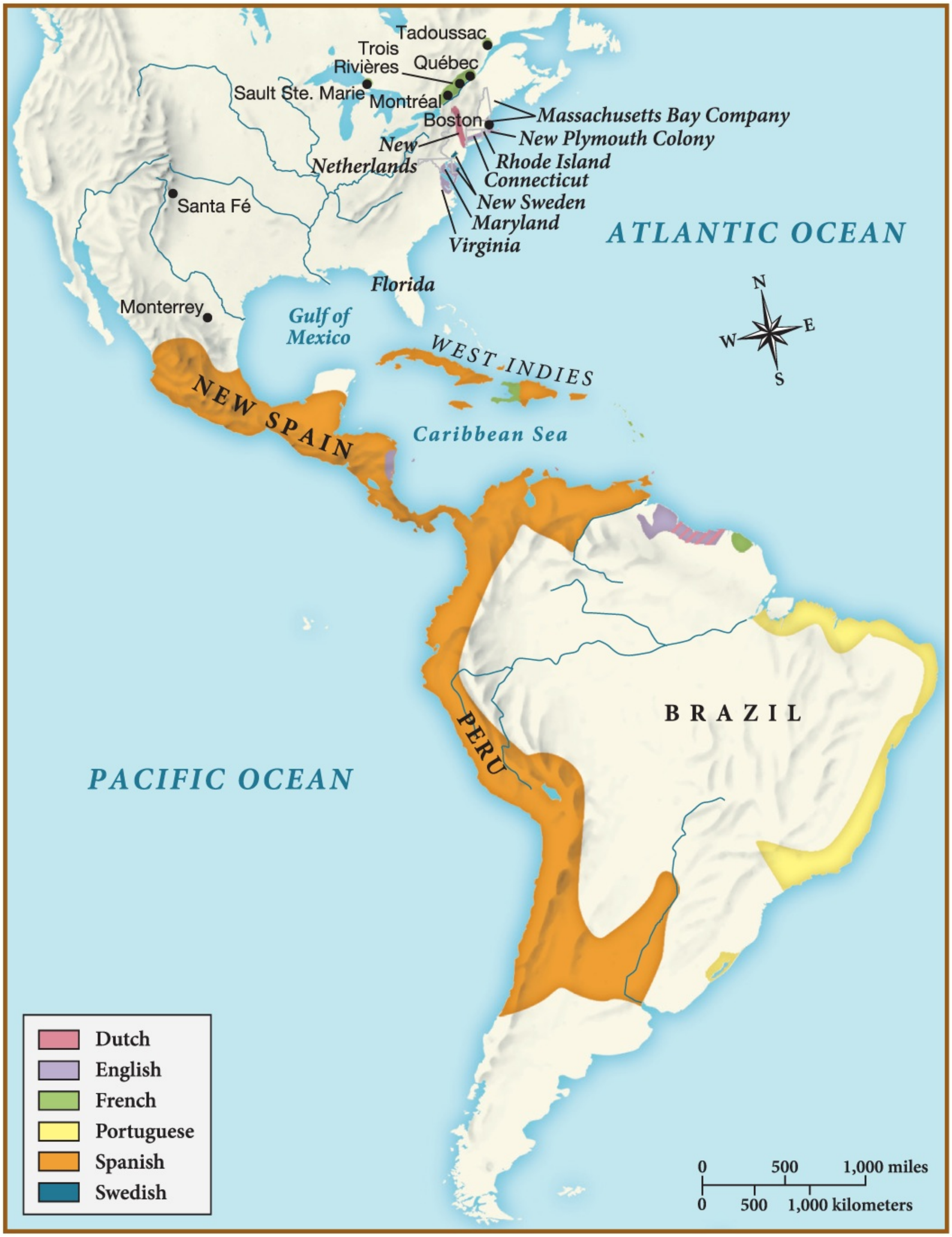


Mrs. F.F. Prentiss Fund/Bridgeman Images.

The peasant's wife holds a small flogger and carries an empty food bowl. A dog's leash is tied to peasant's right leg. A scroll with German writing is stretched between his feet.

Return to The Life of the Poor

Extended description for Map 15.3 European Colonization of the Americas, c. 1640



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data are as follows:

Dutch

-North America: New Netherlands (Hudson River region of New York)

English

-North America: Massachusetts Bay Colony, New Plymouth Colony, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maryland, Virginia

-Central America: East coast of present-day Honduras

-South America: Present-day Guyana

French

-North America: Montreal, Quebec, including the cities of Sault St. Marie, Trois Rivieres, and Tadoussac

-West Indies: Dominican Republic

-South America: Present-day French Guiana

Portuguese

-South America: The east coast, starting at the mouth of the Amazon to the north and southward to modern-day Rio de Janeiro, then a small portion of the east coast near modern-day Porto Alegre.

Spanish

-North America: New Spain (southern Mexico down into Central America)

-South America

-The northern coast of South America, eastward to the border of English Guyana

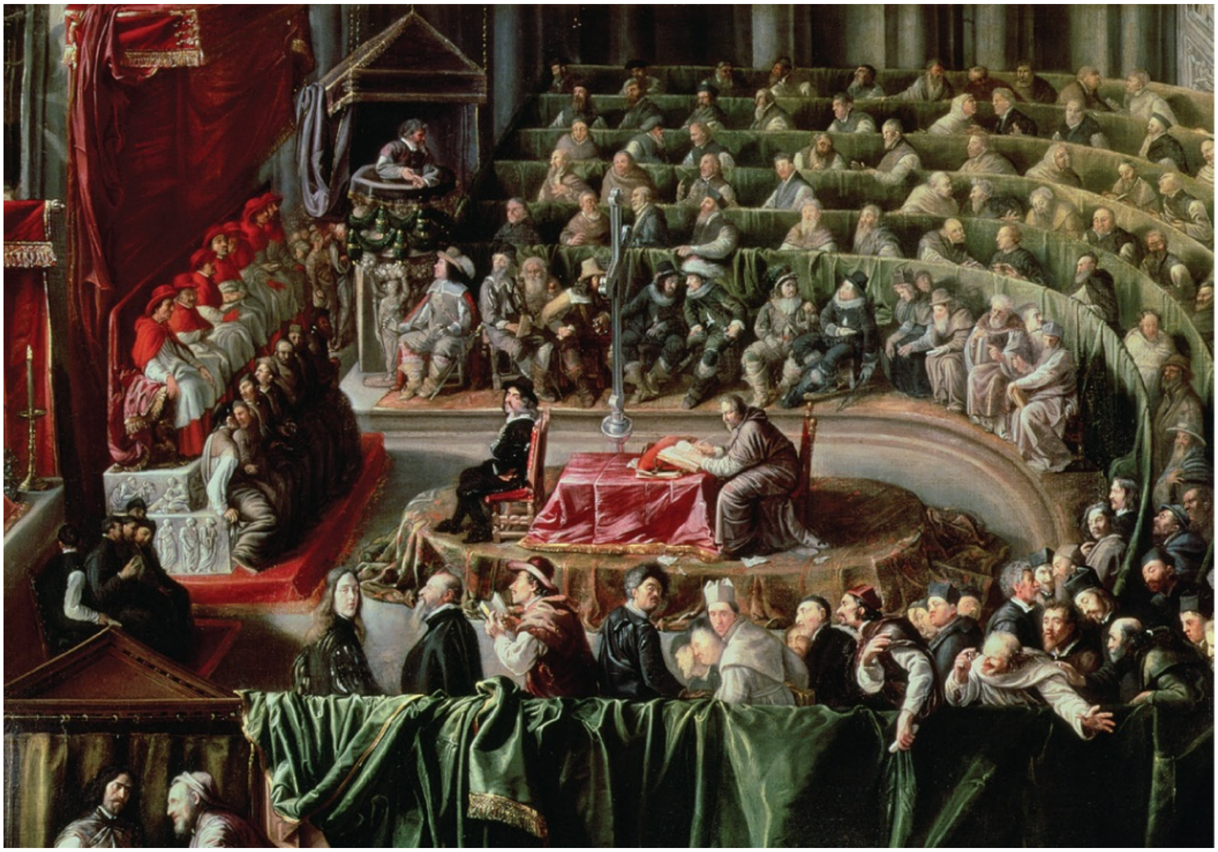
-The west coast (Peru) southward toward modern-day Argentina, then east toward the Rio Parana, and north along the eastern border of the river

Swedish

-North America: New Sweden (north of Maryland)

Return to Map 15.3 European Colonization of the Americas, c. 1640

Extended description for The Trial of Galileo, 1633



Bridgeman Art Library/Image Partner/Getty Images.

The painting shows cardinals wearing red hats and robes. The court is filled with lots of people. Galileo sits at the center facing the Cardinals. Other accusers are seated behind him in the Church which looks like a courtyard.

Return to The Trial of Galileo, 1633

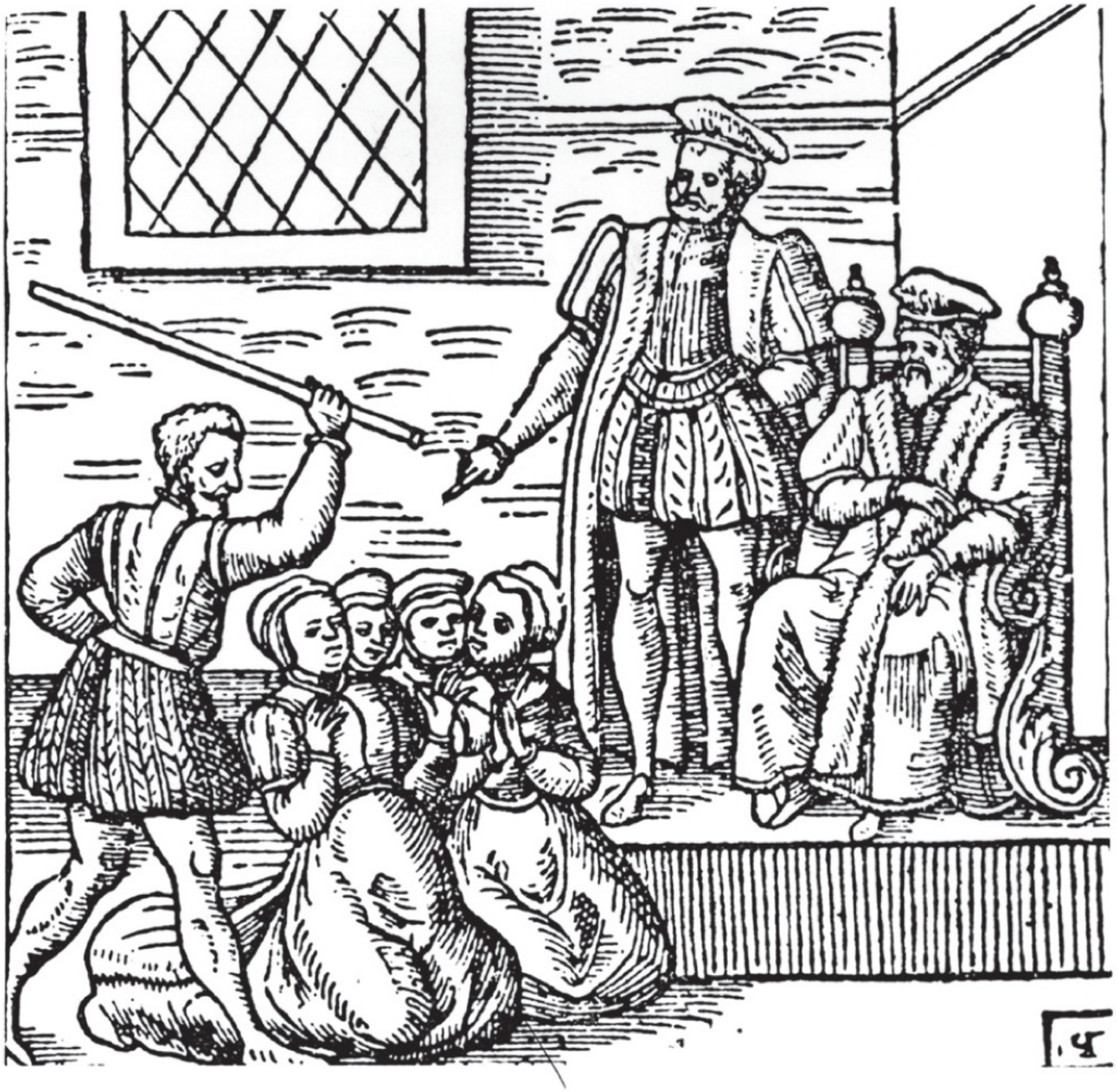
Extended description for The Arts and Colonial Power

Dome of the Capilla del Rosario, Santo Domingo Church, Puebla, Mexico/Jean-Pierre Courau/Bridgeman Images.

Part of an archway and lofted ceiling are covered in intricate sculptures and elaborate floral carvings in a European baroque style, featuring the extensive use of gold. An angel bearing scroll with a Latin motto emerges from a corner above the arch.

Return to The Arts and Colonial Power

Extended description for James VI, King of Scotland, Questioning Witches

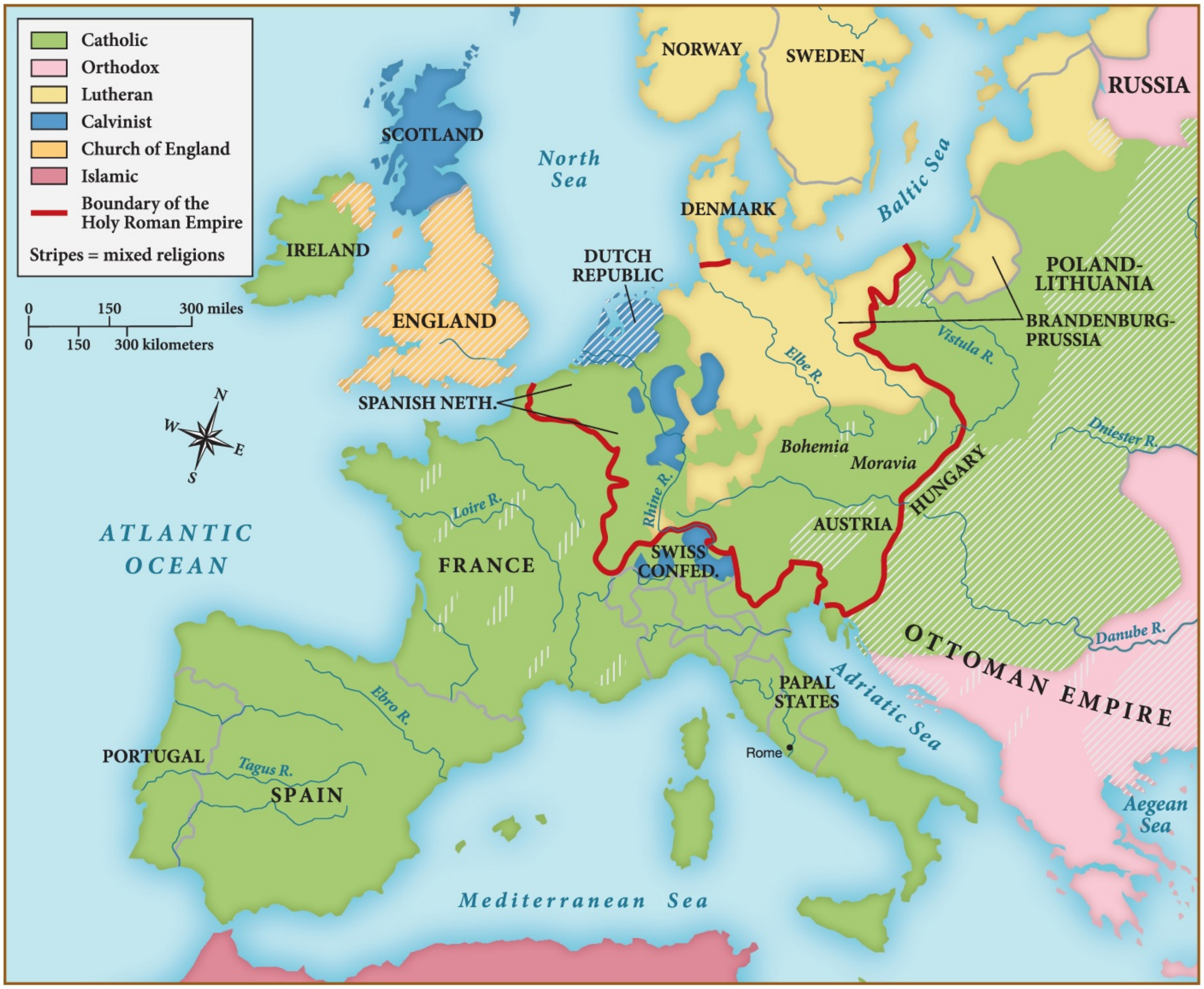


Private Collection/Bridgeman Images.

The king is seated on a throne on a dais, accompanied by a standing advisor who is pointing at the four accused women, who kneel before the throne wearing peasant clothes. A courtier behind them has a stick raised to beat the women.

Return to James VI, King of Scotland, Questioning Witches

Extended description for Mapping the West: The Religious Divisions of Europe, c. 1648



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West, 7e*, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

Areas identified as Catholic are France (with some mixed areas), much of Ireland, Spain, Portugal, all of Italy, portions of the Swiss Confederacy, Bohemia, Moravia, Austria (mixed), Hungary (mixed), and Poland-Lithuania.

Orthodox regions include Greece and the Ottoman Empire (with mixed areas) and a portion of northwest Russia extending beyond the bounds of the map.

Lutheran areas include Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Brandenburg-Prussia, and Northern Germany.

Calvinist areas include portions of the Swiss Confederacy, central Germany, Scotland, and the Dutch Republic (mixed).

The Church of England was prevalent in England and northeast Ireland.

North Africa is identified as Islamic.

Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire expands from Spanish Netherlands towards Baltic Sea passing through Rhine R., Swiss Confederation, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, till Moravia.

Mixed religions include a small part of Ireland (Church of England), England (Church of England), Dutch Republic (Calvinist), Dniester R. (Catholic), half portion of Poland-Lithuania (Catholic), northern region of Ottoman Empire (Orthodox).

Return to Mapping the West: The Religious Divisions of Europe, c. 1648

Extended description for Louis XIV Establishing the Academy of Sciences in 1666

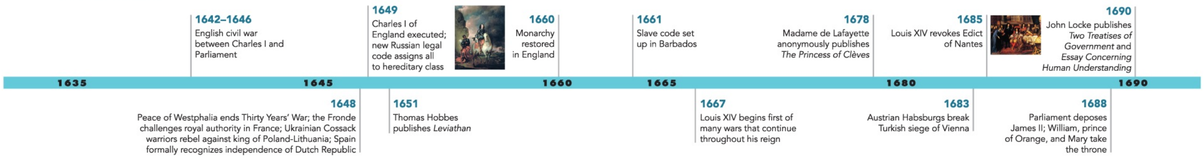
DEA/G. DAGLI ORTI/Getty Images.

The painting shows the King sitting on a chair as his left arm rests on a table next to him. He holds a stick with his right hand. Colbert bows his head in front of the king and members of the Royal Academy of Sciences surround the King and Colbert.

Return to Louis XIV Establishing the Academy of Sciences in 1666

Extended description for a timeline of events between 1635 and 1690

CHAPTER TIMELINE


1642–1646
English civil war between Charles I and Parliament
1649
Charles I of England executed; new Russian legal code assigns all to hereditary class
1660
Monarchy restored in England
1661
Slave code set up in Barbados
1678
Madame de Lafayette anonymously publishes *The Princess of Clèves*
1685
Louis XIV revokes Edict of Nantes
1690
John Locke publishes *Two Treatises of Government* and *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*
1635
1645
1660
1665
1680
1690
1648
Peace of Westphalia ends Thirty Years' War; the Fronde challenges royal authority in France; Ukrainian Cossack warriors rebel against king of Poland-Lithuania; Spain formally recognizes independence of Dutch Republic
1651
Thomas Hobbes publishes *Leviathan*
1667
Louis XIV begins first of many wars that continue throughout his reign
1683
Austrian Habsburgs break Turkish siege of Vienna
1688
Parliament deposes James II; William, prince of Orange, and Mary take the throne

© Philip Mould Ltd, London/ Bridgeman Images; DEA/ G. DAGLI ORTI/Getty Images

The important events from the timeline are as follows.

1642 to 1646: English civil war between Charles I and Parliament. 1648: Peace of Westphalia ends Thirty Years' War; Fronde revolt challenges royal authority in France; Ukrainian Cossack warriors rebel against king of Poland-Lithuania; Spain formally recognizes independence of Dutch Republic. 1649: Charles I of England executed; new Russian legal code assigns all to hereditary class. 1651: Thomas Hobbes publishes Leviathan. 1660: Monarchy restored in England 1661: Slave code set up in Barbados. 1667: Louis XIV begins first of many wars that continue throughout his reign. 1678: Madame de Lafayette anonymously publishes 'The Princess of Clèves.' 1683: Austrian Habsburgs break Turkish siege of Vienna. 1685: Louis XIV revokes Edict of Nantes. 1688: Parliament deposes James II; William, prince of Orange, and Mary take the throne. 1690: John Locke publishes italic Two Treatises of Government end italic and Essay Concerning Human Understanding.

Return to a timeline of events between 1635 and 1690

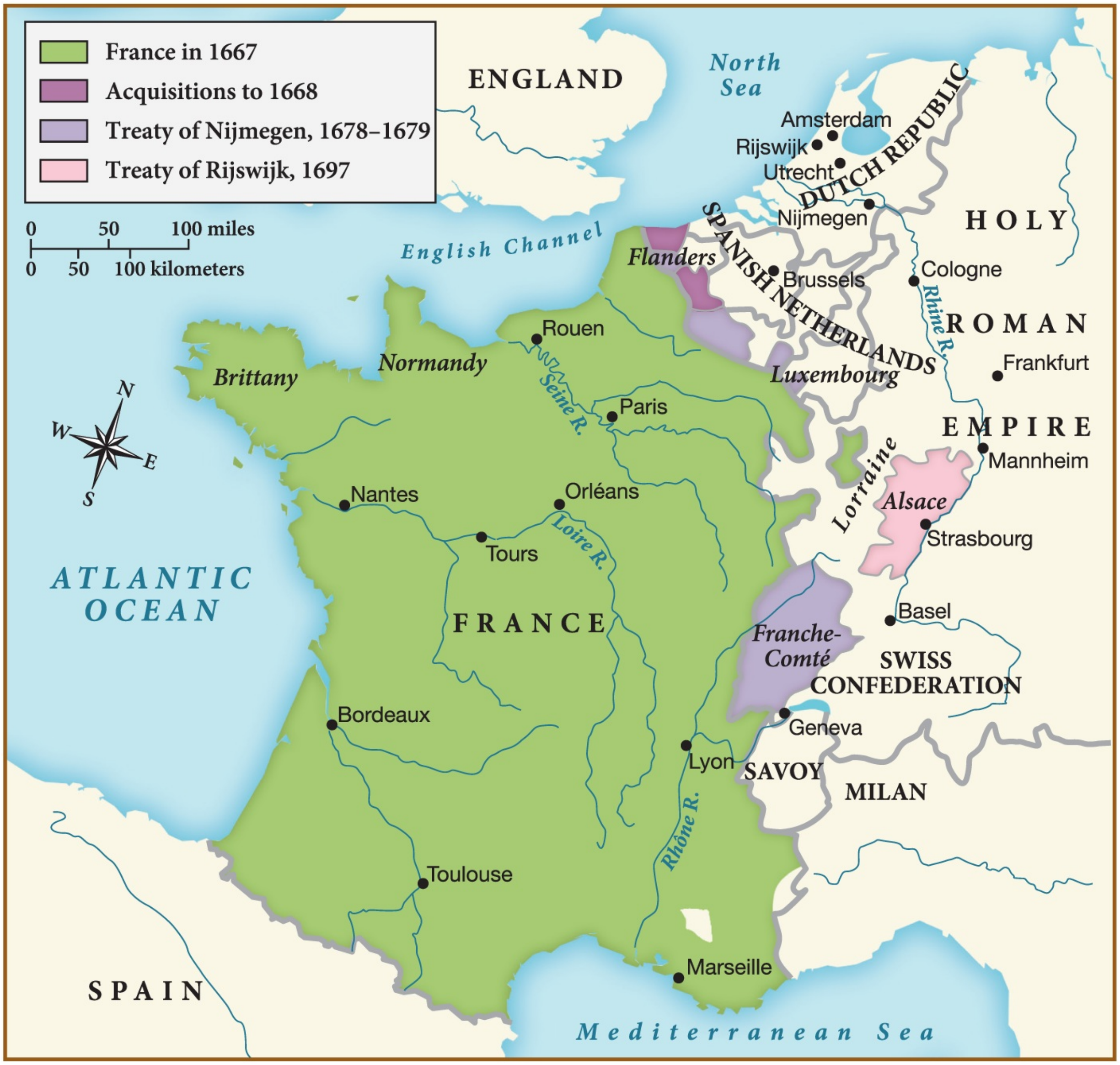
Extended description for Louis at War

Private Collection/©Christie's Images/Bridgeman Images.

The illustration shows King Louis fourteen on a white horse at the bank of the river surrounded by the soldiers. An official stands next to the King and the King raises his sword in the air. A large number of soldiers are there in the river with their horses.

Return to Louis at War

Extended description for Map 16.1 Louis XIV's Acquisitions, 1668–1697



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The map is centered on France and surrounding areas.

In 1667 France extended from the border with Spain east beyond the major cities of Marseilles (at the Mediterranean Sea), Lyon, Paris, and Rouen.

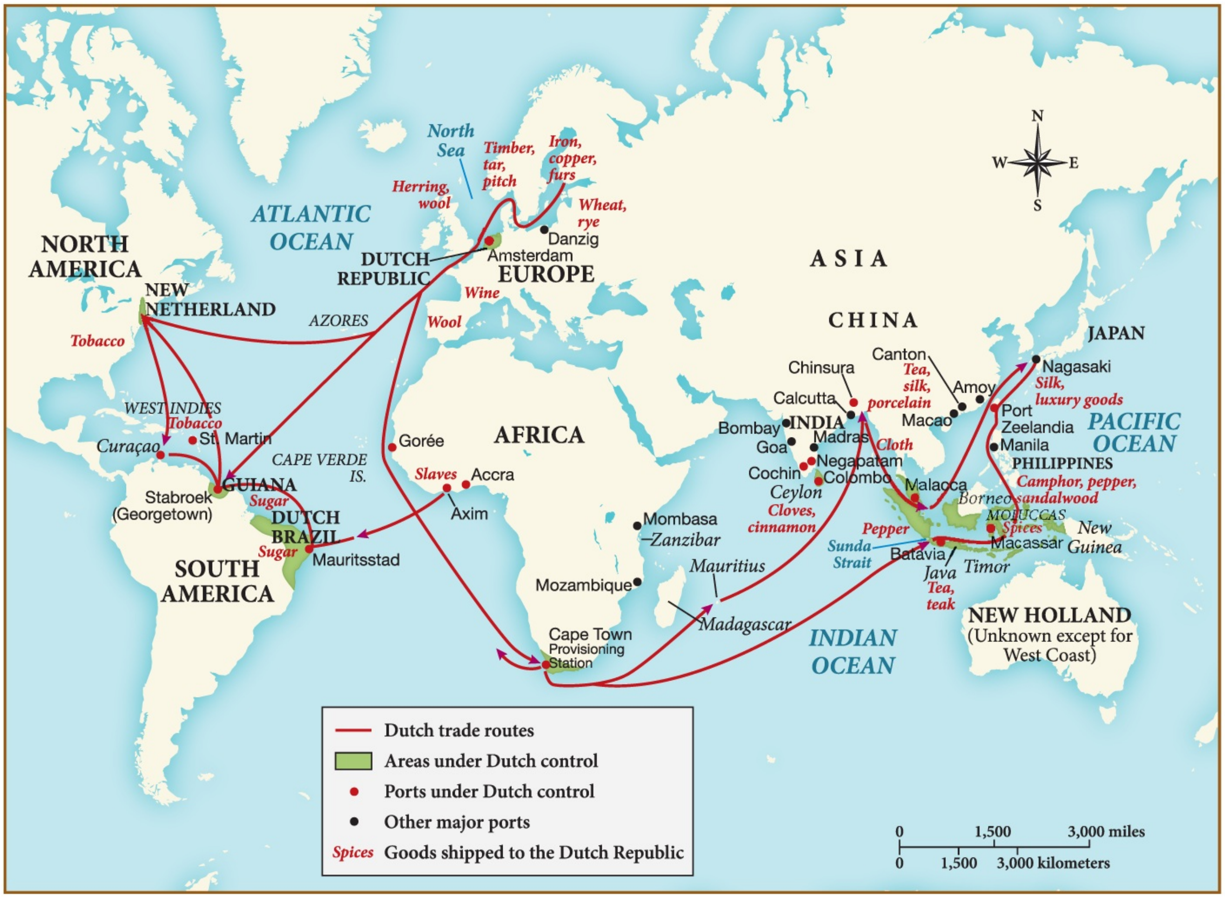
Acquisitions to 1668 included the small region of Flanders on the English Channel, along the western border of the Spanish Netherlands.

The Treaty of Nijmegen, 1678 to 1679, added a small region south of the Flanders acquisition and the region of Franche-Comte, north of the city of Geneva on the border of the Swiss Confederation.

The Treaty of Rijswijk, 1697, added the region of Alsace, which included the city of Strasbourg.

Return to Map 16.1 Louis XIV’s Acquisitions, 1668–1697

Extended description for Map 16.2 Dutch Commerce in the Seventeenth Century



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In addition to the Netherlands, areas under Dutch control are as follows:

New Netherlands (in New York State); Guiana and Dutch Brazil in northeast South America; a provisioning station at Cape Town, South Africa; south Ceylon; and much of the Moluccas Islands and Indonesia.

Dutch ports include Amsterdam, Stabroek (Georgetown, Guiana), Mauritsstad (Dutch Brazil), Goree, Axim, and Accra (western Africa), Cape Town, Cochin and Negapatam (India); Colombo (Ceylon); Malacca, Batavia, and Macassar (Moluccas Islands); and Port Zeelandia

(Phillippines).

The main goods traded with the Dutch Republic are as follows:

-Herring, wool (England)

-Iron, copper, furs (Finland)

-Timber, tar, pitch (Sweden and Denmark)

-Wine (France)

-Wool (Spain)

-Tobacco(North America, St. Martin … Curacao)

-Sugar (South America)

-Slaves (between the Dutch Republic and Africa)

-Cloves, cinnamon (India)

-Pepper, tea, teak, spices (Moluccas)

-Camphor, pepper, sandalwood (Philippines)

-Tea, silk, porcelain (China)

-Silk, luxury good (Japan)

The main trades routes are as follows:

From the Dutch Republic :

-North: Finland, Sweden, Denmark

-West/South: Azores, New Netherland, West Indies, Curacao, Guiana, Dutch Brazil

-West: Guiana

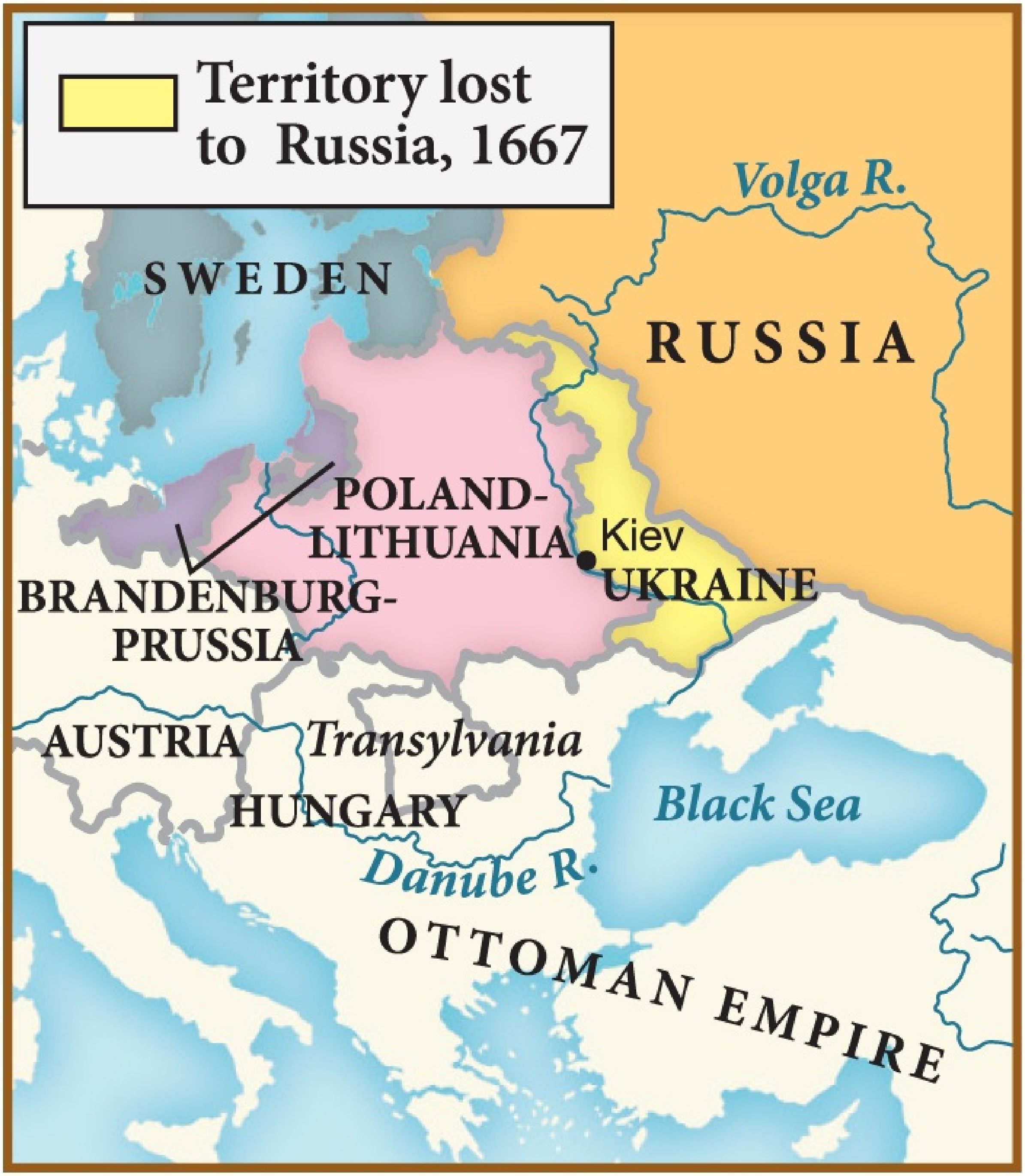
-South/East: South Africa, Mauritius, China, Japan, then south to Port Zeelandia, Macassar, Batavia, and back west around Cape Town to Europe

East/West between Africa and South America:

- Axim, Dutch Brazil, Guiana, Curacao

Return to Map 16.2 Dutch Commerce in the Seventeenth Century

Extended description for Poland-Lithuania in the Seventeenth Century



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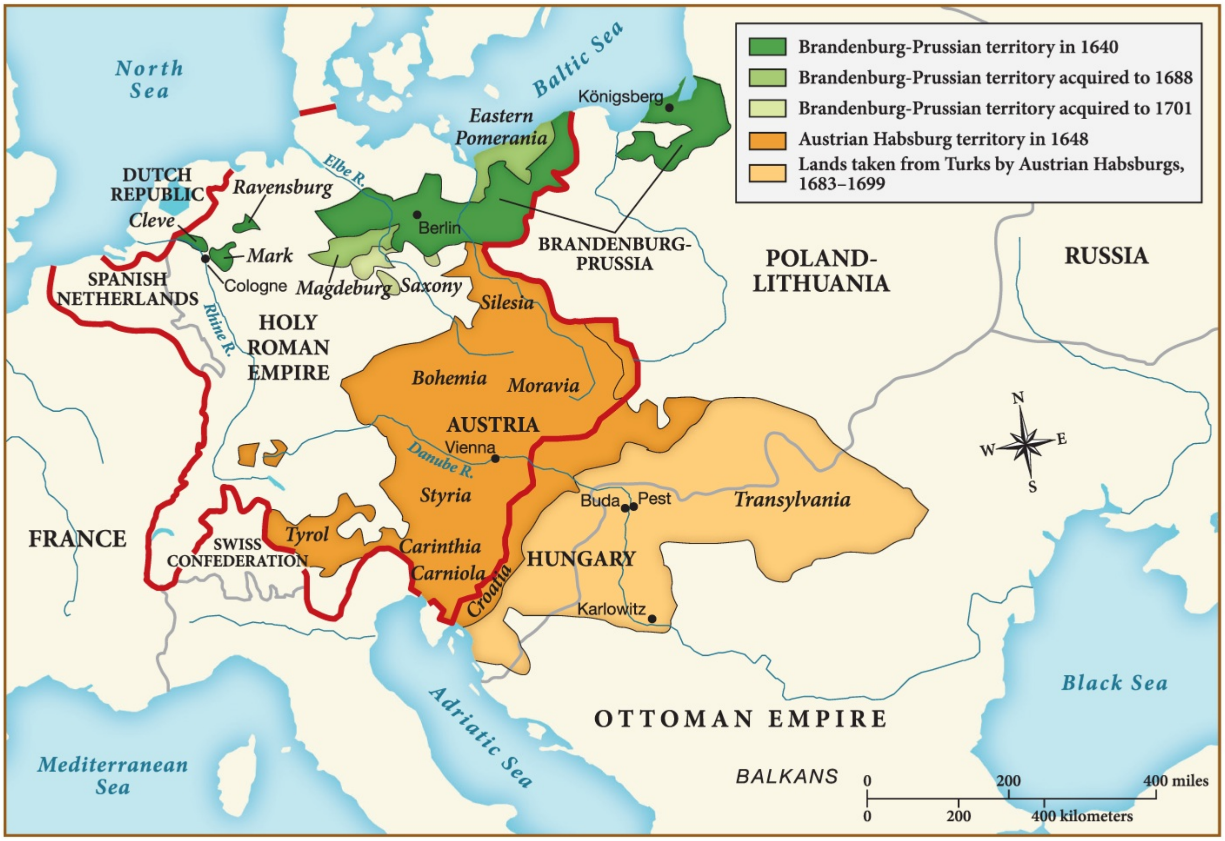
The data from the map are as follows.

Poland-Lithuania is bordered by Hungary, Austria, and Brandenburg-Prussia to the west; the Baltic Sea to the north; Russia to the west; and the Ottoman Empire to the south. A narrow region of land running north-south along the eastern border with Russia is indicated as territory that was lost to Russia in 1667. This is labeled as Ukraine and includes the city of Kiev.

Return to Poland-Lithuania in the Seventeenth Century

Extended description for Map 16.3 State Building in Central and Eastern Europe, 1648–1699



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The data from the map are as follows.

Brandenburg-Prussian territory in 1640 includes Berlin, Königsberg, Brandenburg-Prussia, mark, Cleve, Ravensburg, and Cologne.

Brandenburg-Prussian territory acquired to 1688 are as follows. Eastern Pomerania, Magdeburg

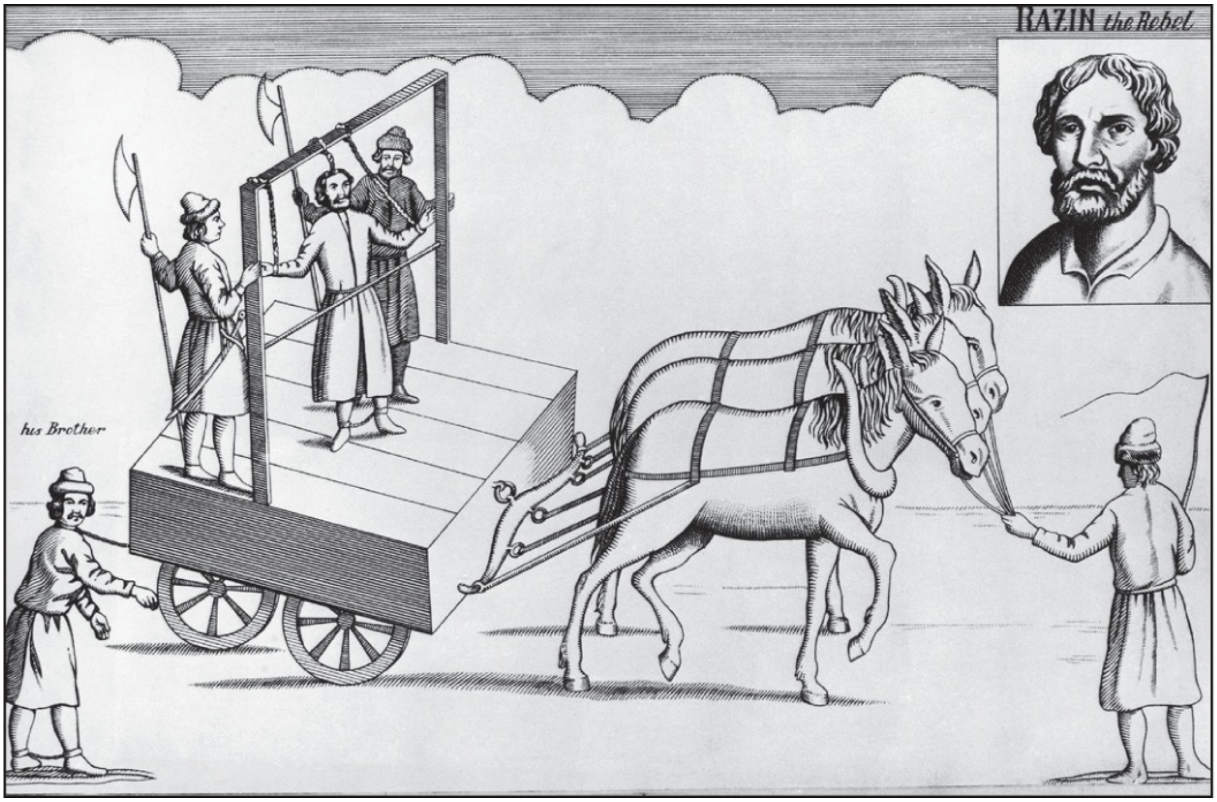
Brandenburg-Prussian territory acquired to 1701 includes Saxony.

Austrian Habsburg territory in 1648 are as follows. Vienna, Silesia, Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Croatia, Tyrol.

Lands taken from Turks by Austrian Habsburgs, 1683–1699: Hungary, Buda, Pest, Transylvania, Karlowitz.

Return to Map 16.3 State Building in Central and Eastern Europe, 1648–1699

Extended description for Stenka Razin in Captivity

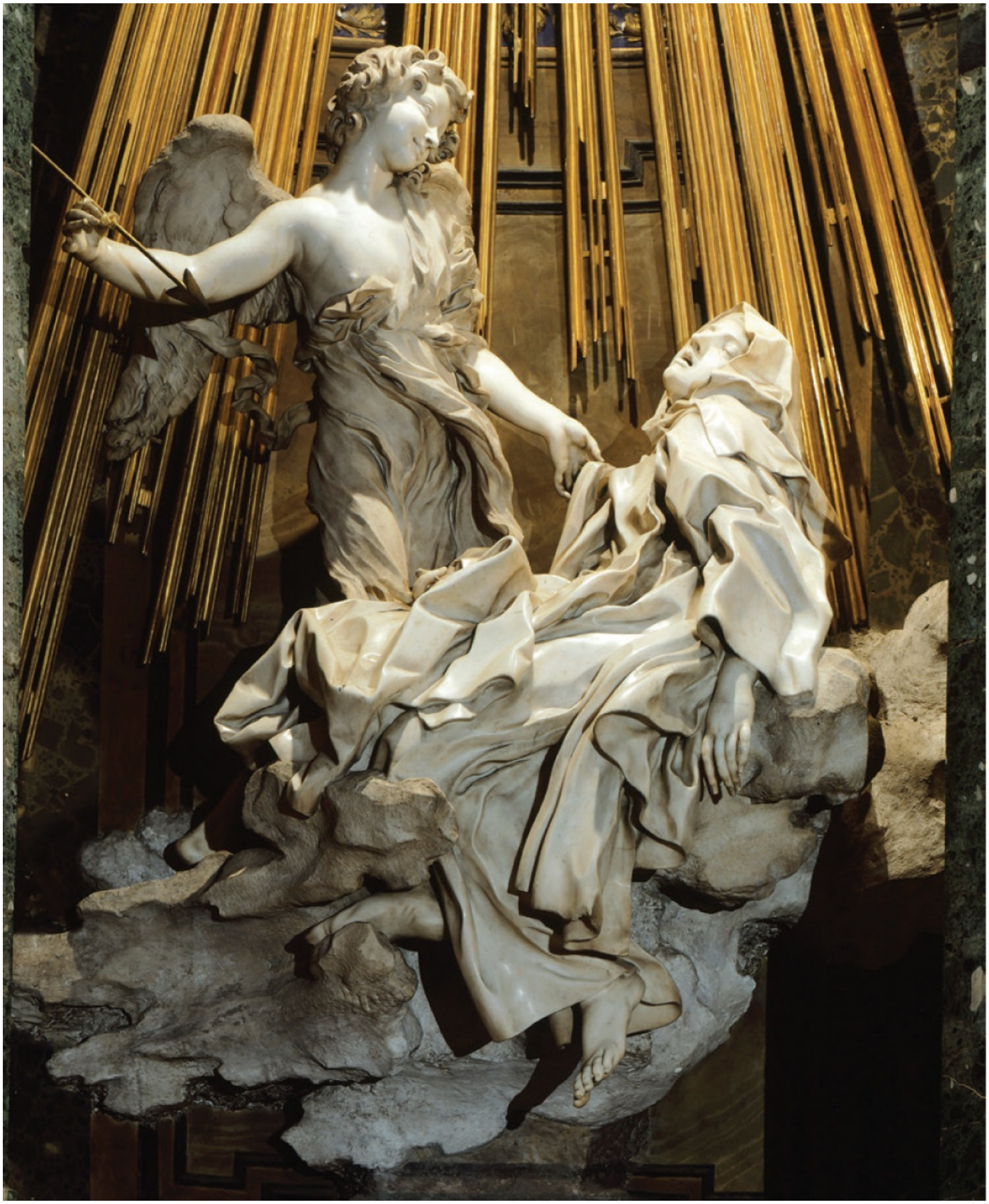


Imagno/Hulton Archive/Getty Images.

The illustration shows Razin standing tied to a framework in a bullock cart. There is one solider on the either side. The soldiers are armed with poleaxes. A man holds the head ropes of the two bullocks pulling the cart, and another man stands near the cart. An inset portrait at top right features Razin. Text above the inset reads, “Razin the rebel.”

Return to Stenka Razin in Captivity

Extended description for Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Ecstasy of St. Teresa of Ávila (c. 1650)

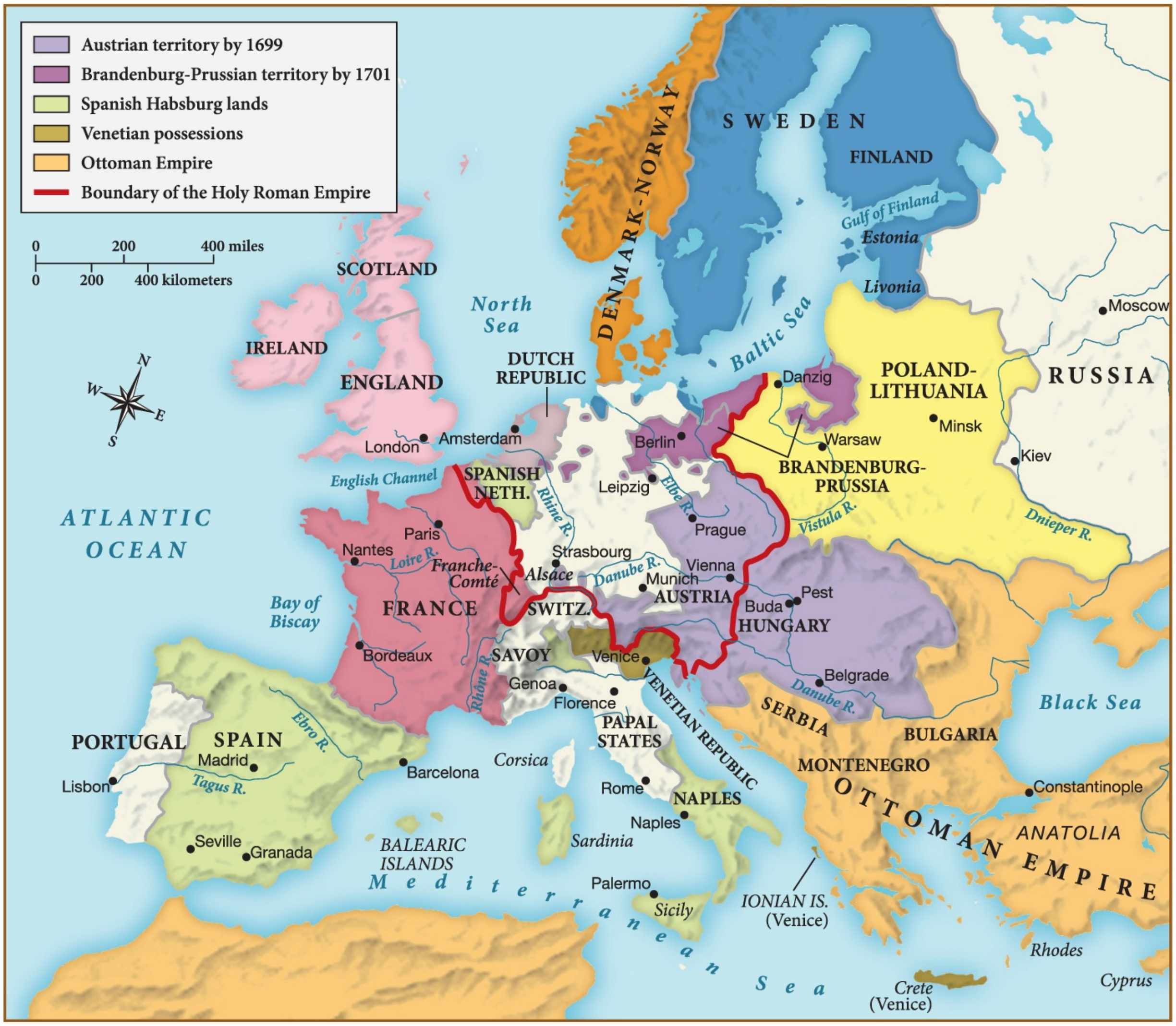


De Agostini Picture Library/G. Nimatallah/Bridgeman Images.

The marble sculpture is partially gilded and shows the angel holding a golden spear. At the iron tip there is a point of fire. The spear is aimed at the heart of St. Teresa, who lies below the angel with her eyes closed and mouth open in an expression of rapture.

Return to Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Ecstasy of St. Teresa of Ávila (c. 1650)

Extended description for Mapping the West: Europe at the End of the Seventeenth Century



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The map shows Ireland to the west; Sweden, Denmark, and Norway to the north; part of Russia and Black Sea to the east; and the Mediterranean Sea and part of northern Africa to the south.

By 1699, most parts of Hungary, Romania, and Austria became Austrian territory.

By 1701, the area around Berlin including Leipzig and a region north of Warsaw in Poland became Brandenburg-Prussian territory.

Spain, most regions in Netherland, southern Italy including Sicily and Sardinia are identified as Spanish Habsburg lands.

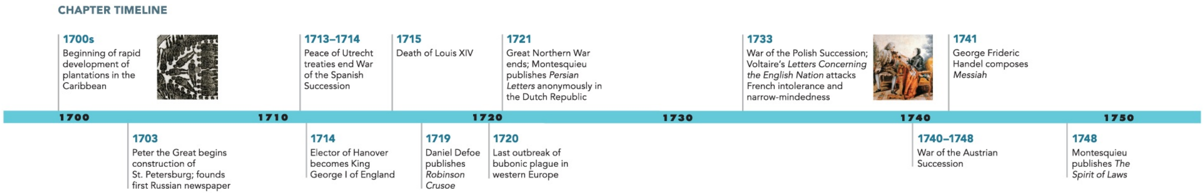
An area north and south of Venice and the island of Crete are identified as Venetian possessions.

The Ottoman Empire included Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, Constantinople, Anatolia, and the North coast regions of Africa.

The east boundary of the Holy Roman Empire extends south west from the coast of Baltic Sea that located to the west of Danzig and runs between of Vienna and Hungary. The south border runs above Venice and Switzerland and boundary on the west the runs on the east borders of France up to the coast of North Sea that is to the east of Netherlands.

Return to Mapping the West: Europe at the End of the Seventeenth Century

Extended description for a timeline of events between 1700 and 1750


CHAPTER TIMELINE
1700s
Beginning of rapid development of plantations in the Caribbean
1713–1714
Peace of Utrecht treaties end War of the Spanish Succession
1715
Death of Louis XIV
1721
Great Northern War ends; Montesquieu publishes *Persian Letters* anonymously in the Dutch Republic
1733
War of the Polish Succession; Voltaire's *Letters Concerning the English Nation* attacks French intolerance and narrow-mindedness
1741
George Frideric Handel composes *Messiah*
1700
1710
1720
1730
1740
1750
1703
Peter the Great begins construction of St. Petersburg; founds first Russian newspaper
1714
Elector of Hanover becomes King George I of England
1719
Daniel Defoe publishes *Robinson Crusoe*
1720
Last outbreak of bubonic plague in western Europe
1740–1748
War of the Austrian Succession
1748
Montesquieu publishes *The Spirit of Laws*

The Picture Art Collection/Alamy Stock Photo; DEA/G. Dagli Orti/ Getty Images

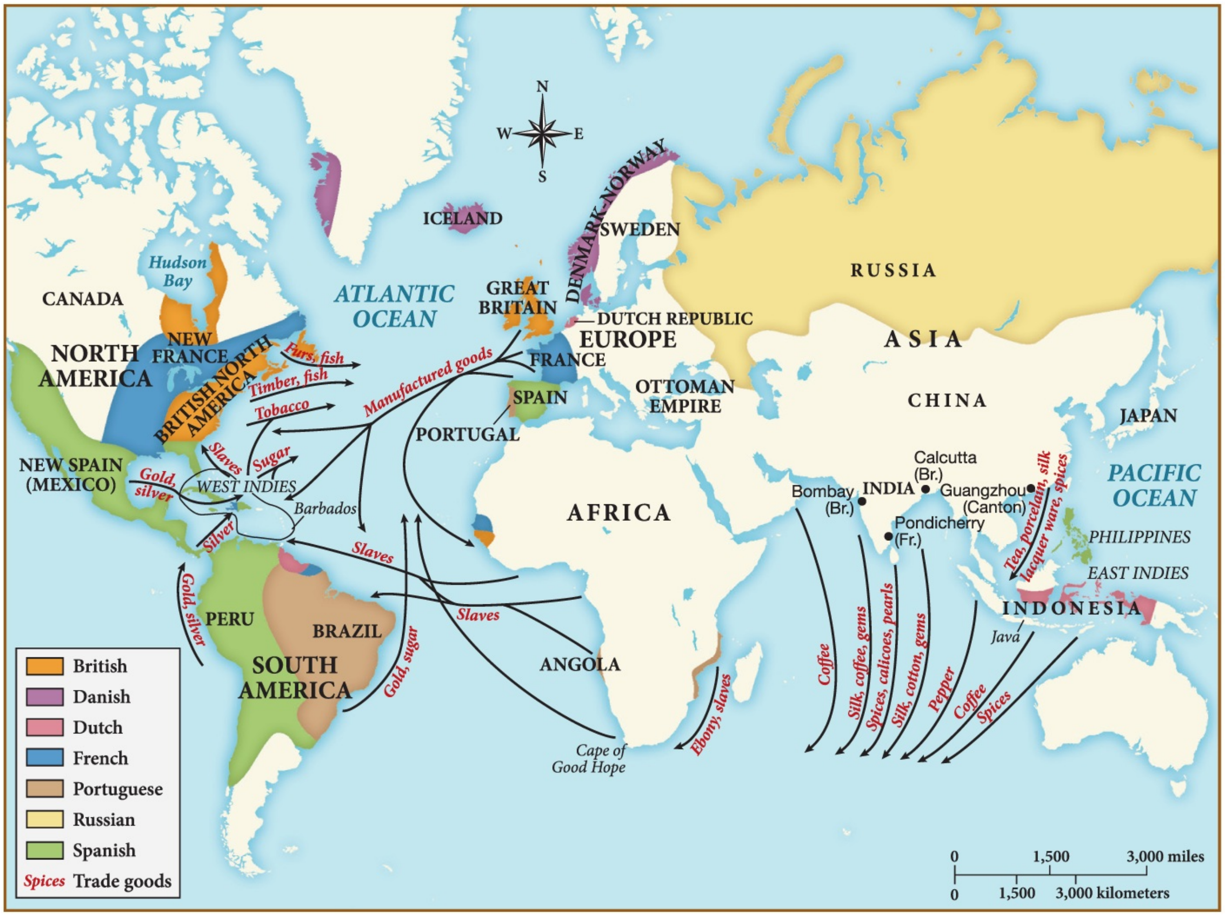
The data from the timeline are as follows.

1700s: Beginning of rapid development of plantations in the Caribbean. 1703: Peter the Great begins construction of St. Petersburg; founds first Russian newspaper. 1713 to 1714: Peace of Utrecht treaties end War of Spanish Succession. 1714: Elector of Hanover becomes King George I of England. 1715: Death of Louis XIV. 1719: Daniel Defoe publishes Robinson Crusoe. 1720: Last outbreak of bubonic plague in western Europe. 1721: Great Northern War ends; Montesquieu publishes italic Persian Letters end italic anonymously in the Dutch Republic.

1733: War of the Polish Succession; Voltaire's Letters Concerning the English Nation attacks French intolerance and narrow-mindedness. 1740 to 1748: War of the Austrian Succession. 1741: George Frideric Handel composes italic Messiah end italic. 1748: Montesquieu publishes italic The Spirit of Laws end italic.

Return to a timeline of events between 1700 and 1750

Extended description for Map 17.1 European Trade Patterns, c. 1740



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

Areas of control include the following:

British:

-North America: The east coast south to the border of Florida and north into Canada, the coast surrounding Hudson Bay

-Africa, a small portion of the west coast, on or around the Equator

Danish:

-Iceland

-West coast of Greenland

Dutch:

-Indonesia

-East Indies

-Guiana (South America)

French:

-North America east of the Mississippi with the British colonies bordering on the east, Mexico (New Spain) to the south

-French Guyana, east of Guiana (Dutch)

-A small portion of the west coast of Africa, north of the British region

Portuguese:

-Brazil

-Angola and the east coast of Africa, just west of Madagascar

Russian:

-Europe west to the Ottoman Empire and Poland-Lithuania and Finland, China to the south, and the Pacific to the east

Spanish:

-New Spain from the west coast of North America south into Mexico and Central America and south into Peru.

-Florida in North America and the West Indies

Routes and goods traded are as follows:

East to West:

-Great Britain/France/Spain to North America/West Indies/South America : Manufactured goods

West to East or West to North:

-British North America/New France to Europe: Furs/fish, timber/fish, tobacco

-West Indies

-To North America, slaves

-To Europe, sugar

-New Spain to West Indies, gold and silver

East to West:

-East Africa to West Indies, slaves

-East Africa to Brazil, slaves

-East Africa to Europe, around the Cape of Good Hope, Ebony and slaves

South to North:

-Peru to New Spain to West Indies, Gold and silver

-Brazil to Europe, Gold and sugar

North to South, then West:

-Arabia, Coffee

-India, Silk, coffee, gems

-Sri Lanka, Spices, calicoes, pearls

-China, Silk, cotton, gems

-Japan, Tea, porcelain, silk, lacquer ware, spices

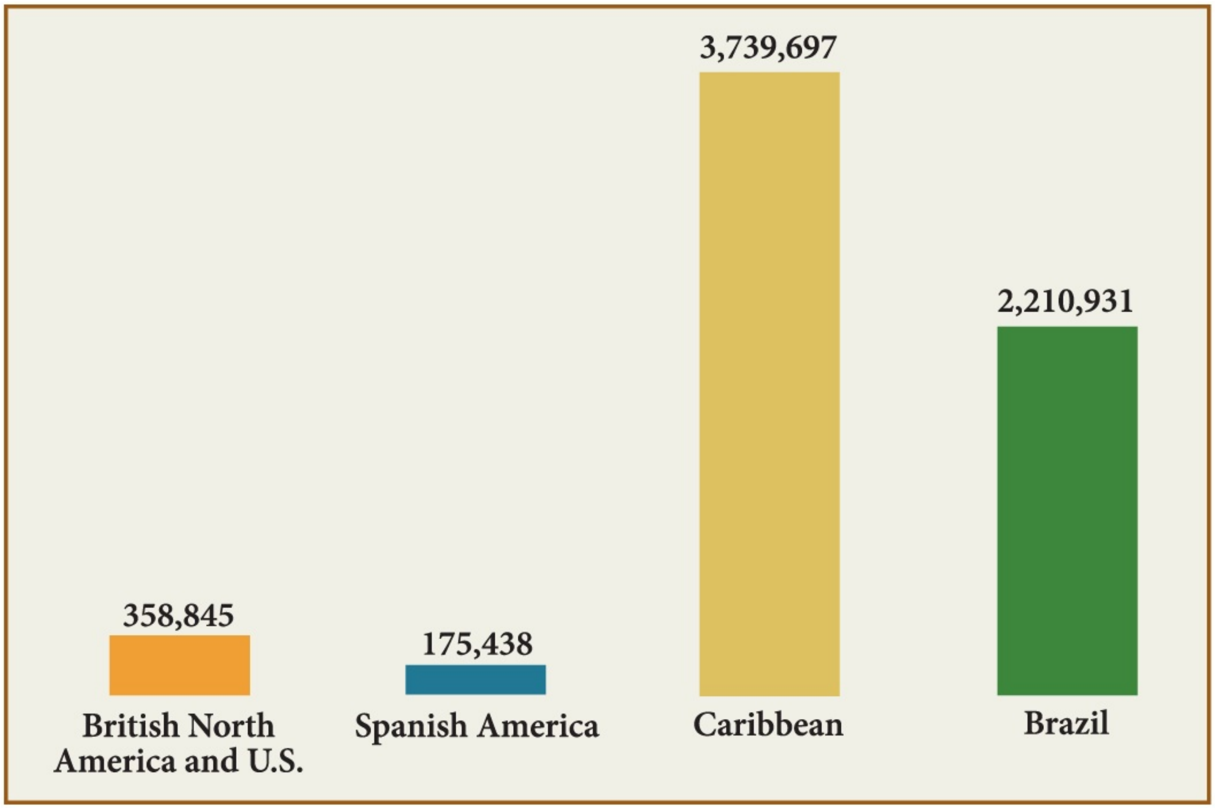
-Pepper, Pepper

-Java, Coffee

-Indonesia, Spices

Return to Map 17.1 European Trade Patterns, c. 1740

Extended description for Figure 17.1 African Enslaved People Imported into American Territories, 1701–1800



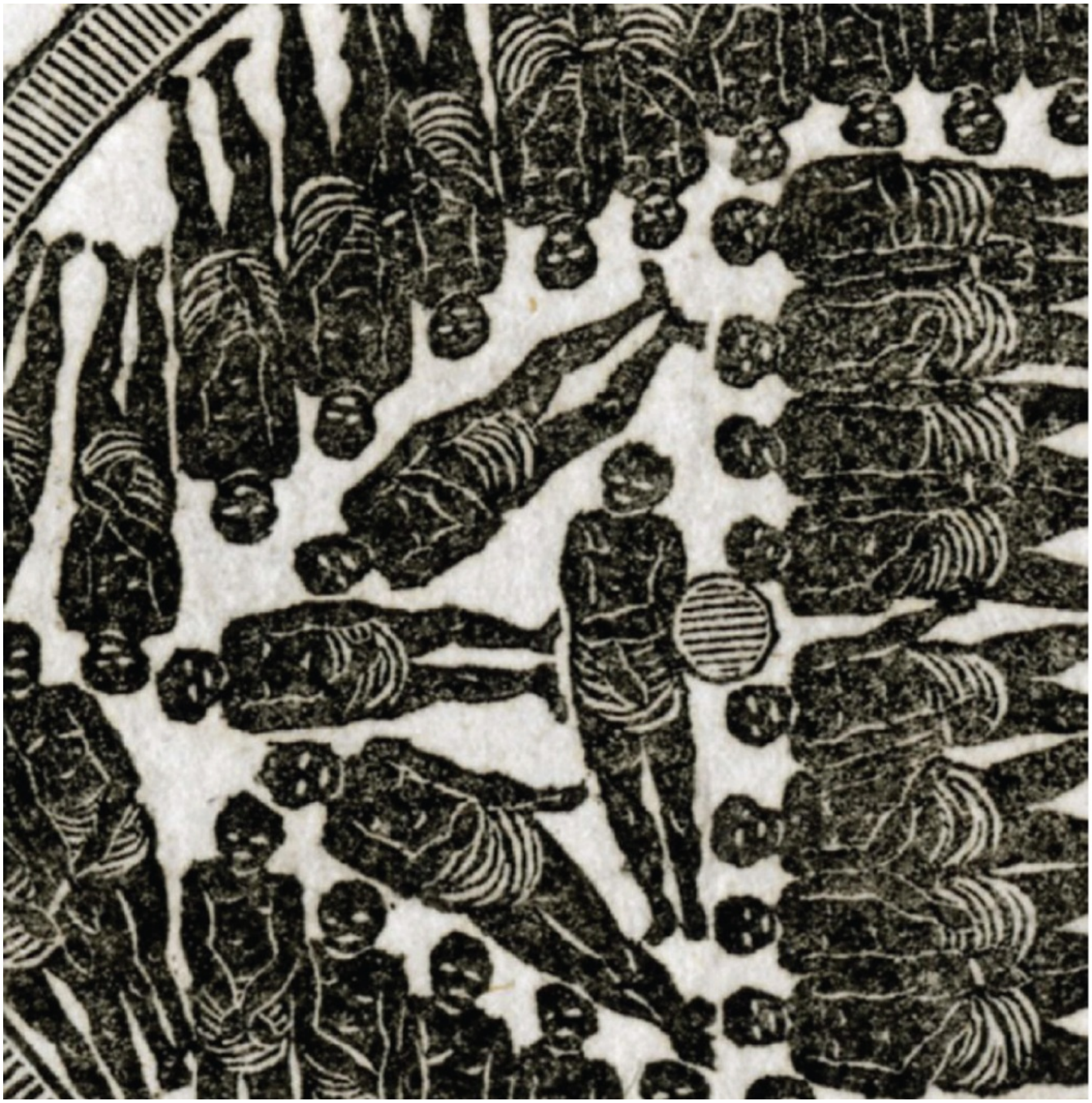
Adapted from http://www.slavevoyages.org.

The data for different American territories with their respective numbers of imported African enslaved people are as follows.

British North America and US: 358,845; Spanish America: 175,438; Caribbean: 3,739,697; Brazil: 2,210,931. It is clear from the graph that the Caribbean received more of the slave trade than the other areas combined.

Return to Figure 17.1 African Enslaved People Imported into American Territories, 1701–1800

Extended description for Crowded Conditions on Board a Slave Ship

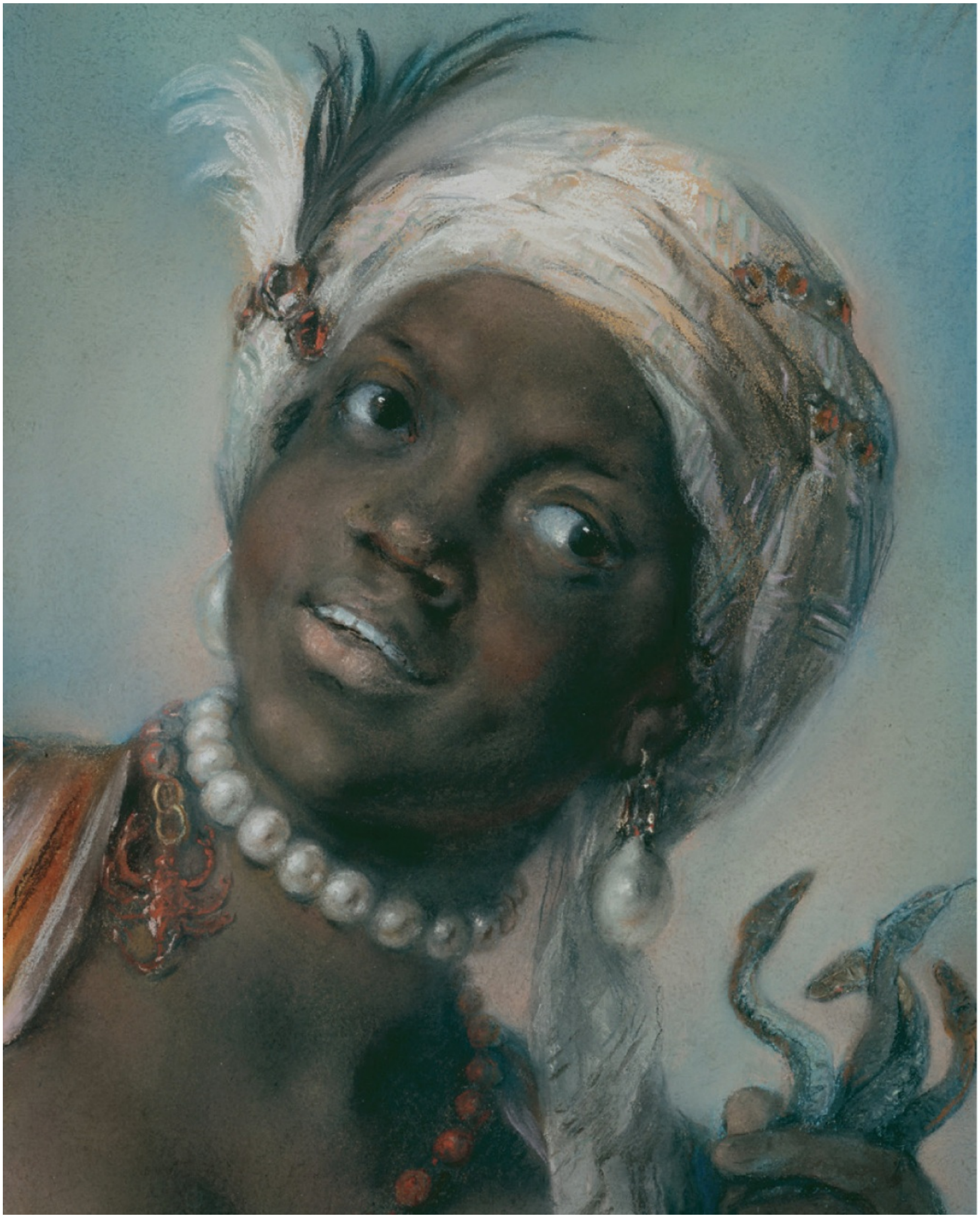


The Picture Art Collection/Alamy Stock Photo.

People lie on their backs shoulder to shoulder. Every bit of available space is filled.

Return to Crowded Conditions on Board a Slave Ship

Extended description for The Exotic as Consumer Item



Heritage Images/Hulton Fine Art Collection/Getty Images.

She wears a turban, a necklace made of pearls, and matching earrings. A scorpion attaches to her necklace and she holds four snakes in her hand. Her mouth is open.

Return to The Exotic as Consumer Item

Extended description for Domestic Servant Polishing the Silver

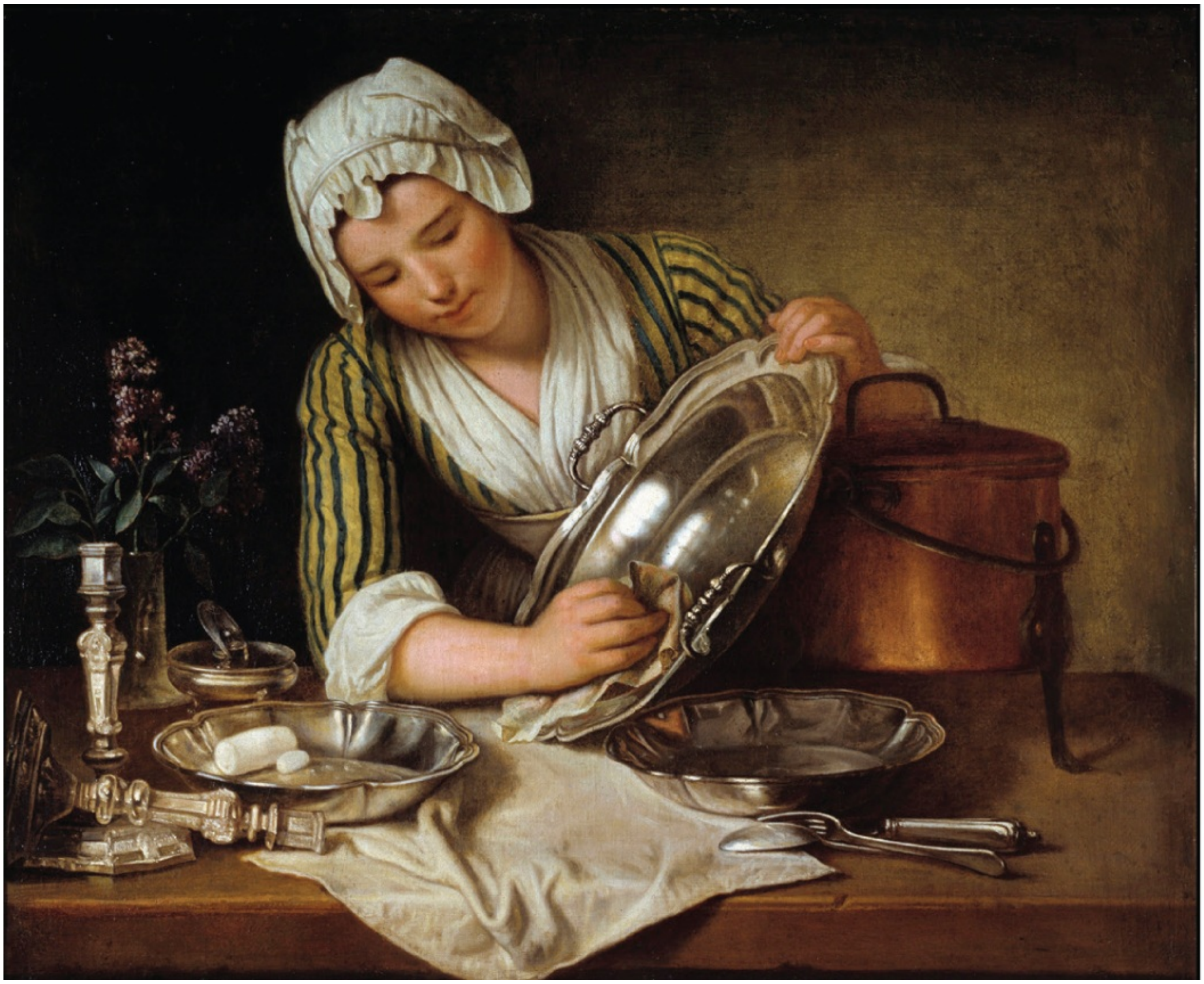
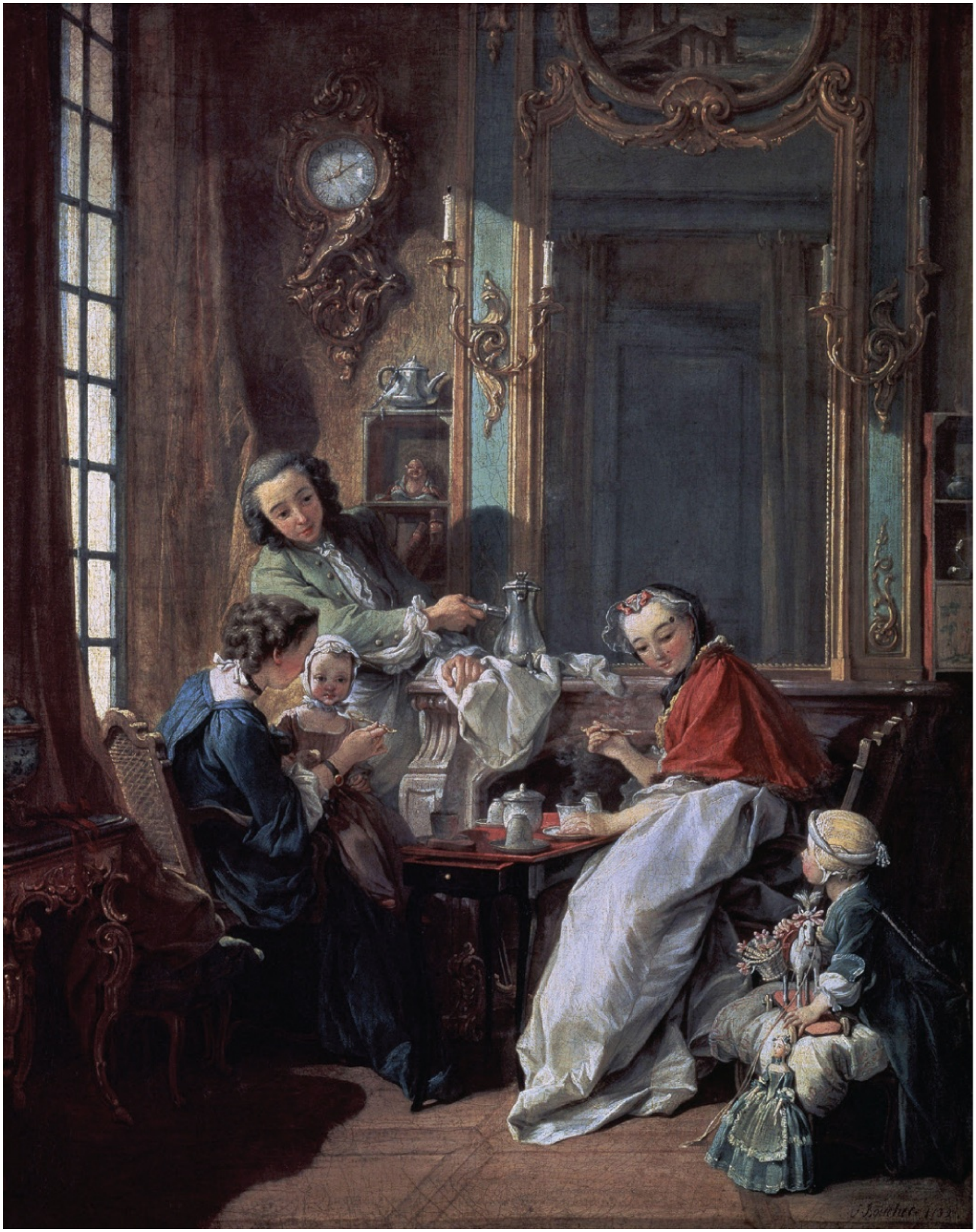


Photo Josse/Leemage/Getty Images.

The painting shows several utensils such as dishes and spoons beside the maid. She polishes a large utensil with a cloth.

[Return to Domestic Servant Polishing the Silver]

Extended description for Rococo Painting

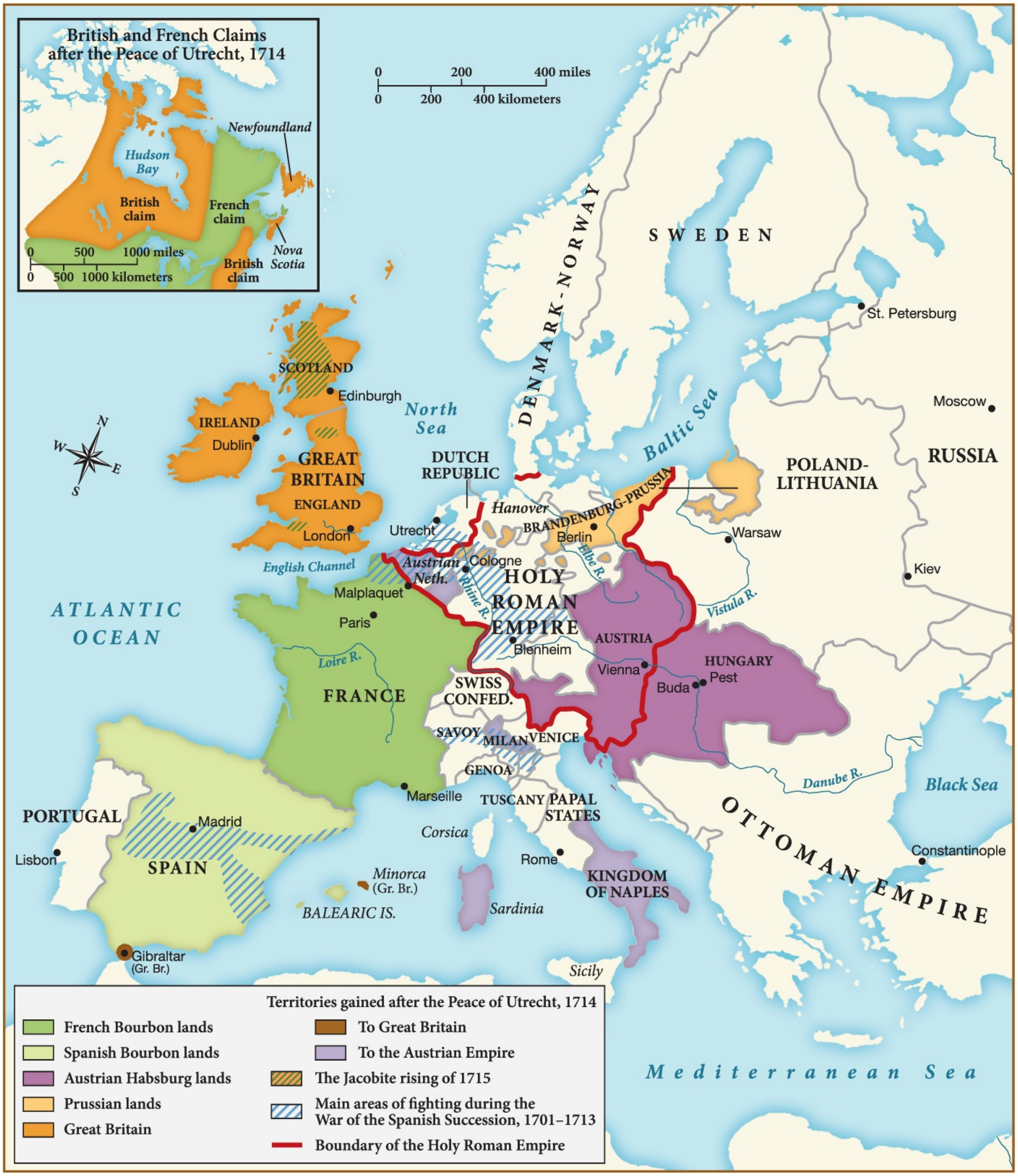


Album/Alamy Stock Photo.

A woman holds a child and tries to feed the child with a spoon. Another child sits on a low stool next to the other woman who holds tea cup with her left hand and a spoon in her right hand and looks at the child. The man holds the kettle. The background shows a mirror, wall clock, tea pot, and a small statue of a laughing Buddha.

Return to Rococo Painting

Extended description for Map 17.2 Europe, c. 1715



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French Bourbon lands encompass much of the modern-day borders of France. To the south is Spain, and to the east are the Austrian

Netherlands, Holy Roman Empire, Swiss Confederacy, Savoy, and Milan.

Spanish Bourbon lands encompass the entire Iberian Peninsula, with the exception of Portugal. Sicily was also part of the Spanish Bourbon lands.

Austrian Habsburg lands encompass the southern and eastern regions of the Holy Roman Empire with the Swiss Confederacy and Venice to the southwest, the Holy Roman Empire to the north and northwest, Poland-Lithuania to the northeast, and the Ottoman Empire to the southeast. It included Austria and Hungary, which straddled the eastern border of the Holy Roman Empire.

Prussian lands were divided into two parts, the first part being on the eastern border of the Holy Roman Empire, with its northern border on the Baltic Sea, and encompassing lands to the southwest toward Berlin and west of Berlin. The second region was to the east of the Holy Roman Empire border and surrounded by Poland-Lithuania to the west, south, and east and Baltic Sea to the north.

Great Britain encompassed Ireland, Wales, Scotland, and England.

Under the Peace of Utrecht, the following lands were gained:

Britain gained Gibraltar, at the southern tip of Spain, and the Minorca island to the west of Sardinia.

The Austrian Empire gained Sardinia, the Kingdom of Naples in the south of Italy, and a small portion of land in the Holy Roman Empire on its north-western border with France as well as a portion of the Spanish Netherlands. A small area of Milan was also ceded.

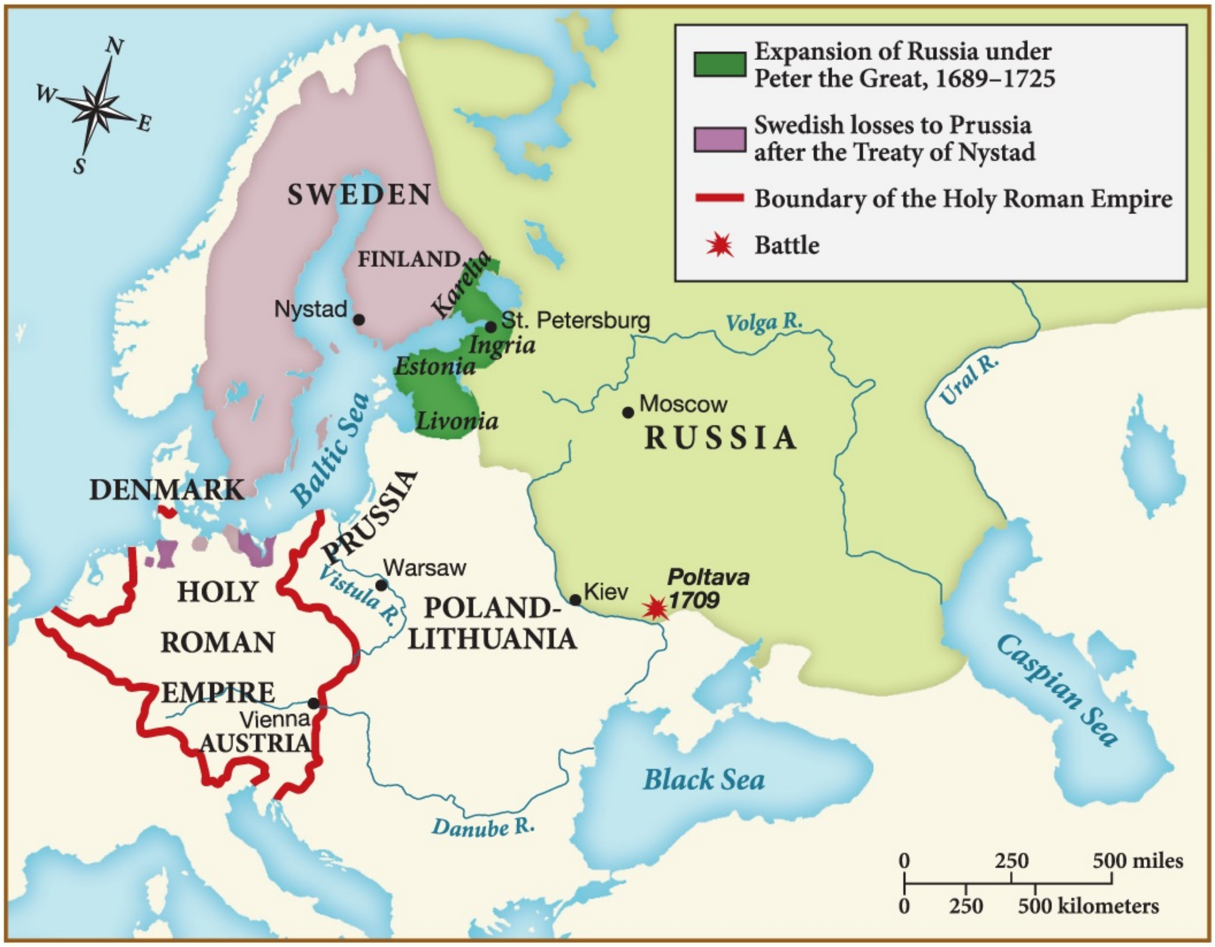
The Jacobite Rising of 1715 took place in the Highlands of Scotland (mostly western Scotland) and on the border of Scotland and England.

The War of Spanish Succession, 1701 to 1713 took place over central Spain, branching northwest and southwest; the north-western Holy Roman Empire (Austrian Netherlands and points southeast); and across Savoy, Milan, and the northern Papal States.

In North America after the Peace of Utrecht, 1714, Britain claimed land surrounding Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and an area along the east coast. The French claimed the area around the Great Lakes and westward, and east or northeast surrounding the St. Lawrence River to modern day Labrador and Quebec.

Return to Map 17.2 Europe, c. 1715

Extended description for Map 17.3 Russia and Sweden after the Great Northern War, 1721



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

Sweden controlled all of present-day Sweden and the southern portion of Finland, sharing its eastern border with Norway.

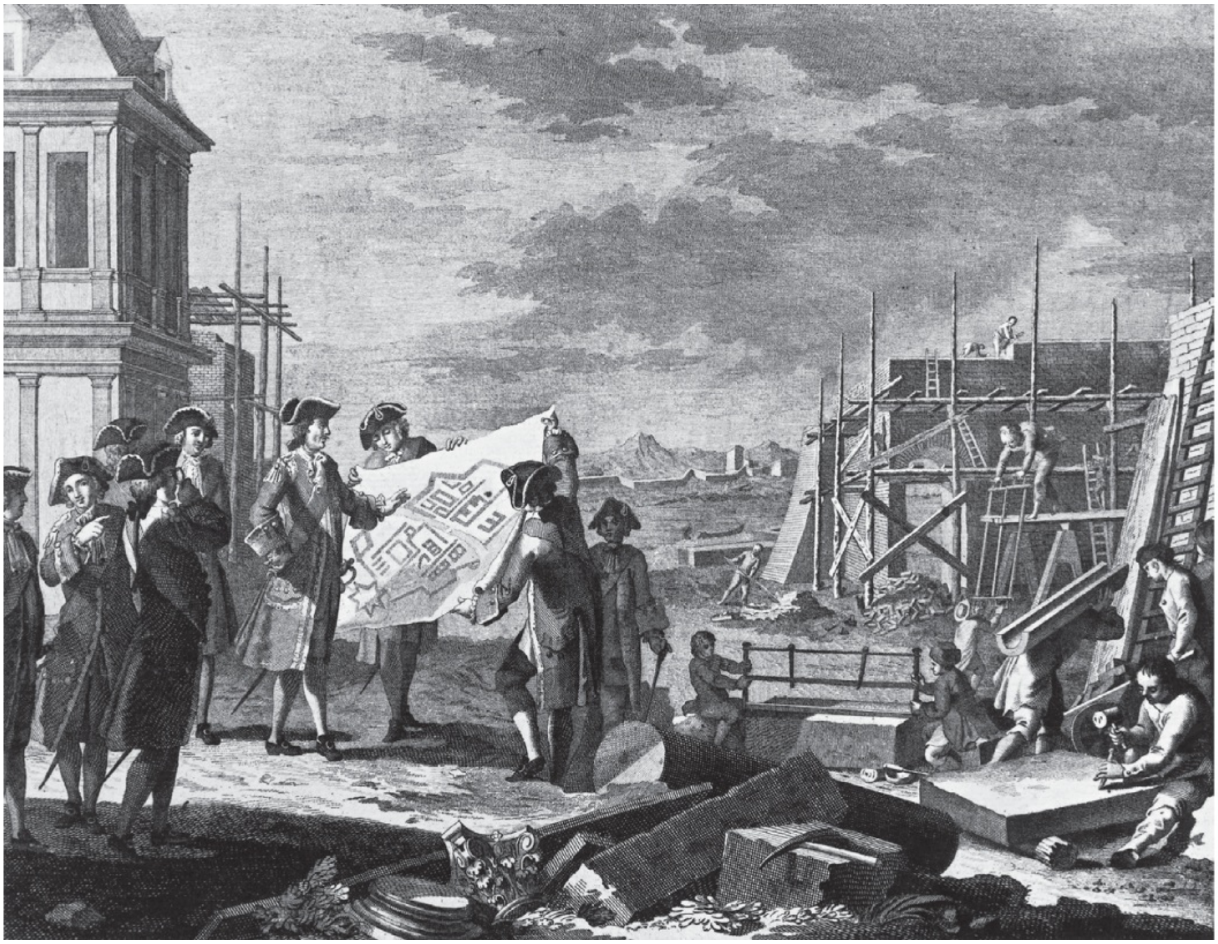
Russia controlled a large portion of northern Europe, including the eastern portion of Finland, and expanding east off of the map. Along the southeast border was Poland-Lithuania (along the Danube river), and Livonia, Estonia, and Ingria to the northwest. The Ural River formed a large portion of the eastern border. The southern border ran from the Caspian Sea in the east to the city of Poltava, where a battle took place in 1709.

Under Peter the Great (1689–1725), Russia expanded into Karelia, Ingria, Estonia, and Livonia, opening its border to the Baltic Sea.

Swedish lands ceded to Prussia after the Treaty of Nystad were two small areas of the Holy Roman Empire along the coast of the Baltic and North Seas.

Return to Map 17.3 Russia and Sweden after the Great Northern War, 1721

Extended description for a print shows Russian tsar Peter the Great supervising the construction of St. Petersburg

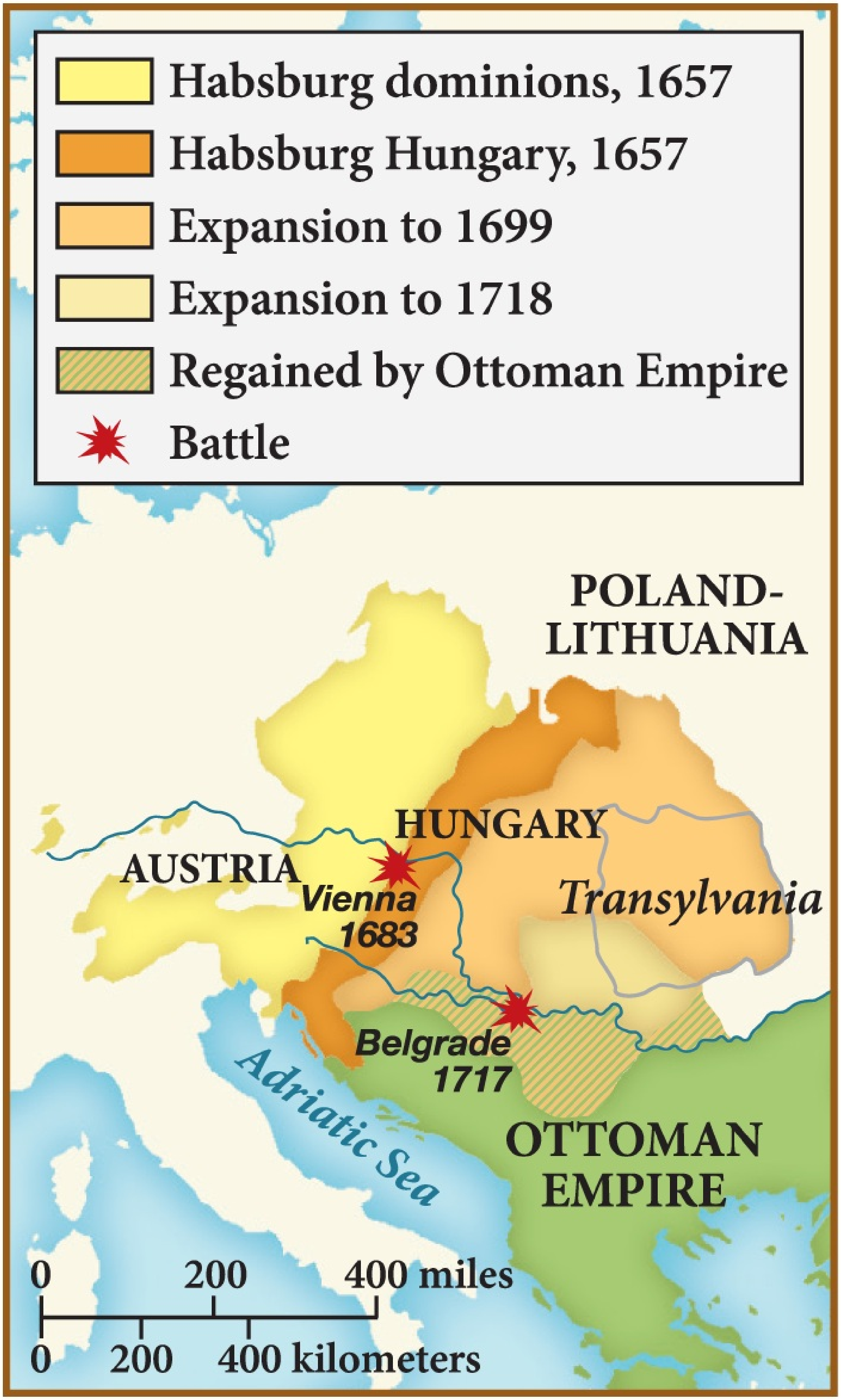


DE AGOSTINI PICTURE LIBRARY/Getty Images

The print shows engineers holding a large map and Peter pointing to it. The background shows some complete buildings while another surrounded by scaffolding. In front of it, stonemasons use saws, hammers, and chisels to cut stone, while others carry wood for more scaffolding.

Return to a print shows Russian tsar Peter the Great supervising the construction of St. Petersburg

Extended description for Austrian Conquest of Hungary, 1657–1730



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

Habsburg dominions of 1657 includes Austria.

Habsburg Hungary in 1657 includes Vienna and Hungary

Expansion to 1699 includes Transylvania

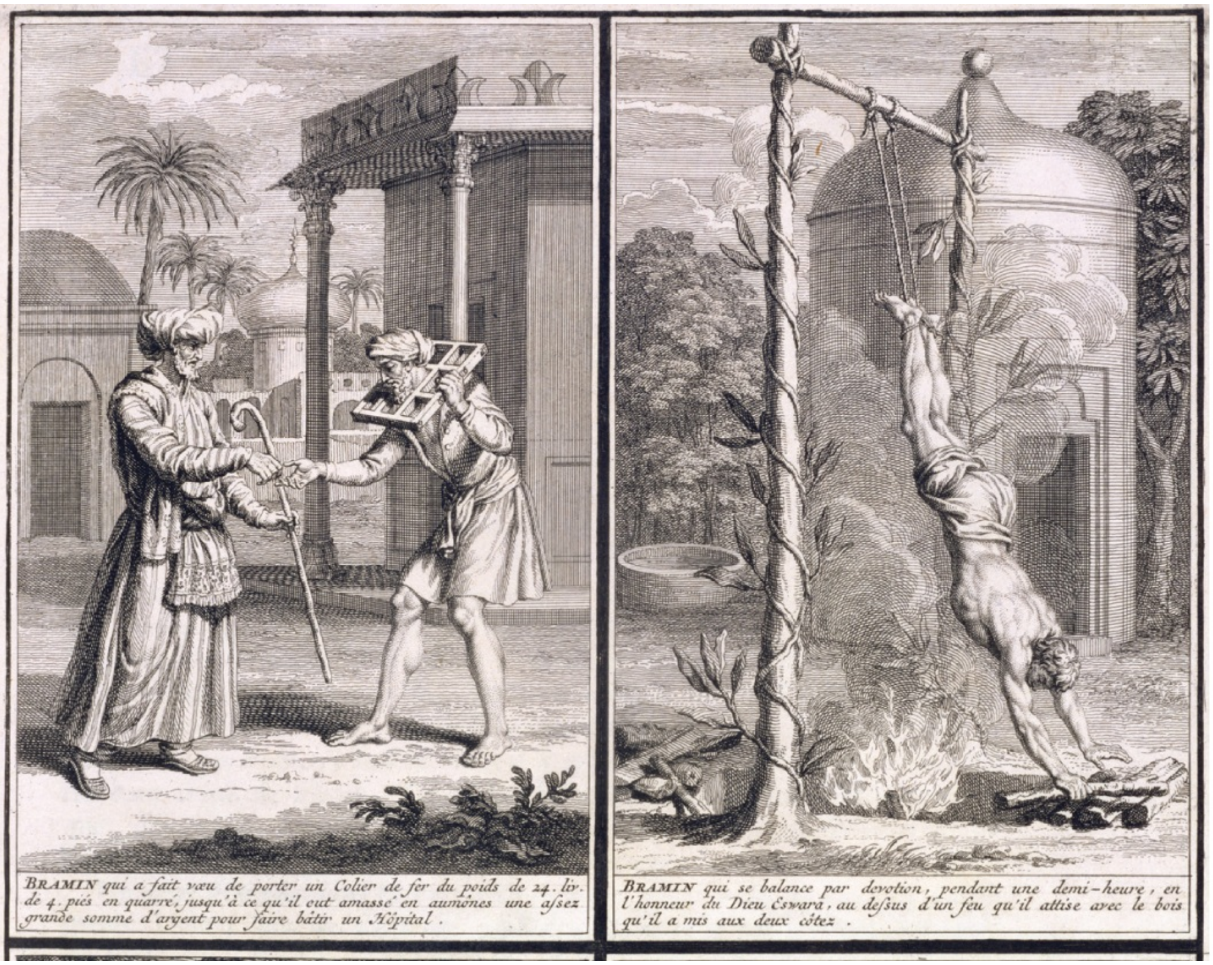
Expansion to 1718 shows Belgrade

Belgrade was regained by Ottoman Empire.

Battles occurred in Vienna in 1683 and in Belgrade during the year 1717

Return to Austrian Conquest of Hungary, 1657–1730

Extended description for Comparisons of Religions and the Rise of Skepticism

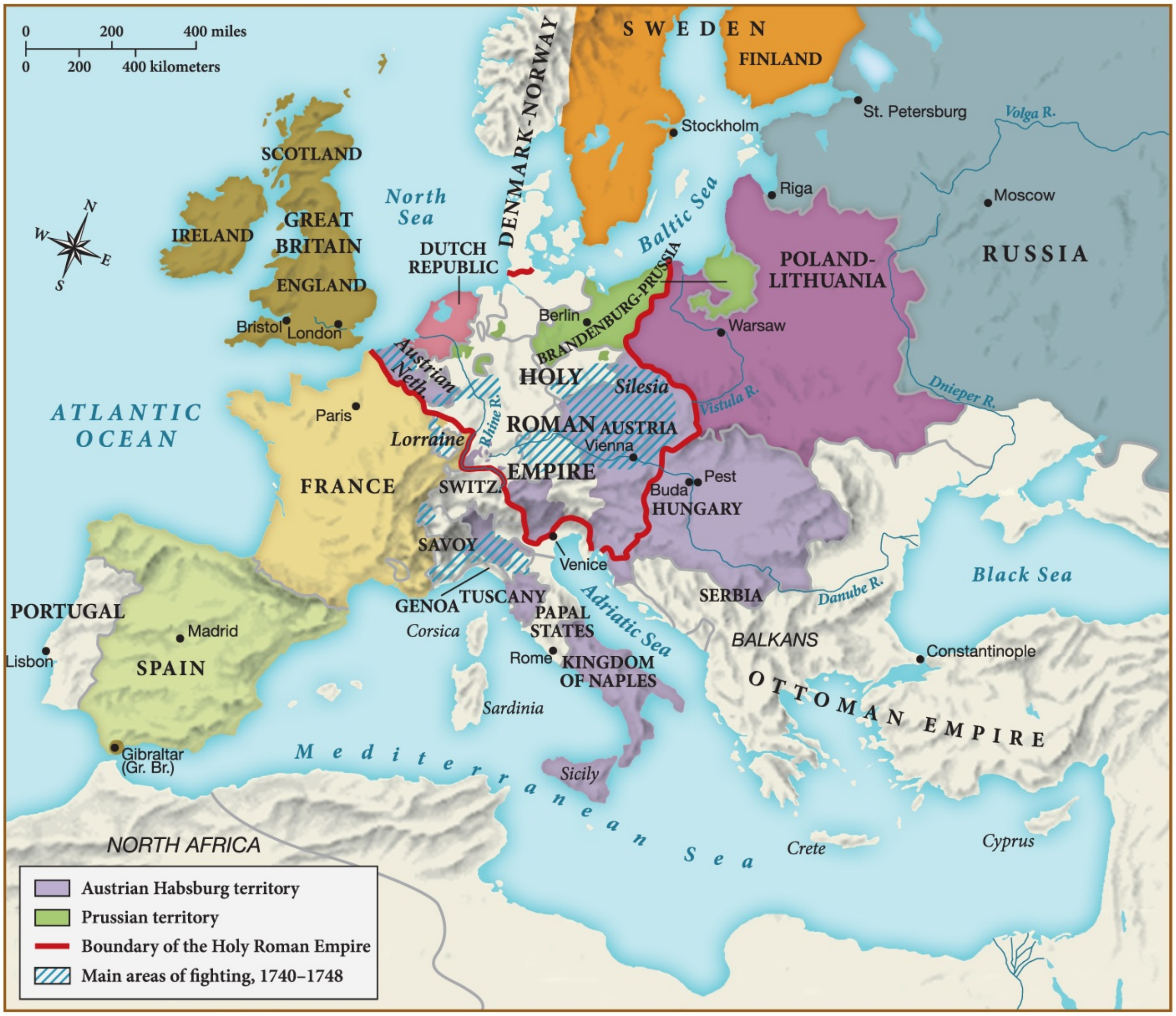

BRAMIN qui a fait vœu de porter un Colier de fer du poids de 24. liv. de 4. piés en quarré, jusqu'à ce qu'il eut amassé en aumônes une aſsez grande somme d'argent pour faire bâtir un Hôpital.
BRAMIN qui se balance par devotion, pendant une demi-heure, en l'honneur du Dieu Eswara, au deſsus d'un feu qu'il attise avec le bois qu'il a mis aux deux côtez.

The Stapleton Collection/Bridgeman Images.

The engraving on the left shows a Brahmin dressed as a beggar, wearing an iron collar, and holding out his hand. A richly dressed man with a cane gives him something. The engraving on the right shows a Brahmin stripped to the waist and suspended over a fire by his ankles in devotion. The engravings are captioned in French.

Return to Comparisons of Religions and the Rise of Skepticism

Extended description for Mapping the West: Europe in 1750



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The countries are as follows:

Great Britain

-Ireland

-England

-Scotland

-Wales

-Gibraltar (southern tip of Spain)

Denmark-Norway

Sweden

-Finland

Spain

Portugal

France

Dutch Republic

Austrian Netherlands

Holy Roman Empire

Brandenburg-Prussia

Switzerland

Savoy

Genoa

Tuscany

Papal States

Kingdom of Naples

-Sicily

Sardinia

Corsica

Austria

Hungary

Serbia

Poland-Lithuania

Russia

-Acquired Silesia after the War of Austrian Succession

Ottoman Empire

Areas of conflict from 1740–1748

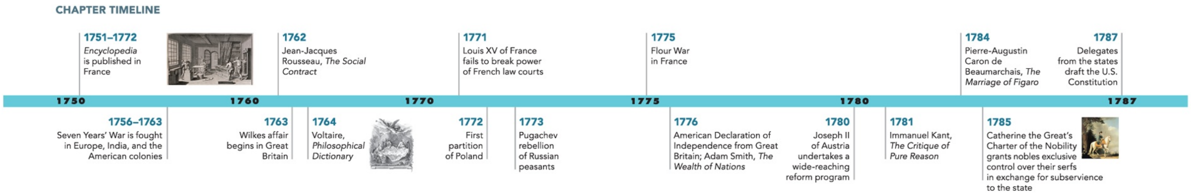
-Savoy

-Silesia

-Austrian Netherlands

Return to Mapping the West: Europe in 1750

Extended description for a timeline of events between 1750 and 1787


CHAPTER TIMELINE
1751–1772 *Encyclopedia* is published in France
1762 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*
1771 Louis XV of France fails to break power of French law courts
1775 Flour War in France
1784 Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais, *The Marriage of Figaro*
1787 Delegates from the states draft the U.S. Constitution
1750
1760
1770
1775
1780
1787
1756–1763 Seven Years' War is fought in Europe, India, and the American colonies
1763 Wilkes affair begins in Great Britain
1764 Voltaire, *Philosophical Dictionary*
1772 First partition of Poland
1773 Pugachev rebellion of Russian peasants
1776 American Declaration of Independence from Great Britain; Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*
1780 Joseph II of Austria undertakes a wide-reaching reform program
1781 Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Pure Reason*
1785 Catherine the Great's Charter of the Nobility grants nobles exclusive control over their serfs in exchange for subservience to the state

DEA Picture Library/Getty Images; Hulton Archive/Getty Images; Musee des Beaux-Arts, Chartres, France/Bridgeman Images

The important events from the timeline are as follows.

1751 to 1772: Encyclopedia is published in France. 1756 to 1763 Seven Years' War is fought in Europe, India, and the American colonies. 1762: Jean-Jacques Rousseau, italic The Social Contract end italic. 1763: Wilkes affair begins in Great Britain. 1764: Voltaire, Philosophical Dictionary. 1771: Louis XV of France fails to break power of French law courts. 1772: First partition of Poland. 1773: Pugachev rebellion of Russian peasants 1775: Flour War in France. 1776: American Declaration of Independence from Great Britain; Adam Smith, italic The Wealth of Nations end italic. 1780: Joseph II of Austria undertakes a wide-reaching reform program. 1781: Immanuel Kant, italic The Critique of Pure Reason end italic. 1784: Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais, italic The Marriage of Figaro end italic. 1785: Catherine the Great's Charter of the Nobility grants nobles exclusive control over their serfs in exchange for subservience to the state. 1787: Delegates from the states draft the U.S. Constitution.

Return to a timeline of events between 1750 and 1787

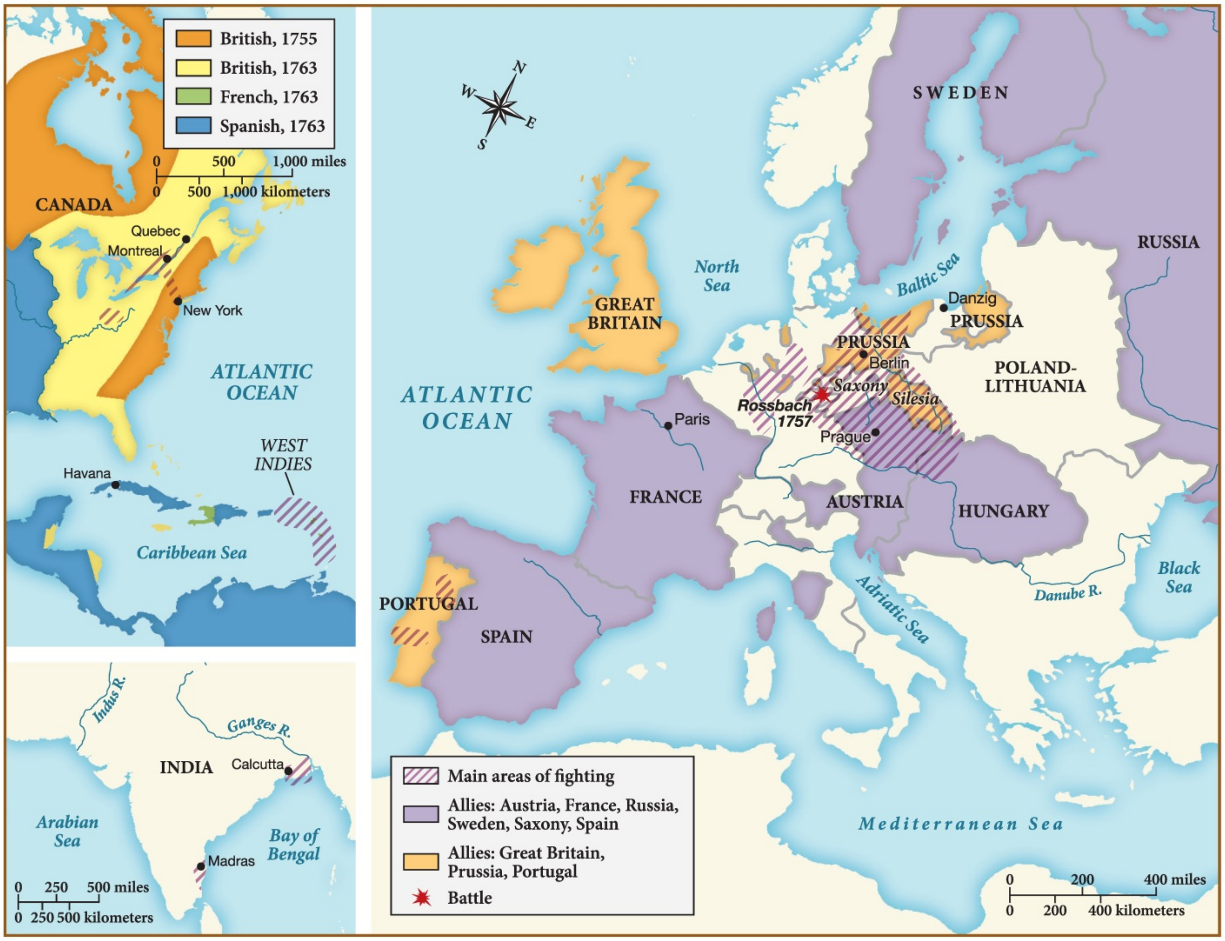
Extended description for Science in Action

Private Collection/Bridgeman Images.

The illustration shows the balloon lifting off a raised and decorated platform, surrounded by members of the court. The balloon is vacant and decorated with drapery and emblems. Black smoke emerges from the balloon's mouth.

Return to Science in Action

Extended description for Map 18.1 The Seven Years' War, 1756–1763



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

British possessions of 1755 include Northern Canada and New York

British possessions of 1763 include Quebec and Montreal

French possession of 1763 includes France

Spanish possessions of 1763 includes Southern Canada and Havana

Main areas of fighting are as follows. West Indies, Rossbach, Saxony, Prague, Prussia, Silesia, Berlin, Portugal

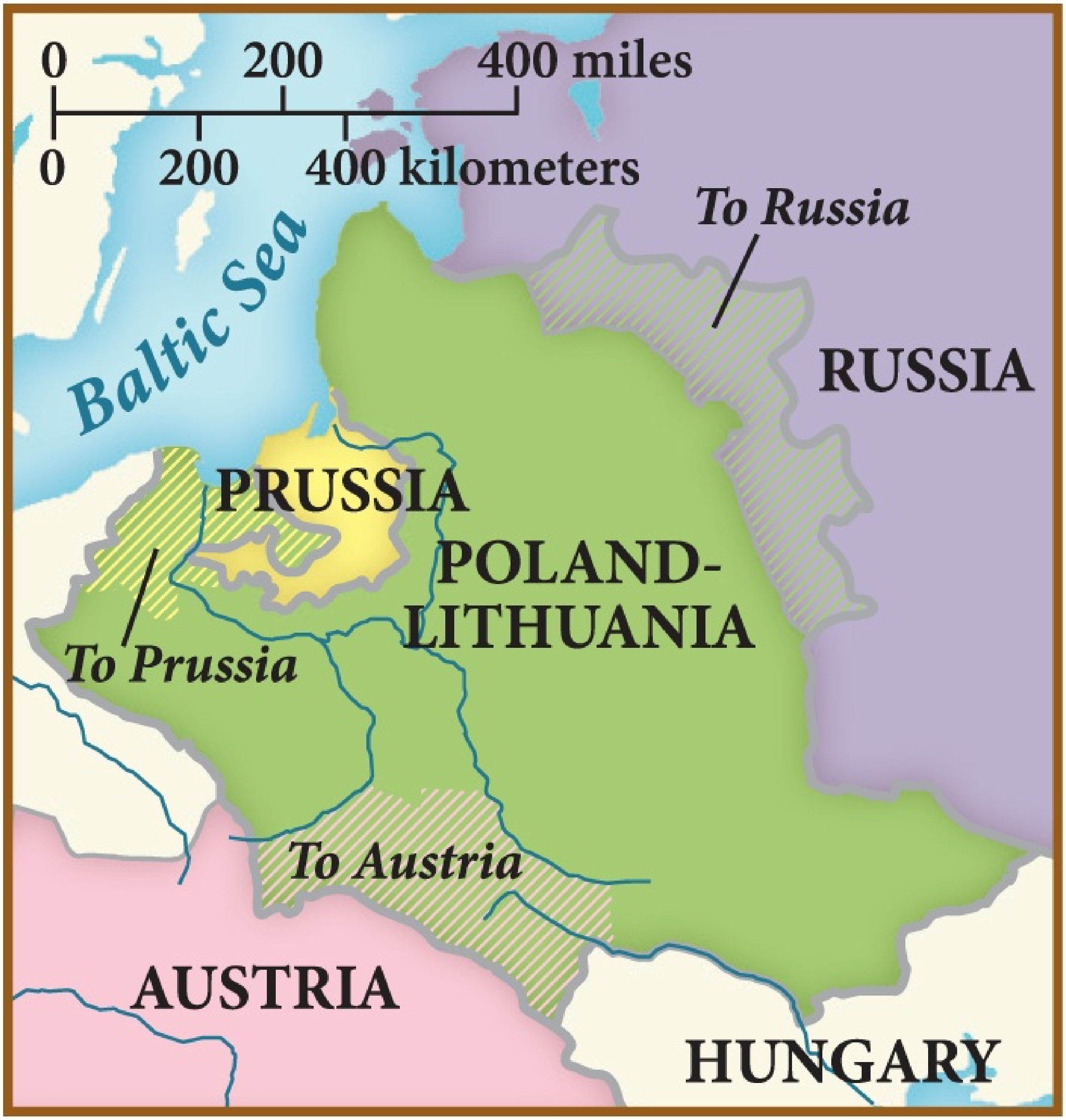
Allies: Austria, France, Russia, Sweden, Saxony, Spain: Austria, France, Russia, Sweden, Saxony, Spain

Allies: Great Britain, Prussia, Portugal: Britain, Prussia, Portugal

Battle took place in Rossbach in 1757.

Return to Map 18.1 The Seven Years' War, 1756–1763

Extended description for The First Partition of Poland, 1772



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

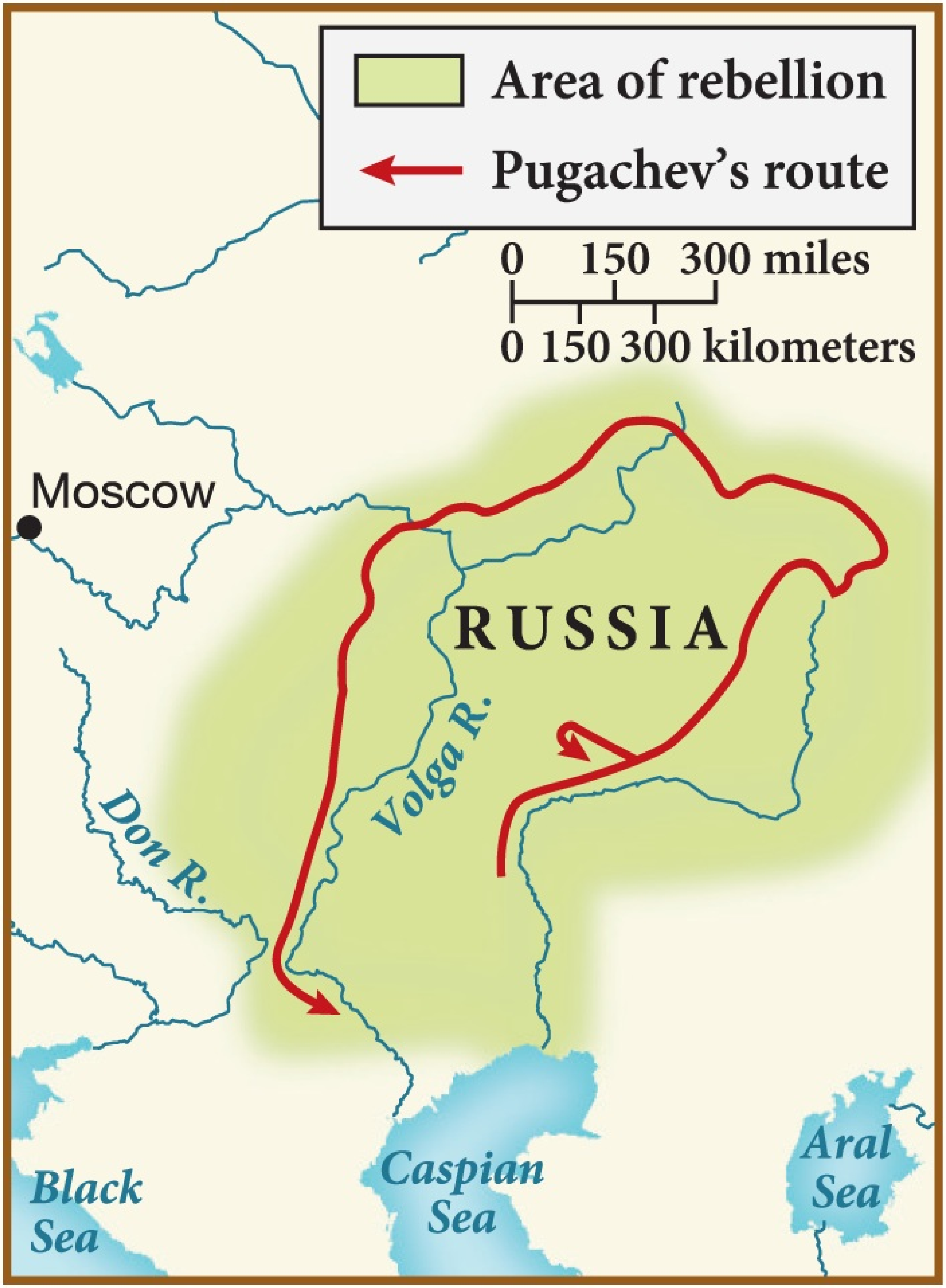
The data from the map are as follows.

The map shows Baltic Sea in north-west, Russia in north-east, Prussia in mid-west, Poland-Lithuania in mid-east, Austria in south-west, and

Hungary in south-east. A part moves from Poland-Lithuania to Austria. A part moves from Poland-Lithuania to Russia. A part from Poland-Lithuania moves toward Prussia.

Return to The First Partition of Poland, 1772

Extended description for The Pugachev Rebellion, 1773



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

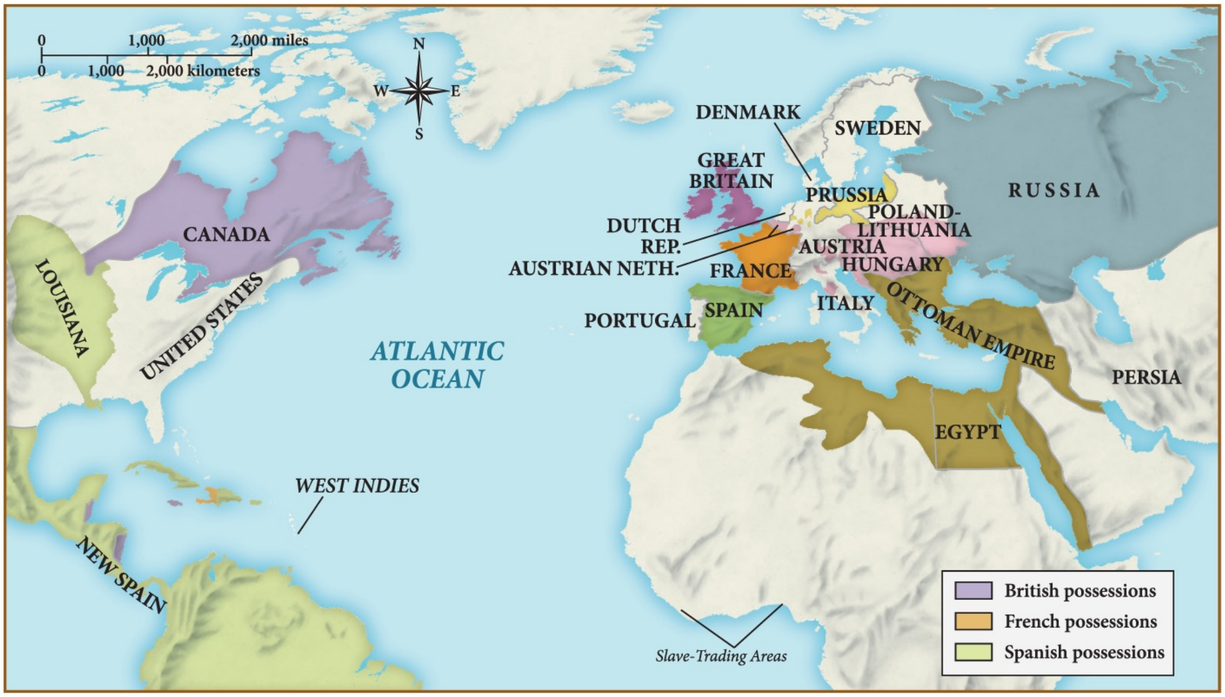
The data from the map are as follows.

Area of rebellion includes a part of Russia in the north of Caspean Sea, Volga River, and Don River.

Pugachev's route: South-east Russia to south-west Russia passing through the northern Russia Volga River, and Don River.

Return to The Pugachev Rebellion, 1773

Extended description for Mapping the West: Europe and the World, c. 1780



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

In North America, British possessions are eastern Canada extending west to beyond the Great Lakes. Spanish possessions are Louisiana Territory west of the Mississippi River (encompassing much of the present-day Midwest) and Mexico.

In the Caribbean, Spanish possessions are Cuba and the Dominican Republic. Haiti is a French possession.

Central and northern South America beyond the bounds of the map are Spanish possessions.

Countries and empires of Western Europe, northern Africa, and the Middle East are as follows.

Western Europe

-Great Britain

-Dutch Republic

-Austrian Netherlands

-Portugal

-Spain

-France

-Denmark

-Prussia

-Sweden

-Poland-Lithuania

-Austria-Hungary

-Russia

-Italy

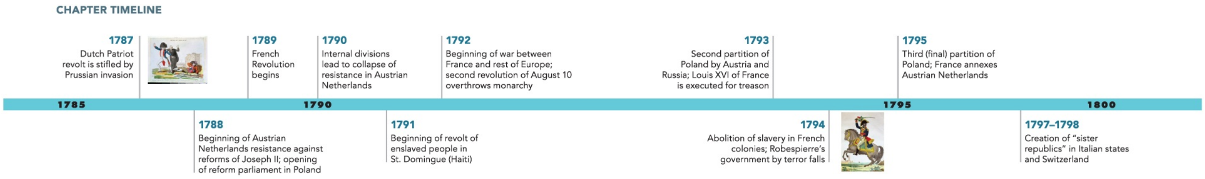
North Africa/Middle East

-Ottoman Empire: North Africa, Greece, the Balkans, Turkey, the coast of the Middle East, the western coast of Arabia, and the eastern border with Persia

Slave trading areas are indicated on the west coast of Africa near present-day Nigeria and Liberia.

Return to Mapping the West: Europe and the World, c. 1780

Extended description for a timeline of events between 1785 and 1800


CHAPTER TIMELINE
1787
Dutch Patriot revolt is stifled by Prussian invasion
1789
French Revolution begins
1790
Internal divisions lead to collapse of resistance in Austrian Netherlands
1792
Beginning of war between France and rest of Europe; second revolution of August 10 overthrows monarchy
1793
Second partition of Poland by Austria and Russia; Louis XVI of France is executed for treason
1795
Third (final) partition of Poland; France annexes Austrian Netherlands
1785
1790
1795
1800
1788
Beginning of Austrian Netherlands resistance against reforms of Joseph II; opening of reform parliament in Poland
1791
Beginning of revolt of enslaved people in St. Domingue (Haiti)
1794
Abolition of slavery in French colonies; Robespierre's government by terror falls
1797–1798
Creation of "sister republics" in Italian states and Switzerland

Bridgeman Images; Archives Charmet/Bibliotheque Nationale/Bridgeman Images

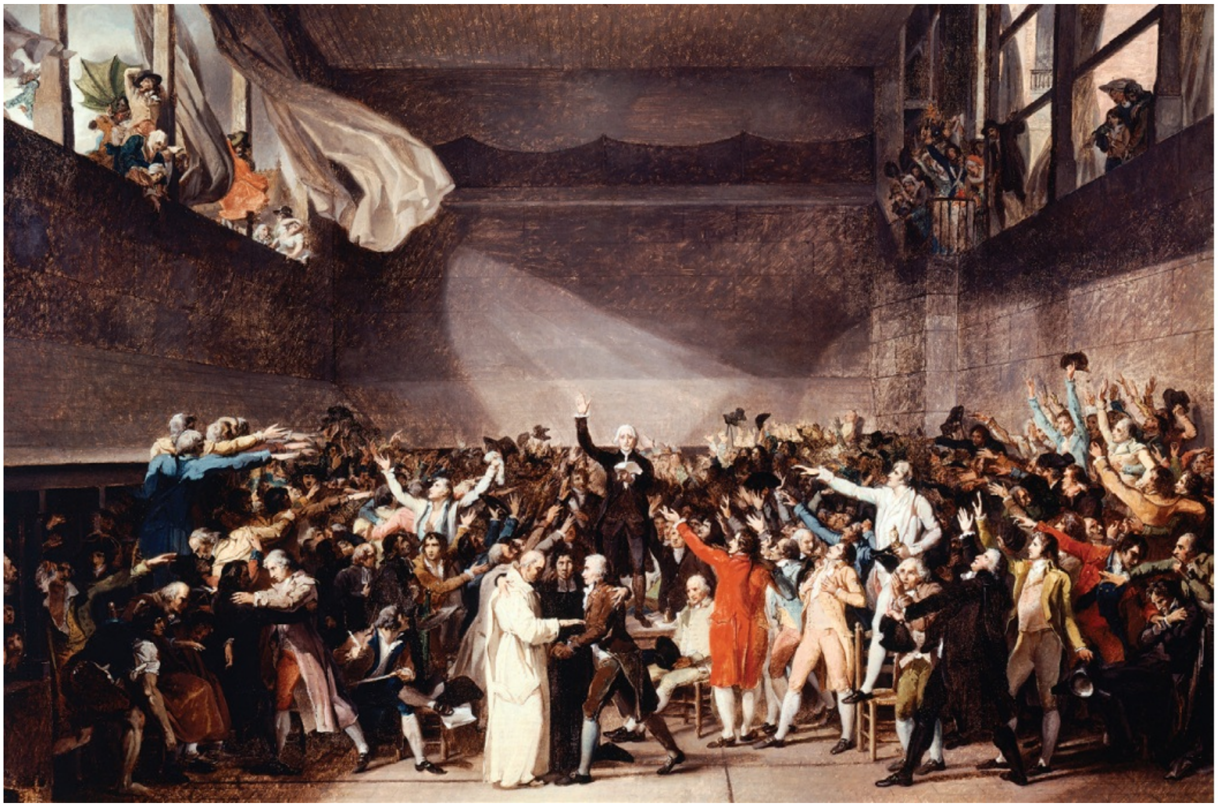
The important events from the timeline are as follows.

1787: Dutch Patriot revolt is stifled by Prussian invasion. 1788: Beginning of Austrian Netherlands resistance against reforms of Joseph II; opening of reform parliament in Poland. 1789: French Revolution begins. 1790: Internal divisions lead to collapse of resistance in Austrian Netherlands. 1791: Beginning of revolt of enslaved people in St. Domingue (Haiti). 1792: Beginning of war between France and rest of Europe; second revolution of August 10 overthrows monarchy.

1793: Second partition of Poland by Austria and Russia; Louis XVI of France is executed for treason. 1794: Abolition of slavery in French colonies; Robespierre’s government by terror falls. 1795: Third (final) partition of Poland; France annexes Austrian Netherlands. 1797 to 1798: Creation of ‘sister republics’ in Italian states and Switzerland.

Return to a timeline of events between 1785 and 1800

Extended description for The Tennis Court Oath

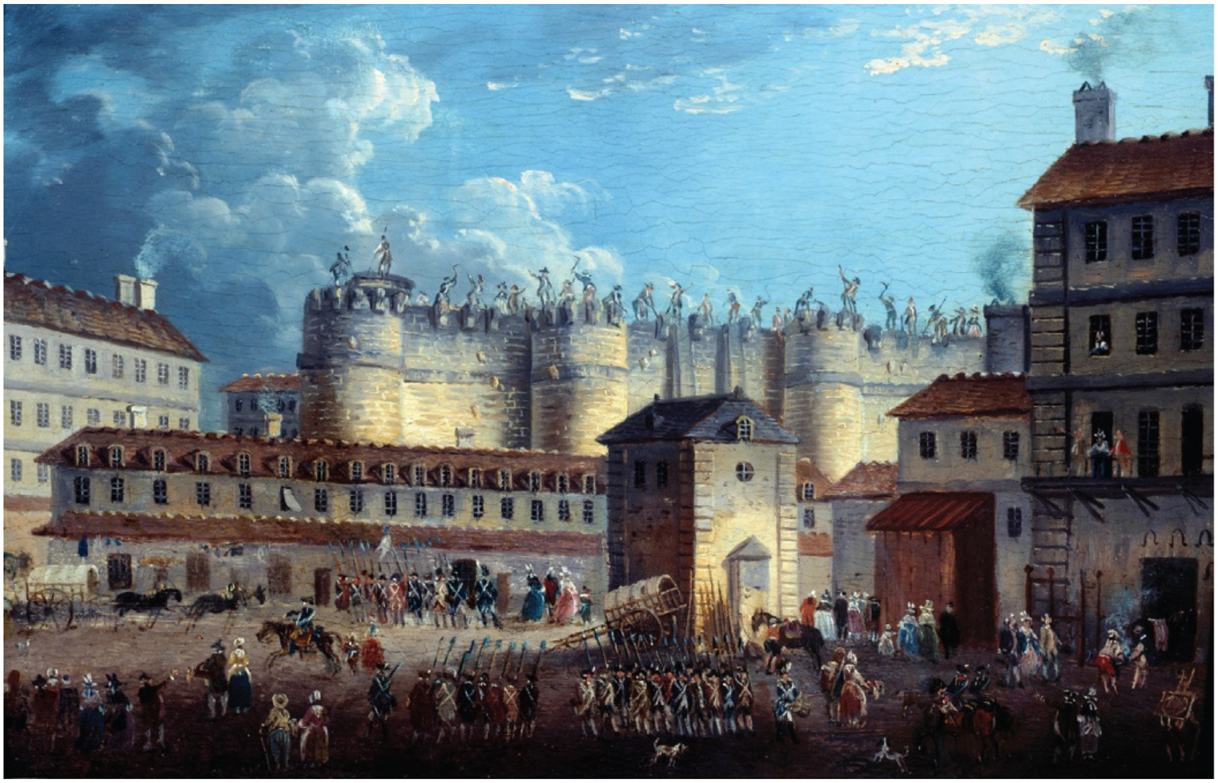


DEA/G. NIMATALLAH/Getty Images.

The painting shows the deputies taking oath in a tennis court for establishing a constitutional monarchy. A priest stands in center and other deputies surround him and raise their hands to swear. Few people are peeping from the windows on the either side.

Return to The Tennis Court Oath

Extended description for “The Demolition of the Bastille” by Pierre-Antoine Demachy shows people destroying the Bastille prison with their own tools

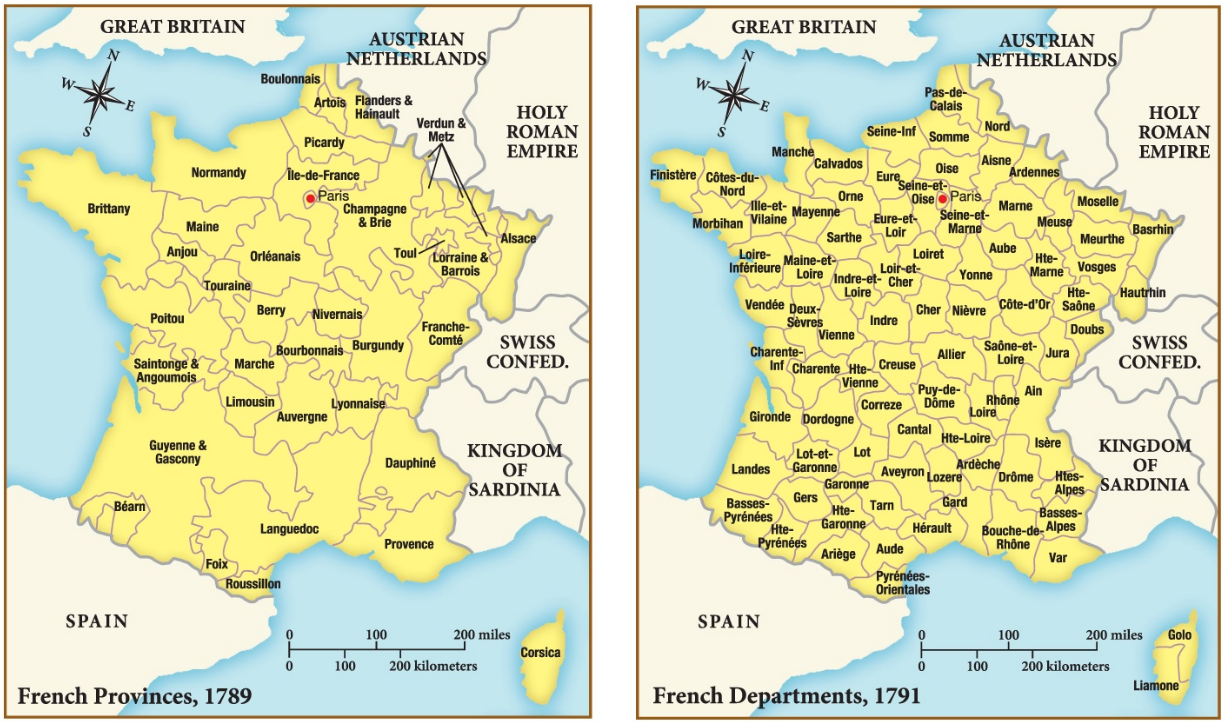


Josse/Leemage/Getty Images

The painting shows few people on the wall of the prison and lots of people inside the prison. Few of them ride on horses and bullock carts.

Return to “The Demolition of the Bastille” by Pierre-Antoine Demachy shows people destroying the Bastille prison with their own tools

Extended description for Map 19.1 Redrawing the Map of France, 1789–1791



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The French Provinces in 1789 are as follows:

Boulonnais, Artois, Flanders … Hainault, Picardy in the north of France; Verdun … Metz, Toul, Lorraine … Barrois, Alsace, Franche, Comte in the north east of France; The island of Corsica, Dauphine, Provence in the south east of France; Languedoc, Foix, Roussillon in the south of France; Saintonge…Angoumoi, Bearn, Guyenne … Gascony in the south west of France; Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, Poitou, Maine in the north west of France; Ile de France, Orleanais, Champagne … Brie, Berry, Nivernais, Bourbonnais, Marche, Touraine, Burgundy, Limousin, Lyonnaise, Auvergne in the central France.

The French Departments in 1791 are as follows:

The Northern regions are as follows: Marne, Meuse, Moselle, Meurthe, Bashrin, Nora, Ardennes, Moselle, Somme, Aisne.

The Eastern regions are as follows: Vosges, Hautrhin, Doubs, SaoneetLoire, Jura, Rhone, Ain, HtesAlpes, BassesAlpes, Var, and Isere.

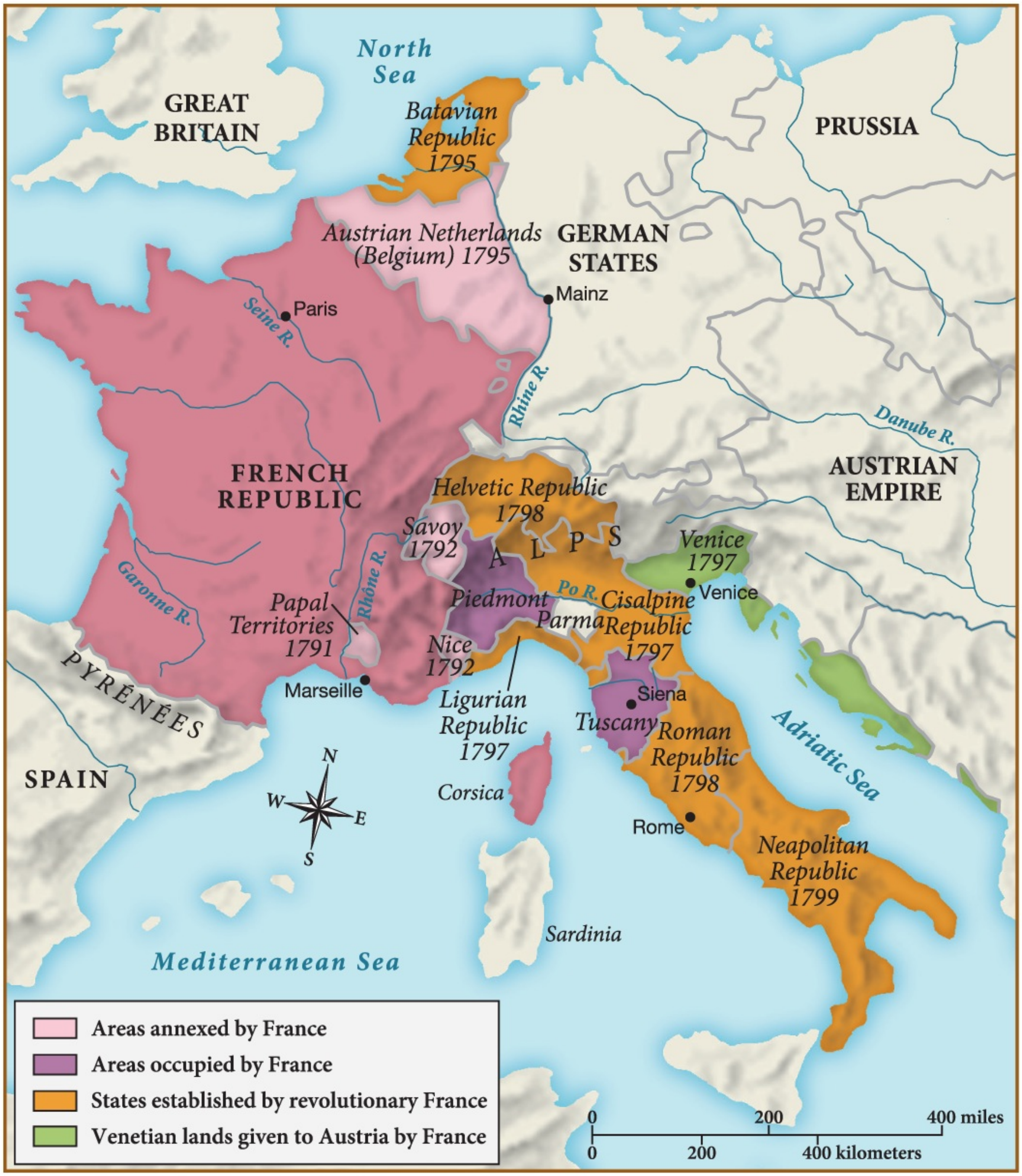
The Southern regions are as follows: LotetGaronne, Lot, Cantal, Aveyron, Lozere, Ardeche, Drome, , BassesPyrenees, HtePyrenees, Gers, Garonne, HteGarrone, Tarn, Herault, Gard, BouchedeRhone, Ariege, Aude, PyreneesOrientales, Golo, Liamone.

The Western regions are as follows: Finistere, Cotes du Nord, Morbihan, Ille-et-Vilaine, Manche, Calvados, Seine-Inf, Pas de Calais, Mayenne, Orne, Eure, Oise, Aisne, Loire-Inferieure, Maine-et-Loire, Indre-et-Loire, Vendee, Deux Sevres, Vienne, CharenteInf, Charente, Hte Vienne, Gironde, Dordogne, Landes.

The Central regions are as follows: Loire-et-Cher, Loiret, Yonne, Aube, Hte-Marne, Hte-Saone, Sarthe, Eure-et-Loire, Seine-et-Oise, Seine-et-Marne, Indre, Cher, Nievre, Cote d'Or, Creuse, Allie, Correze, Cantal, PuydeDome, Loire, HteLoire.

Return to Map 19.1 Redrawing the Map of France, 1789–1791

Extended description for Map 19.2 French Expansion, 1791–1799



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

The data for areas annexed by France with their corresponding annexing years are as follows. Austrian Netherlands (Belgium), 1795; Papal Territories, 1791; Savoy, 1792; Nice, 1792.

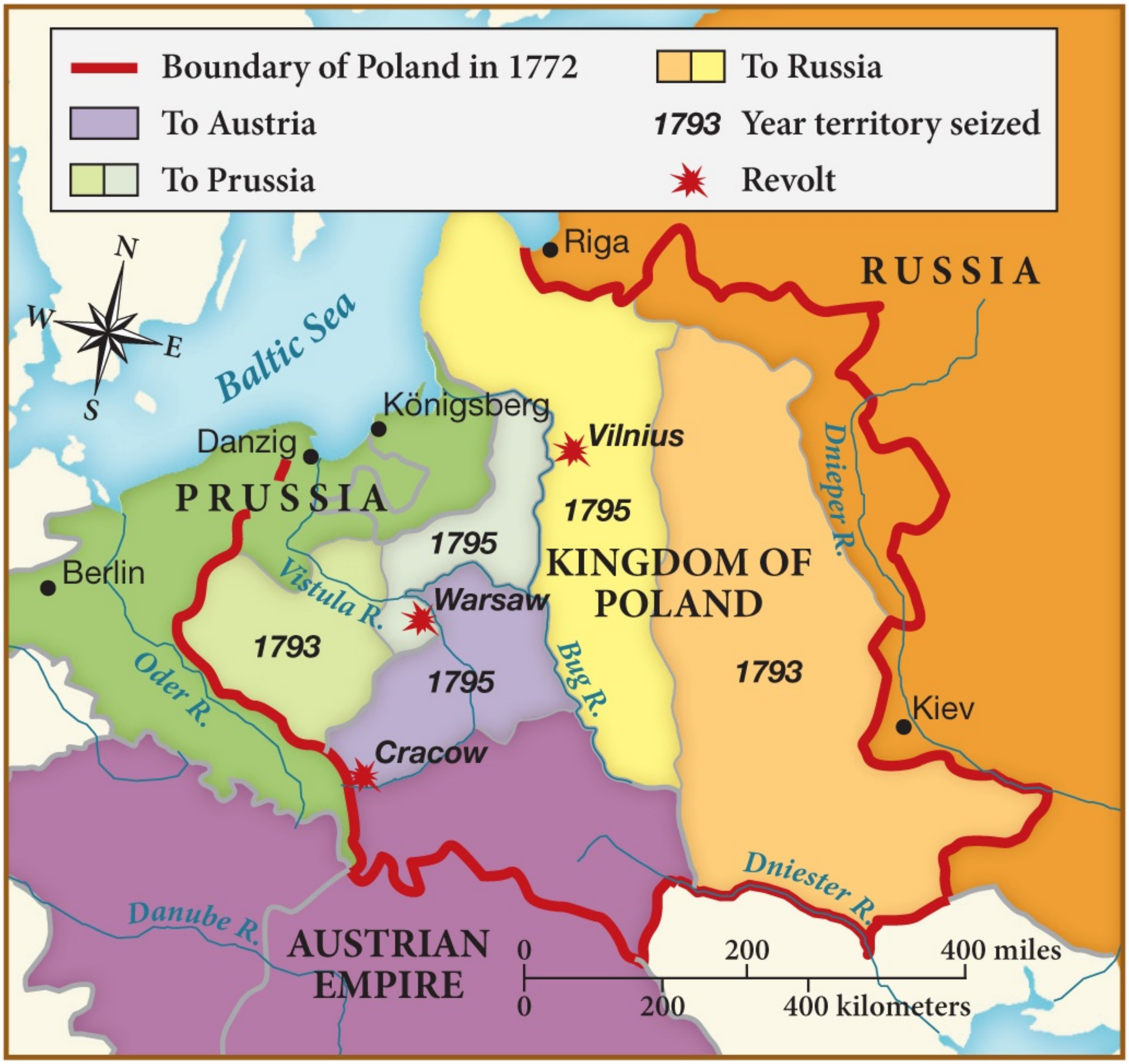
Areas occupied by France include Tuscany, Siena; Piedmont.

States established by revolutionary France with their corresponding year of establishment are as follows. Batavian Republic, 1795; Helvetic Republic, 1798; Cisalpine Republic, 1797; Roman Republic, 1798; Neapolitan Republic, 1799; Ligurian Republic, 1797.

Venetian lands given to Austria by France was Venice in 1797.

Return to Map 19.2 French Expansion, 1791–1799

Extended description for Map 19.3 The Second and Third Partitions of Poland, 1793 and 1795



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The Poland was divided up among Austria, Prussia, and Russia.

In 1793, the western portion of Poland between the Oder River to the west and Vistula River to the east and north was ceded to Prussia. To the east, the eastern half of Poland, west of the Dnieper River was ceded to Russia. In 1795, the area west of the Bug River to the original border with

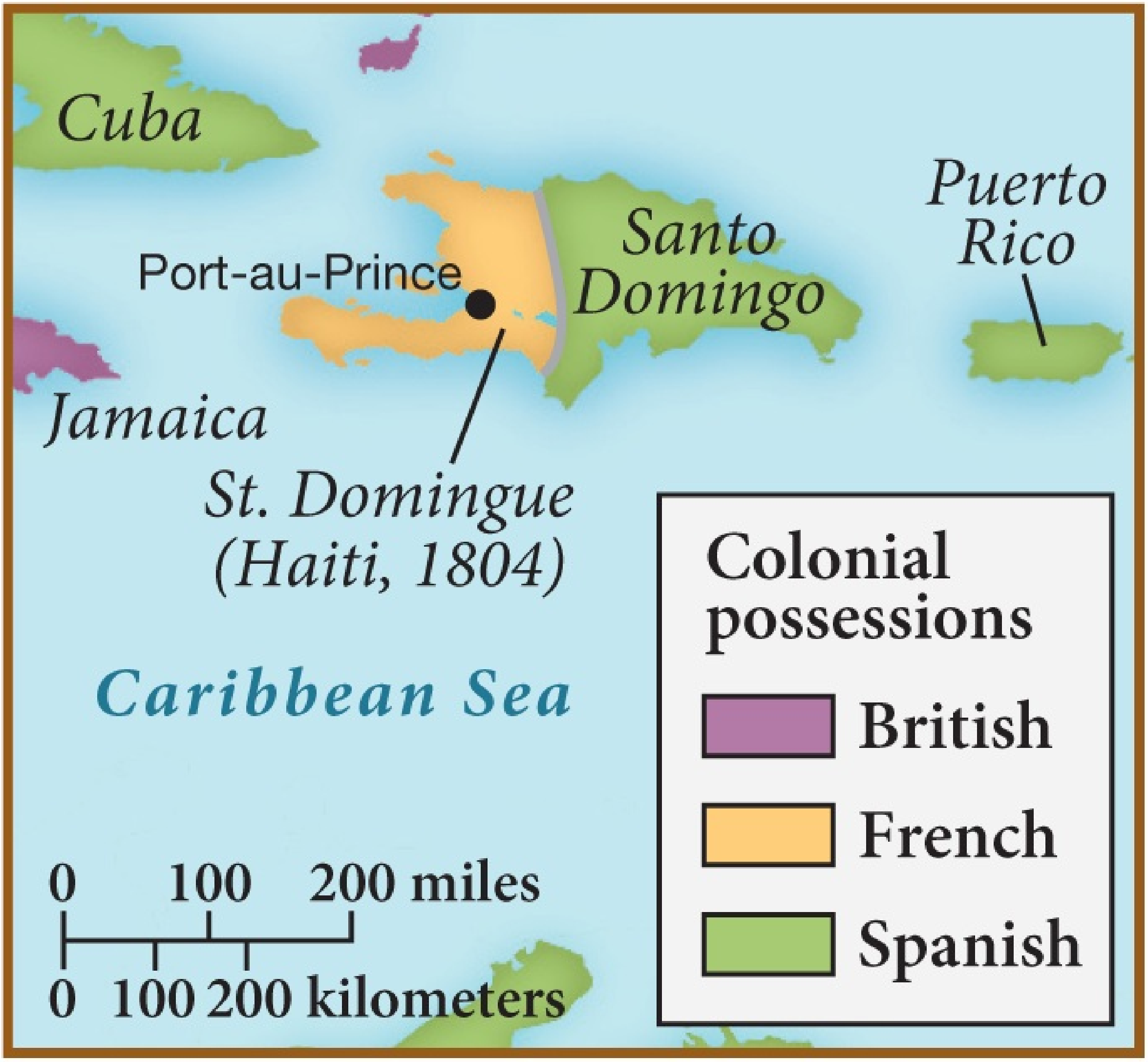
Prussia, and southwest toward Warsaw was ceded to Prussia.

Austria took Polish land in an area bounded by the Vistula River to the north, the Bug River to the east, and a boundary line proceeding east from Cracow. To the east, the western half of the area east of the Bug River was ceded to Russia, including the city of Vilnius.

Revolts are indicated in Warsaw, Cracow, and Vilnius.

Return to Map 19.3 The Second and Third Partitions of Poland, 1793 and 1795

Extended description for St. Domingue on the Eve of the Revolt, 1791



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

Colonial possessions

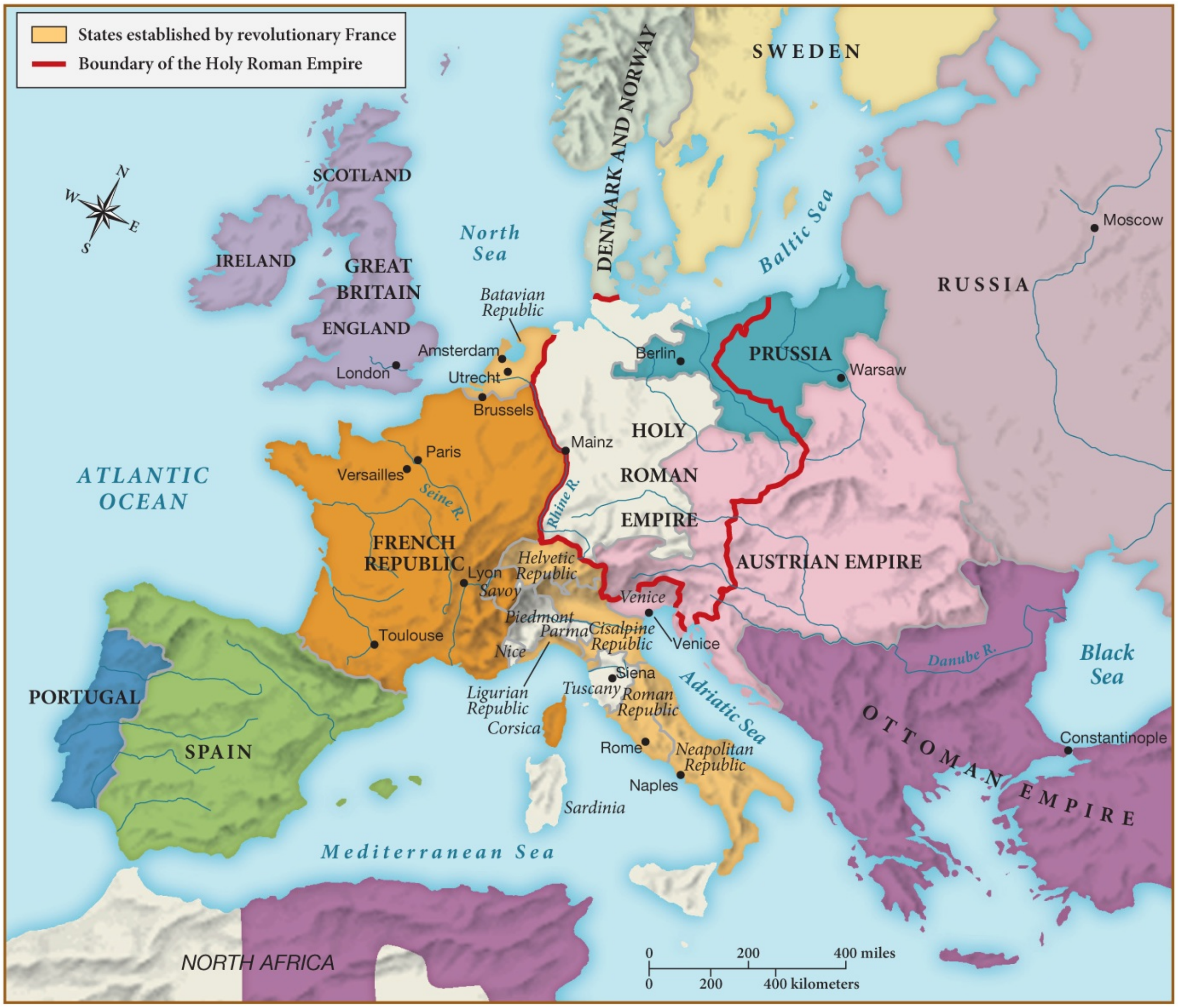
British possession took place in Jamaica.

Areas with French possessions are as follows. St. Domingue (Haiti, 1804), Port-au-Prince

Areas with Spanish possessions include Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, Cuba.

Return to St. Domingue on the Eve of the Revolt, 1791

Extended description for Mapping the West: Europe in 1799



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

The map key indicates states established by revolutionary France and the borders of the Holy Roman Empire.

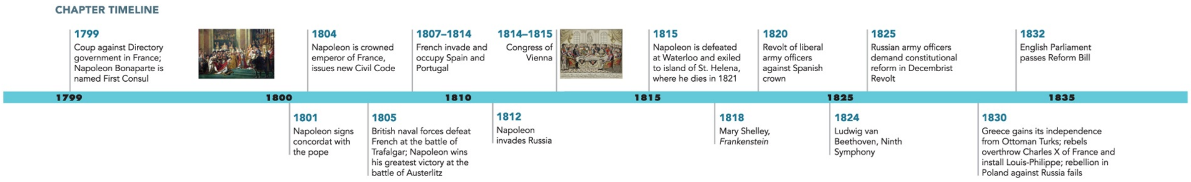
The map has Sweden in the north, Russia in the east, North Africa in the south, and Ireland in the west.

The map shades the states established by revolutionary France, extending from a few regions in northern Italy, central Italy, and the whole of south Italy. The Batavian Republic in the north of France is also a state established by revolutionary France. The places marked are as follows: Batavian Republic, Helvetic Republic, Ligurian Republic, Cisalpine Republic, Roman Republic, and Neapolitan Republic (1799).

The borders of the Holy Roman Empire start from the Batavian Republic in the north, run south toward the border of Helvetic Republic, pass north of Venice and the western regions of Austrian Empire and ends along the western regions of Prussia and south Denmark. On the whole, the Holy Roman Empire has Denmark in the north, French Republic in the west, Venice in the south, and Austrian Empire in the east.

Return to Mapping the West: Europe in 1799

Extended description for a timeline of events between 1799 and 1835


CHAPTER TIMELINE
1799
Coup against Directory government in France; Napoleon Bonaparte is named First Consul
1804
Napoleon is crowned emperor of France, issues new Civil Code
1807–1814
French invade and occupy Spain and Portugal
1814–1815
Congress of Vienna
1815
Napoleon is defeated at Waterloo and exiled to island of St. Helena, where he dies in 1821
1820
Revolt of liberal army officers against Spanish crown
1825
Russian army officers demand constitutional reform in Decembrist Revolt
1832
English Parliament passes Reform Bill
1799
1800
1810
1815
1825
1835
1801
Napoleon signs concordat with the pope
1805
British naval forces defeat French at the battle of Trafalgar; Napoleon wins his greatest victory at the battle of Austerlitz
1812
Napoleon invades Russia
1818
Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein*
1824
Ludwig van Beethoven, Ninth Symphony
1830
Greece gains its independence from Ottoman Turks; rebels overthrow Charles X of France and install Louis-Philippe; rebellion in Poland against Russia fails

Musée du Louvre, Paris, France/ Bridgeman Images; Heritage Images/Hulton Archive/Getrty Images

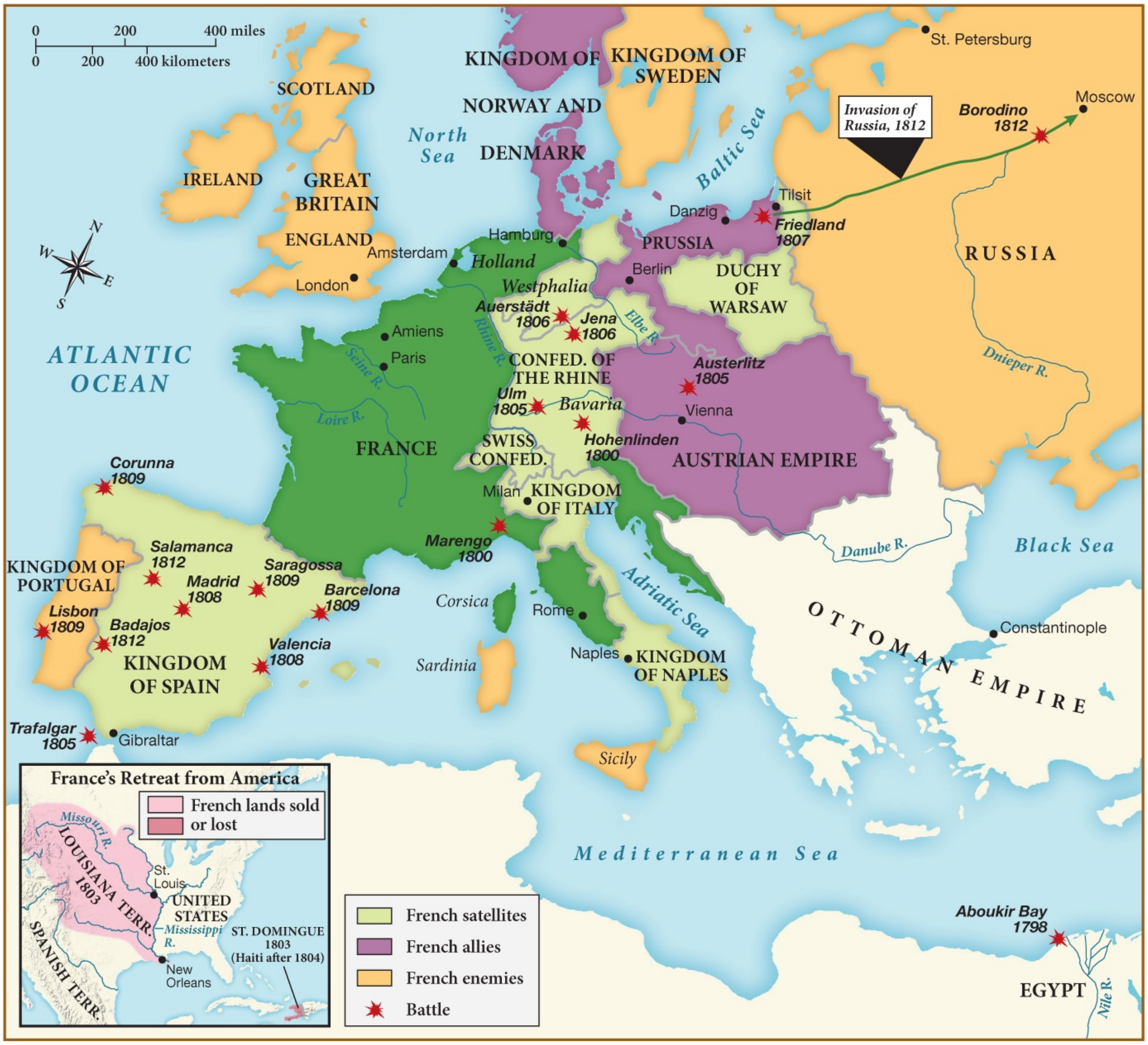
The events from the timeline are as follows.

1799: Coup against Directory government in France; Napoleon Bonaparte is named First Consul. 1801: Napoleon signs concordat with the pope; 1804: Napoleon is crowned emperor of France, issues new Civil Code. 1805: British naval forces defeat French at the battle of Trafalgar; Napoleon wins his greatest victory at the battle of Austerlitz. 1807 to 1814: French invade and occupy Spain and Portugal. 1812: Napoleon invades Russia. 1814 to 1815: Congress of Vienna.

1815: Napoleon is defeated at Waterloo and exiled to island of St. Helena, where he dies in 1821. 1818: Mary Shelley, italic Frankenstein end italic. 1820: Revolt of liberal army officers against Spanish crown. 1824: Ludwig van Beethoven, Ninth Symphony. 1825: Russian army officers demand constitutional reform in Decembrist Revolt. 1830: Greece gains its independence from Ottoman Turks; rebels overthrow Charles Ten of France and install Louis-Philippe; rebellion in Poland against Russia fails. 1832: English Parliament passes Reform Bill.

Return to a timeline of events between 1799 and 1835

Extended description for Map 20.1 Napoleon’s Empire at Its Height, 1812



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The map shows the Kingdom of Sweden in the north, Russia in the east, the Mediterranean Sea in the south, and Atlantic Ocean in the west. The map highlights French satellites, French allies, and French enemies.

France extends from the border with Spain north to the Netherlands, south along the Rhine River to northern Italy, and includes a large area surrounding Rome, Corsica, and land along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea (present-day Croatia).

French enemies are:

Kingdom of Portugal in the west; Sardinia and Sicily in the south; England, Ireland, and Scotland in the northwest; Kingdom of Sweden in the north; and the whole of Russia in the east.

French satellites regions are Kingdom of Spain in the west; Confederacy of the Rhine, Auerstadt, Hohenlinden, Swiss Confederacy, Kingdom of Italy, regions between France and Austrian Empire; Kingdom of Naples, the southern region of Italy; Duchy of Warsaw, an eastern region between Prussia and Austrian Empire.

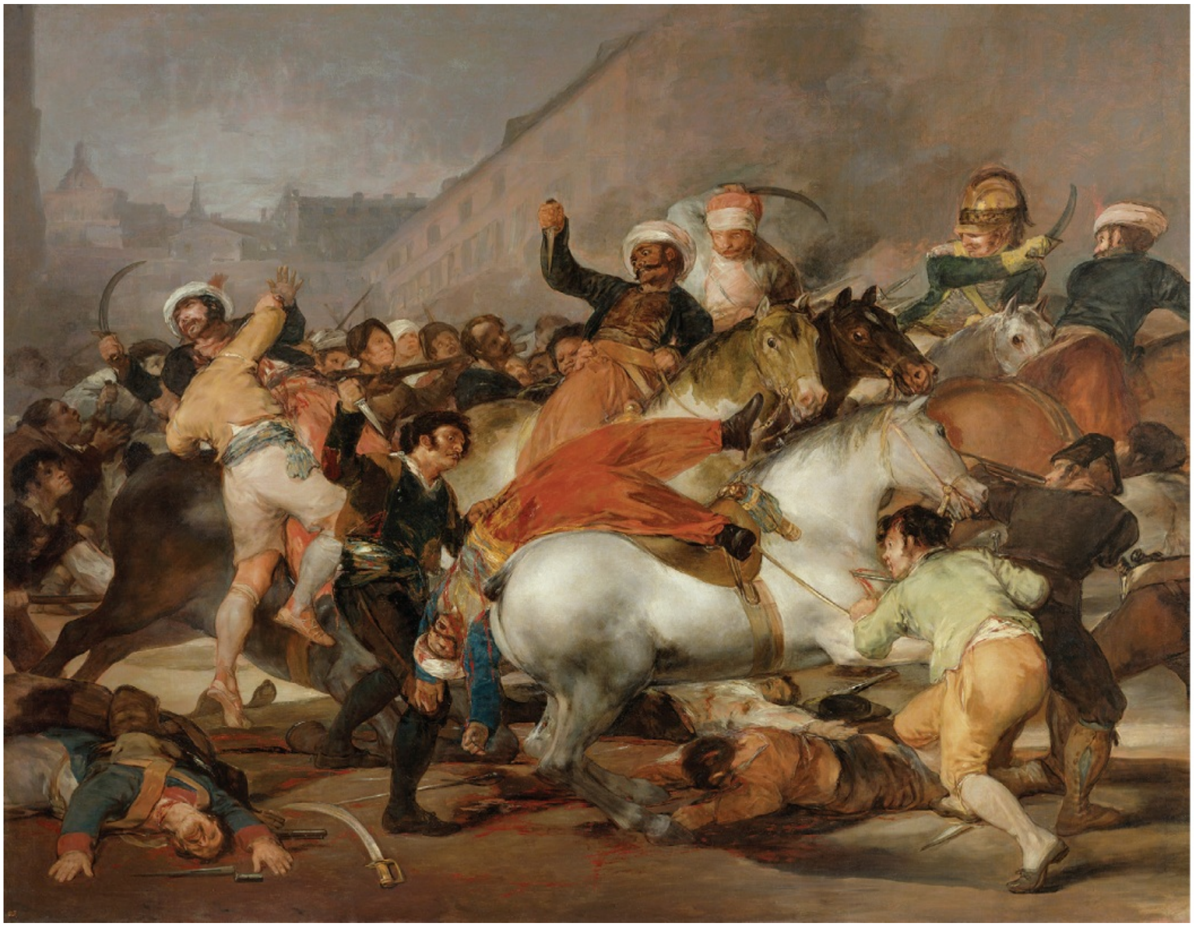
French allies extend from Kingdom of Norway and Denmark in the north, south to Prussia along the Baltic Sea to the Austrian Empire in the south.

Battles occurred at Lisbon (1809), Borodino (1812), Friedland (1807), Austerlitz (1805), Salamanca (1812), Corunna (1809), Badajos (1812), Madrid (1808), Saragossa (1809), Valencia (1808), Barcelona (1809), Westphalia (1806), Jena (1806), Ulm (1805), Bavaria (1800), and Marengo (1806).

The map inset shows the French retreat from America. The Louisiana Territory was sold to United States in 1803, St. Domingue in 1803, and the rest of Haiti in 1804.

Return to Map 20.1 Napoleon’s Empire at Its Height, 1812

Extended description for French Atrocities in Spain

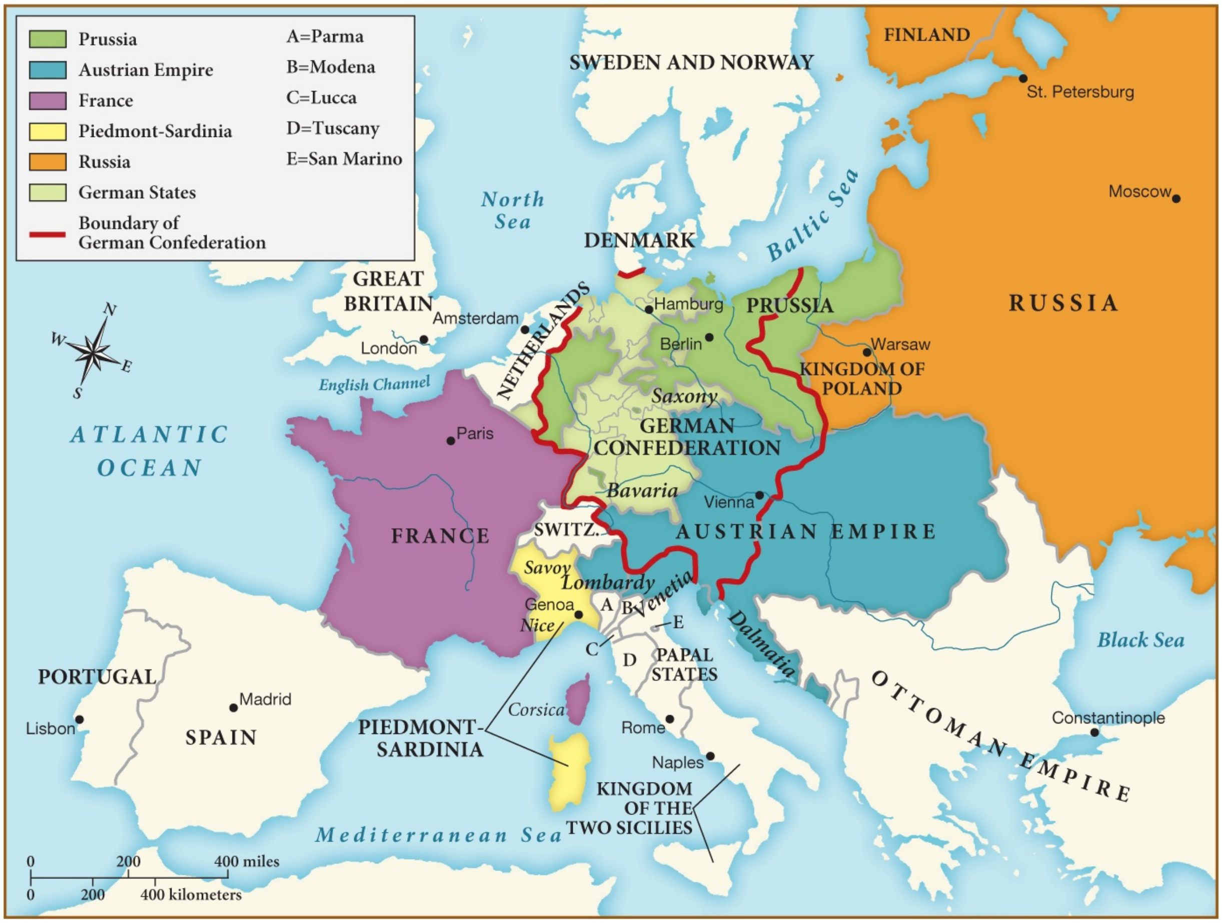


The Second of May, 1808 or The Charge of the Mamelukes, 1814 (oil on canvas) (post-restoration)/ Goya y Lucientes, Francisco Jose de (1746–1828)/Prado, Madrid, Spain/Bridgeman Images.

The painting shows Spanish soldiers on horses attacking Mamelukes and Mamelukes attacking back. They are fighting with their swords. Few people lied dead on the ground.

Return to French Atrocities in Spain

Extended description for Map 20.2 Europe after the Congress of Vienna, 1815



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The map shows Sweden and Norway in the north, Russia in the east, Mediterranean Sea in the south, and Atlantic Ocean in the west. The map shades Prussia, Austrian Empire, France, Piedmont-Sardinia, Russia, German States, boundary of German Confederation.

The area of Russia extends from Finland in the north, Black Sea in the south, and Kingdom of Poland in the west. Cities include Warsaw, Moscow, and St. Petersburg.

The Austrian Empire extends from German Confederation in the north, Russia in the east, Dalmatia in the south, and Lombardy in the west, with the city of Vienna marked.

France resembles its present-day boundaries, with Paris to the north.

Prussia borders the Baltic Sea in the north, Kingdom of Poland in the east, Austrian Empire in the south, and German Confederation in the west. Several Prussian territories border the Netherlands in the west. The city of Berlin is marked.

German States borders Denmark in the north, Prussia in the east, Austrian Empire in the south, and France in the west. The city of Hamburg is identified.

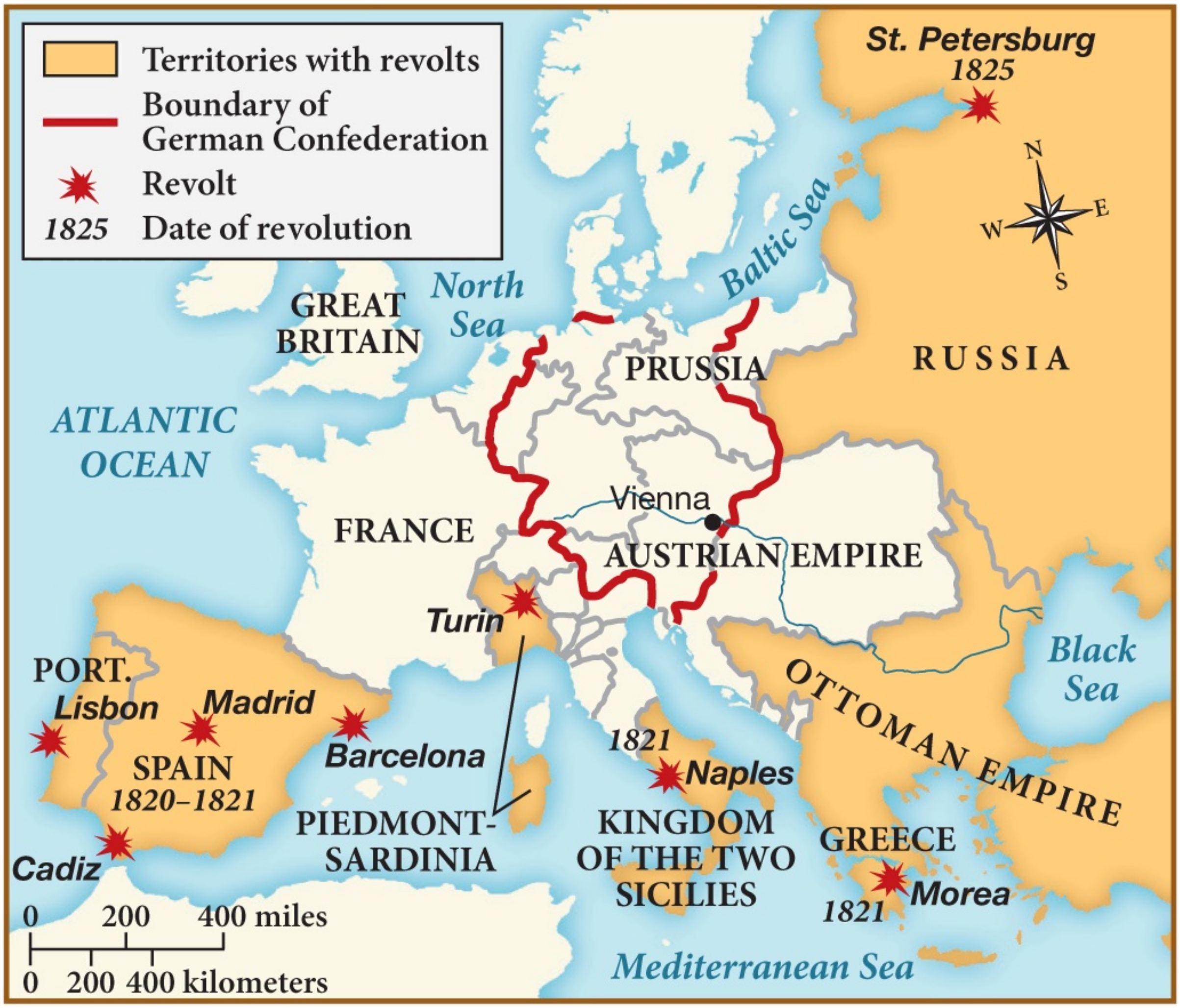
Piedmont-Sardinia areas are south of France and Sardinia in the south, with the city of Genoa on the mainland.

Boundary of Germany Confederation starts from the borders of Netherlands, France, and the north western regions of Austrian Empire and Prussia.

The regions of Parma, Modena, Lucca, Tuscany, and San Marino are marked in Italy.

Return to Map 20.2 Europe after the Congress of Vienna, 1815

Extended description for Map 20.3 Revolutionary Movements of the 1820s



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The map shows Baltic Sea in the north, Russia in the east, Mediterranean Sea in the south, and Atlantic Ocean in the west.

Territories with revolts extend from Russia in the east, Ottoman Empire, Piedmont Sardinia, Kingdom of The Two Sicilies, Greece in the south, and Spain and Portugal in the west.

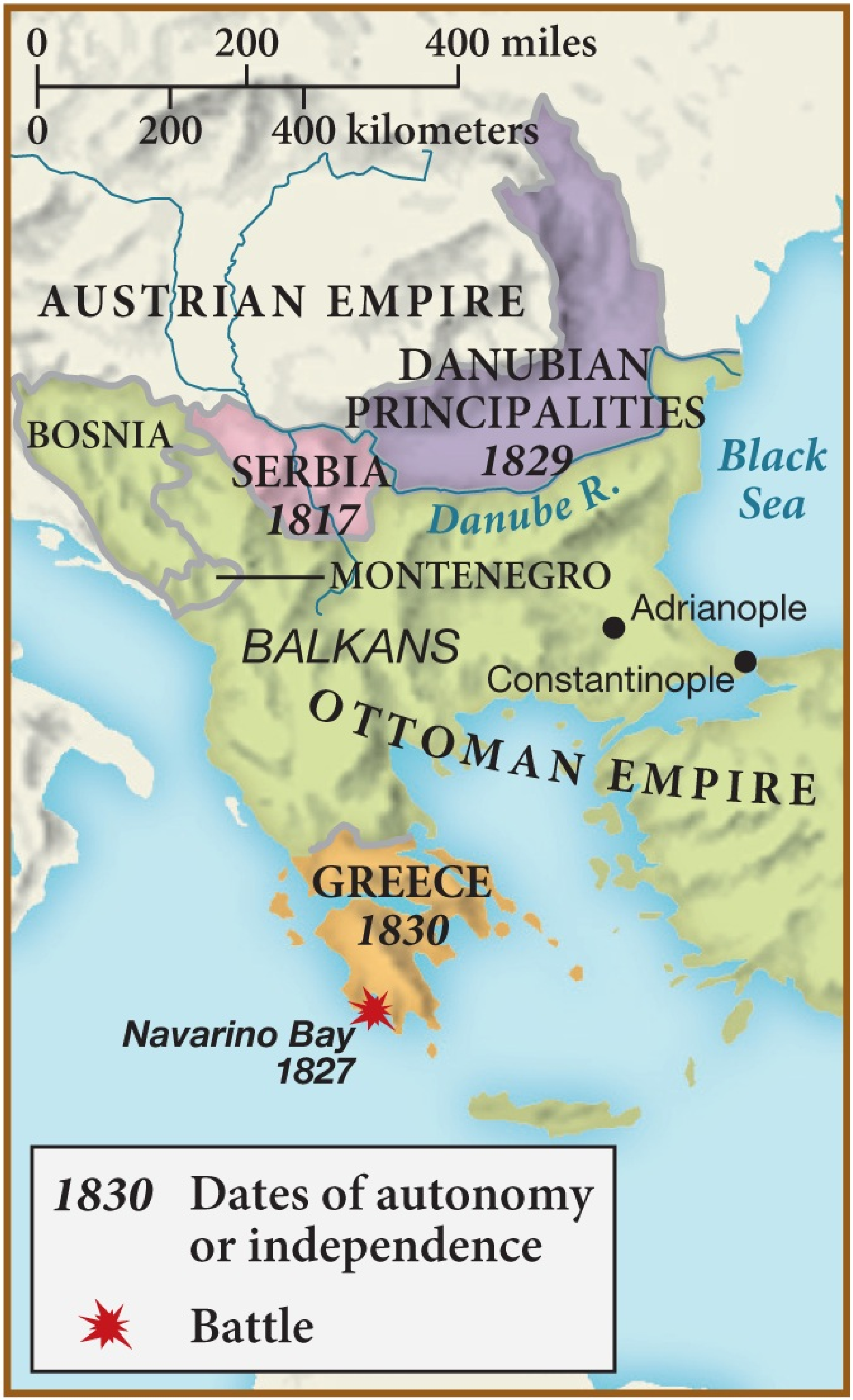
Revolts took place in the following locations: Spain: Lisbon, Cadiz, Madrid, Barcelona; Piedmont Sardinia: Turia; Kingdom of the Two Sicilies: Naples (1821); Greece: Morea (1821); and Russia: St. Petersburg (1825).

Boundary of Germany Confederation starts from the borders of Netherlands, France, and the north western regions of Austrian Empire and Prussia.

Revolution in Spain occurred in 1820 to 1821, in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1821, in Greece in 1821, and in St. Petersburg in 1825.

Return to Map 20.3 Revolutionary Movements of the 1820s

Extended description for Nationalistic Movements in the Balkans, 1815–1830



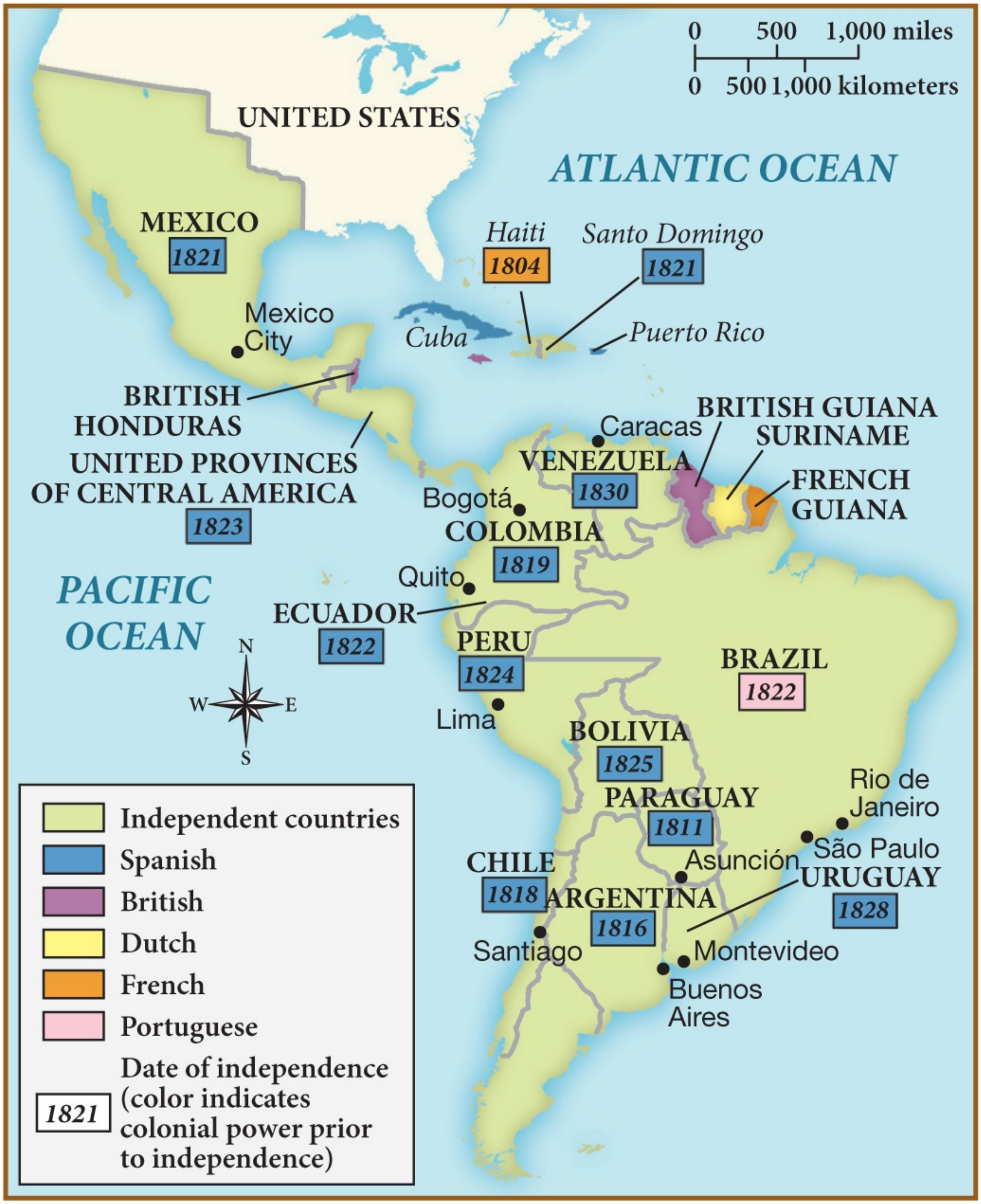
Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

Serbia achieved autonomy in 1817, the Danubian Principalities (north of the Danube River) in 1829, and Greece in 1830. A battle took place at Navarino Bay in Greece in 1827.

Return to Nationalistic Movements in the Balkans, 1815–1830

Extended description for Map 20.4 Latin American Independence, 1804–1830

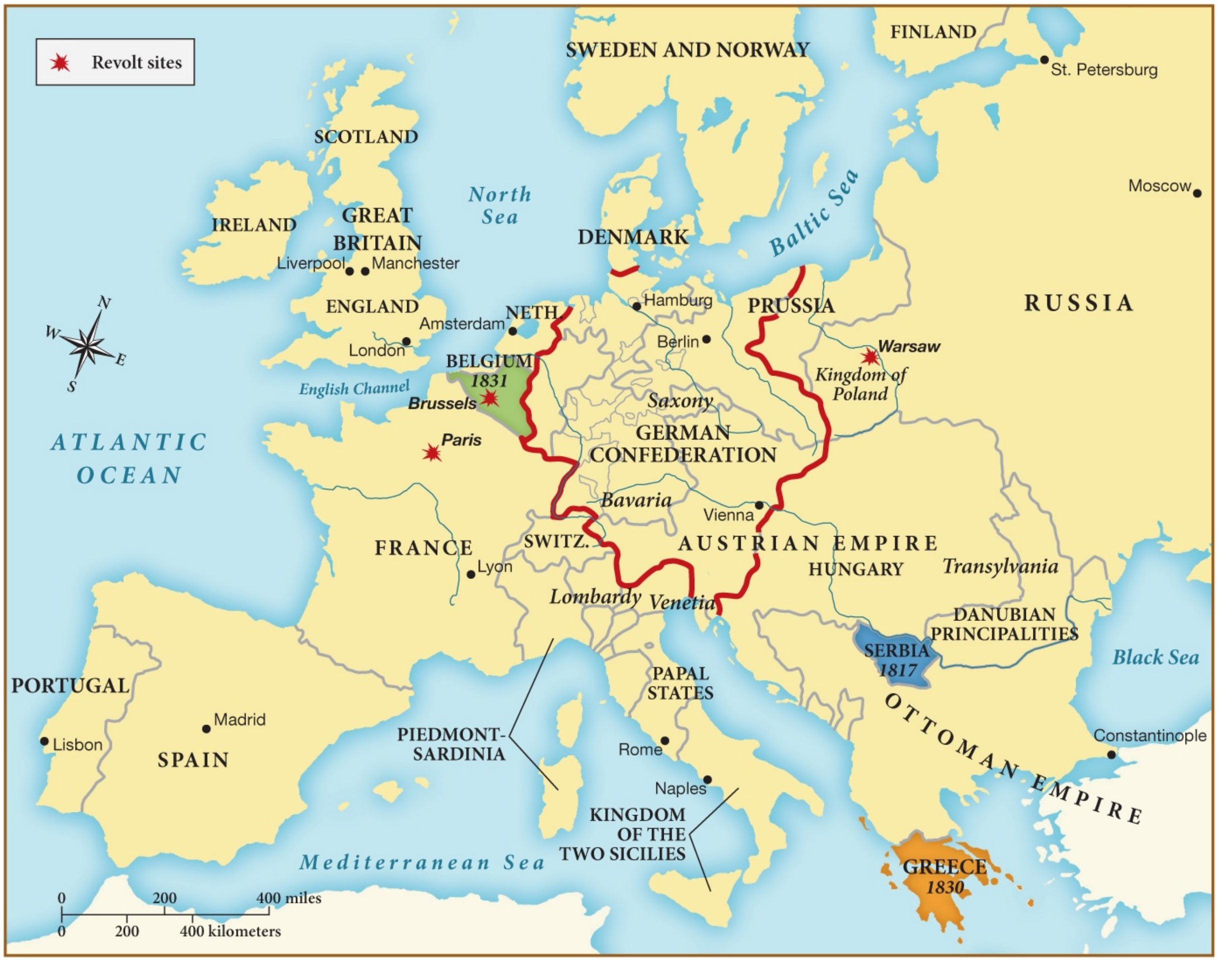


Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The map shows Central and South American region occupied by different imperial powers and the years on which they got independence. The countries Mexico (1821), United Provinces of Central America (1823), Cuba, Santo Domingo (1821), Venezuela (1830), Colombia (1819), Ecuador (1822), Peru (1824), Bolivia (1825), Paraguay (1811), Chile (1818), Argentina (1816), and Uruguay (1828) got independence from Spanish. Brazil (1822) got independence from Portuguese. British Guiana and British Honduras was occupied by British. Haiti (1804) and French Guiana got independence from French. Suriname got independence from Dutch.

Return to Map 20.4 Latin American Independence, 1804–1830

Extended description for Mapping the West: Europe in 1830



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

The map shows Sweden and Norway in the north, Russia in the east, the Mediterranean Sea in the south, and Atlantic Ocean in the west. The map depicts the German Confederation bordering the Netherland, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Lombardy, Venetia, Hungary, Kingdom of Poland, and Prussia near Baltic Sea.

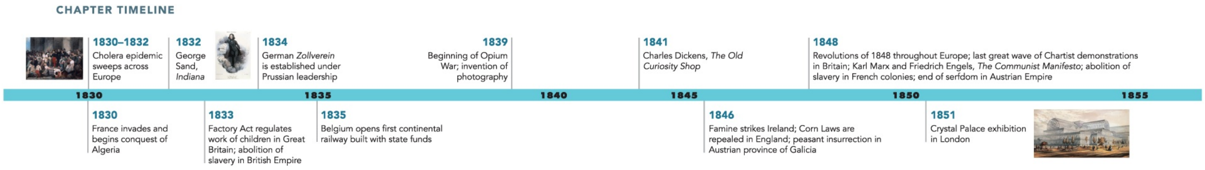
Dates of Autonomy are indicated for Serbia (1817), Greece (1830), and

Belgium (1831).

Revolts are indicated in Brussels, Paris, and Warsaw.

Return to Mapping the West: Europe in 1830

Extended description for a timeline of events between 1830 and 1855


CHAPTER TIMELINE
1830–1832
Cholera epidemic sweeps across Europe
1832
George Sand, *Indiana*
1834
German *Zollverein* is established under Prussian leadership
1839
Beginning of Opium War; invention of photography
1841
Charles Dickens, *The Old Curiosity Shop*
1848
Revolutions of 1848 throughout Europe; last great wave of Chartist demonstrations in Britain; Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*; abolition of slavery in French colonies; end of serfdom in Austrian Empire
1830
1835
1840
1845
1850
1855
1830
France invades and begins conquest of Algeria
1833
Factory Act regulates work of children in Great Britain; abolition of slavery in British Empire
1835
Belgium opens first continental railway built with state funds
1846
Famine strikes Ireland; Corn Laws are repealed in England; peasant insurrection in Austrian province of Galicia
1851
Crystal Palace exhibition in London

Print Collector/Getty Images; Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Images; Bridgeman Images

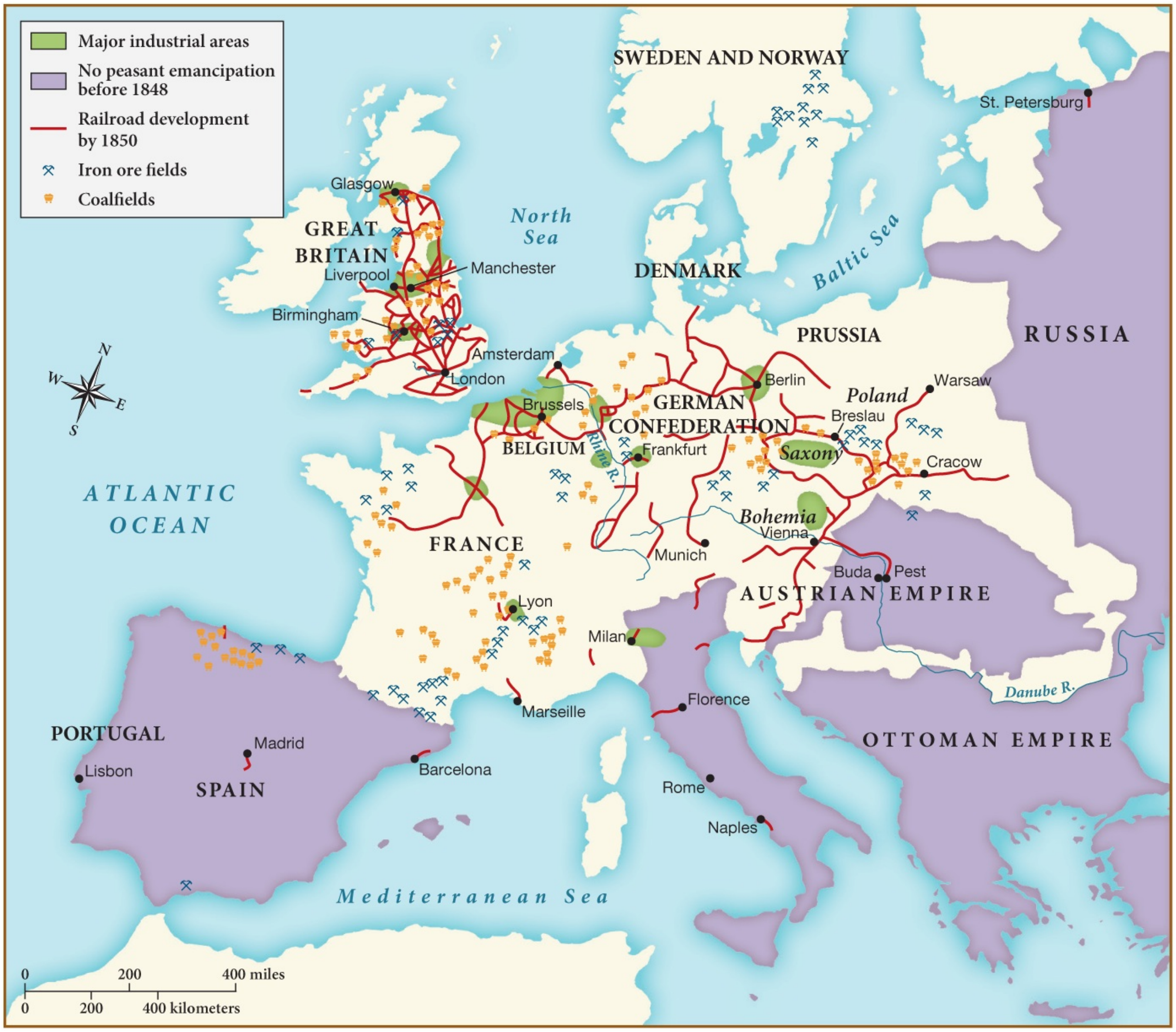
The events from the timeline are as follows.

1830 to 1832: Cholera epidemic sweeps across Europe. 1830: France invades and begins conquest of Algeria. 1832: George Sand, Indiana. 1833: Factory Act regulates work of children in Great Britain; abolition of slavery in British Empire. 1834: German Zollverein is established under Prussian leadership. 1835: Belgium opens first continental railway built with state funds. 1839: Beginning of Opium War; invention of photography.

1841: Charles Dickens, italic The Old Curiosity Shop end italic. 1846: Famine strikes Ireland; Corn Laws are repealed in England; peasant insurrection in Austrian province of Galicia. 1848: Revolutions of 1848 throughout Europe; last great wave of Chartist demonstrations in Britain; Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, italic The Communist Manifesto end italic; abolition of slavery in French colonies; end of serfdom in Austrian Empire. 1851: Crystal Palace exhibition in London.

Return to a timeline of events between 1830 and 1855

Extended description for Map 21.1 Industrialization in Europe, c. 1850



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

Major industrial areas are marked in areas surrounding major cities:

-Great Britain

-Glasgow

-Liverpool

-Manchester and east/northeast

-Birmingham

-Belgium

-Brussels

-German Confederation

-Berlin

-The regions of Saxony and Bohemia

-France

-Lyon

-Paris

Italy

-Milan

Areas that saw no peasant emancipation before 1848:

-Portugal

-Spain

-Italy

-Austrian Empire (eastern portion)

-Ottoman Empire

-Russia

Icons of coal carts are dispersed all over Europe, showing coal mining concentrations in the following areas:

-Great Britain

-Glasgow

-Manchester

-Birmingham

-Wales

-Poland

-Cracow

-Breslau

-West of Saxony

-German Confederation

-North and southwest of Frankfurt

-Belgium

-Brussels and points southwest

-Spain along the central northern coast

-France

-Lyon and points southeast, southwest, and northwest

-Central France

-Northwest France

Icons of mining picks are dispersed all over Europe showing iron ore fields, which are mainly concentrated in the following areas:

-Great Britain

-On the west border between Wales and England

-France

-Northwest

-Southwest along the border with Spain

-Southwest and southeast of Lyon

-Belgium

-South of Brussels

-German Confederation

-West and southeast of Frankfurt

-Saxony

-Southwest and northeast

-Poland

-North and south of Cracow

Railroad networks are concentrated around the following regions:

-Spain

-Madrid

-Great Britain

-All of England and north into Scotland

-Belgium

-France

-Paris

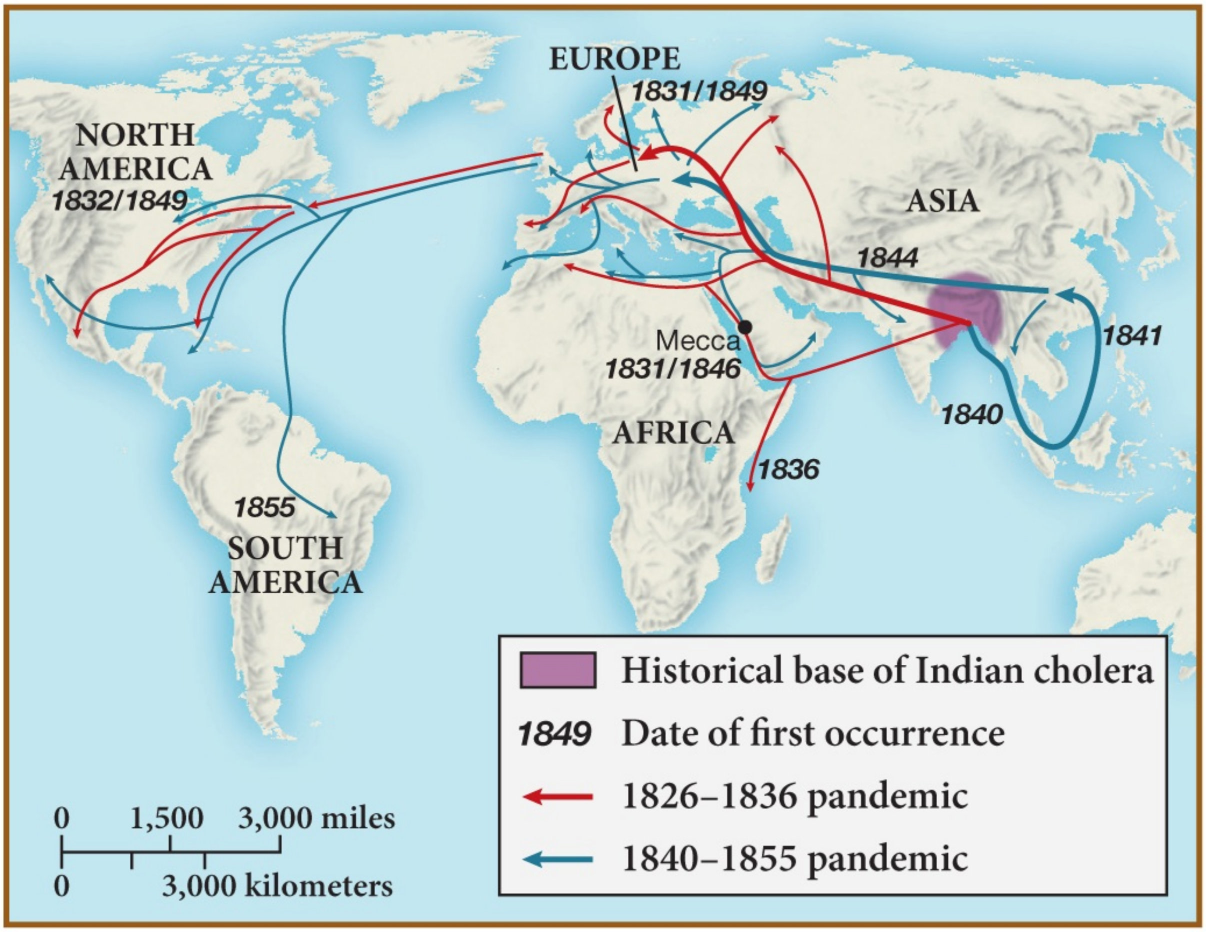
-German Confederation

-Austrian Empire

-Poland

Return to Map 21.1 Industrialization in Europe, c. 1850

Extended description for Map 21.2 The Spread of Cholera, 1826–1855



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

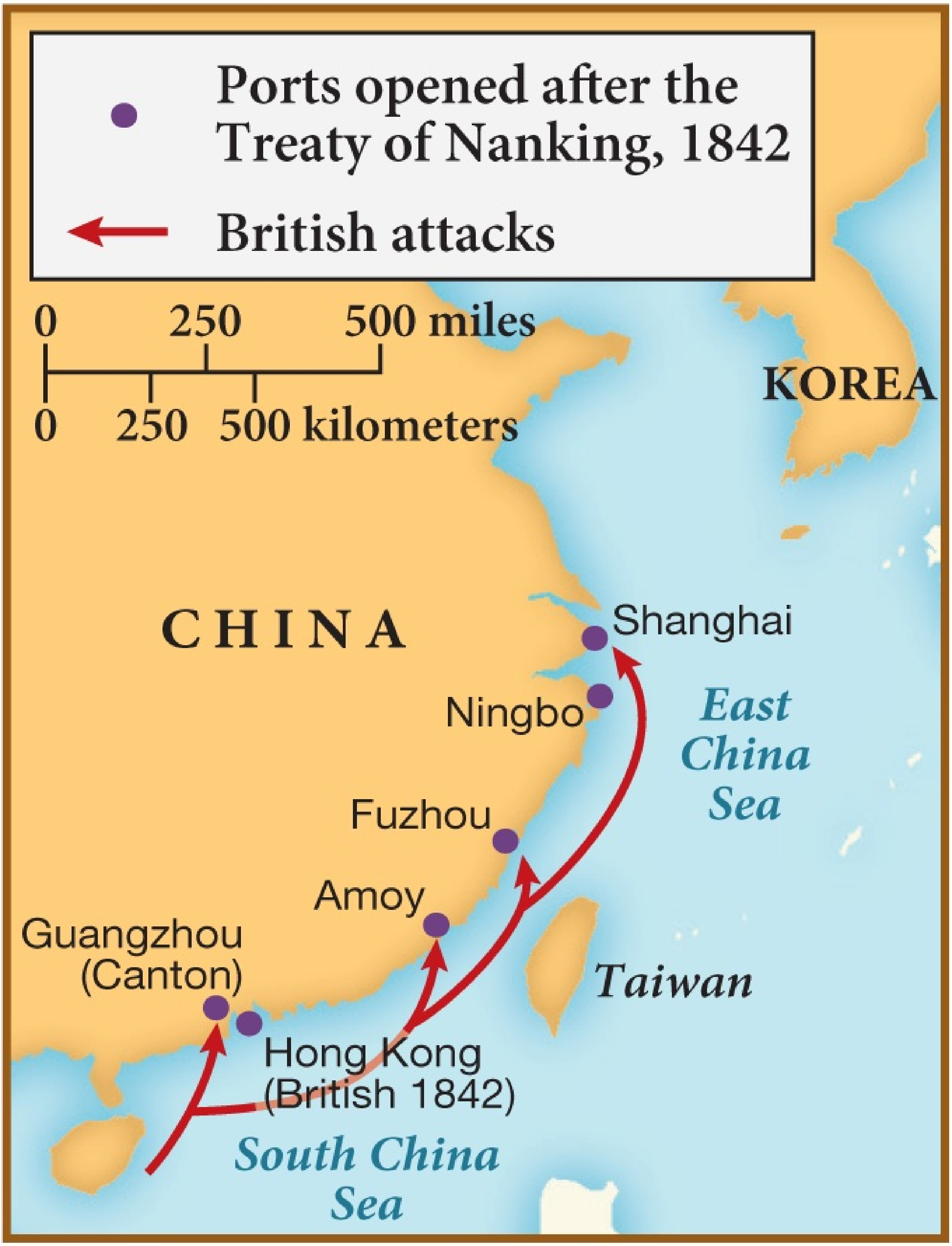
Starting in northeast India in 1840, cholera first spread northeast, between the Black and Caspian Seas (indicating the path from 1826–1836) and into northern Europe. It also spread southeast across India and traveled the sea route north into the Red Sea where it hit Mecca (1831 and 1846) and south along the east coast of Africa (1836). It also spread into Turkey through the Ottoman Empire and into Europe. It hopped across the Atlantic Ocean and spread to North America (1832), down south into Mexico, and also south along the coast of North America to the Caribbean.

Additional routes included: Northeast and east of the Caspian Sea into northern Russia; west across northern Arabia and northern Africa

It also traveled south from the point of origin, indicated by a blue arrow (1840–1855 pandemic) in (1840) into Indonesia, then north into China (1841), then back west across China (1844) into eastern Europe and eventually into western Europe (1849). Once again, it hopped across the Atlantic, hit northern United States (1849), traveled south down the coast of the United States to the Caribbean, and west across the Gulf of Mexico to Mexico. It also spread into South America (1855) from the path across the Atlantic.

Return to Map 21.2 The Spread of Cholera, 1826–1855

Extended description for The Opium War, 1839–1842



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

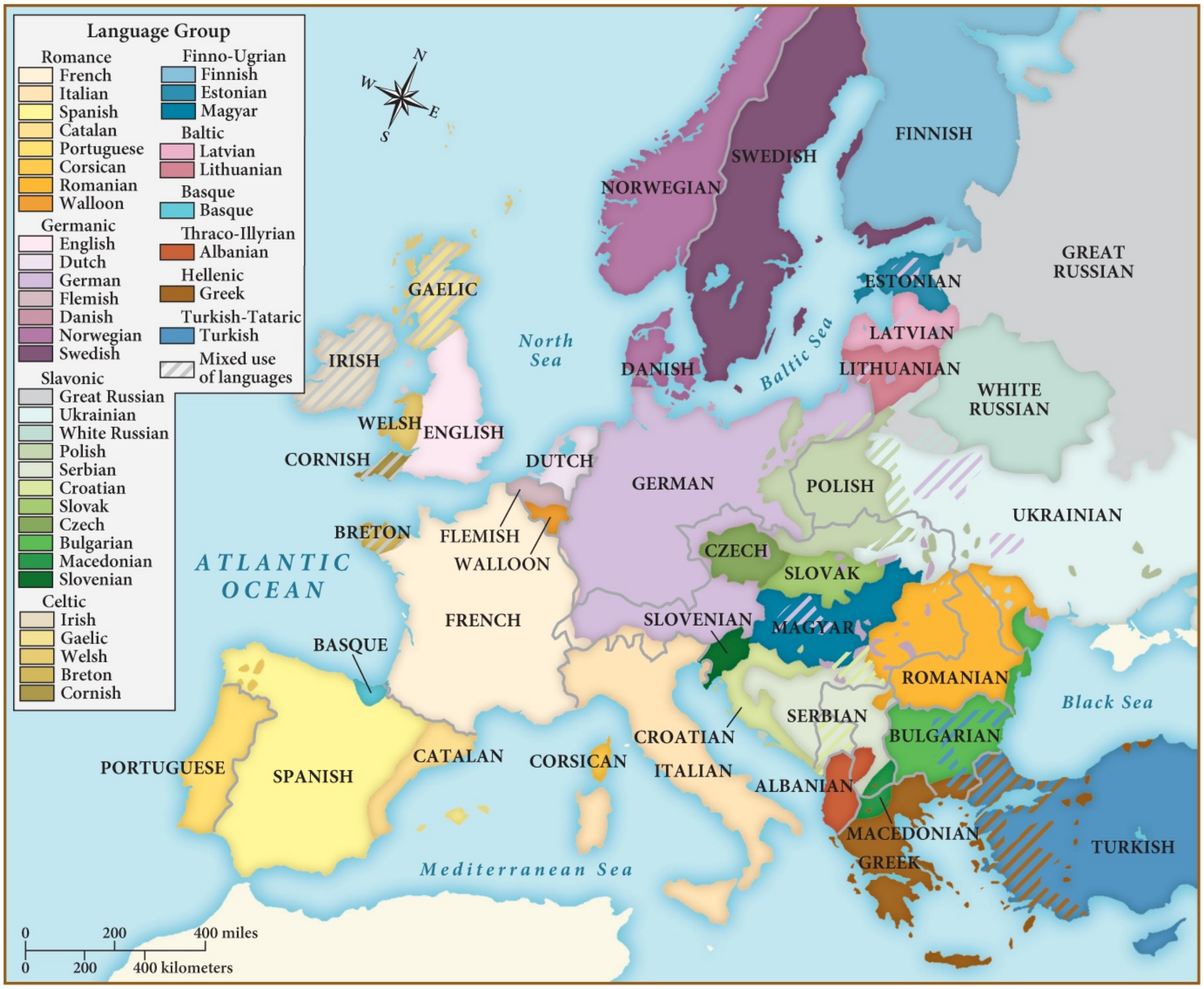
The data from the map are as follows.

The British attacked Guangzhou or Canton, and moved on to Amoy, followed by Fuzhou and Shanghai. Hong Kong is located near Canton, and Ningbo is located south of Shanghai.

Ports opened after the Treaty of Nanking, 1842 are as follows. Shanghai, Ningbo, Fuzhou, Amoy, Guangzhou (Canton), Hong Kong (British 1842).

Return to The Opium War, 1839–1842

Extended description for Map 21.3 Languages of Nineteenth-Century Europe



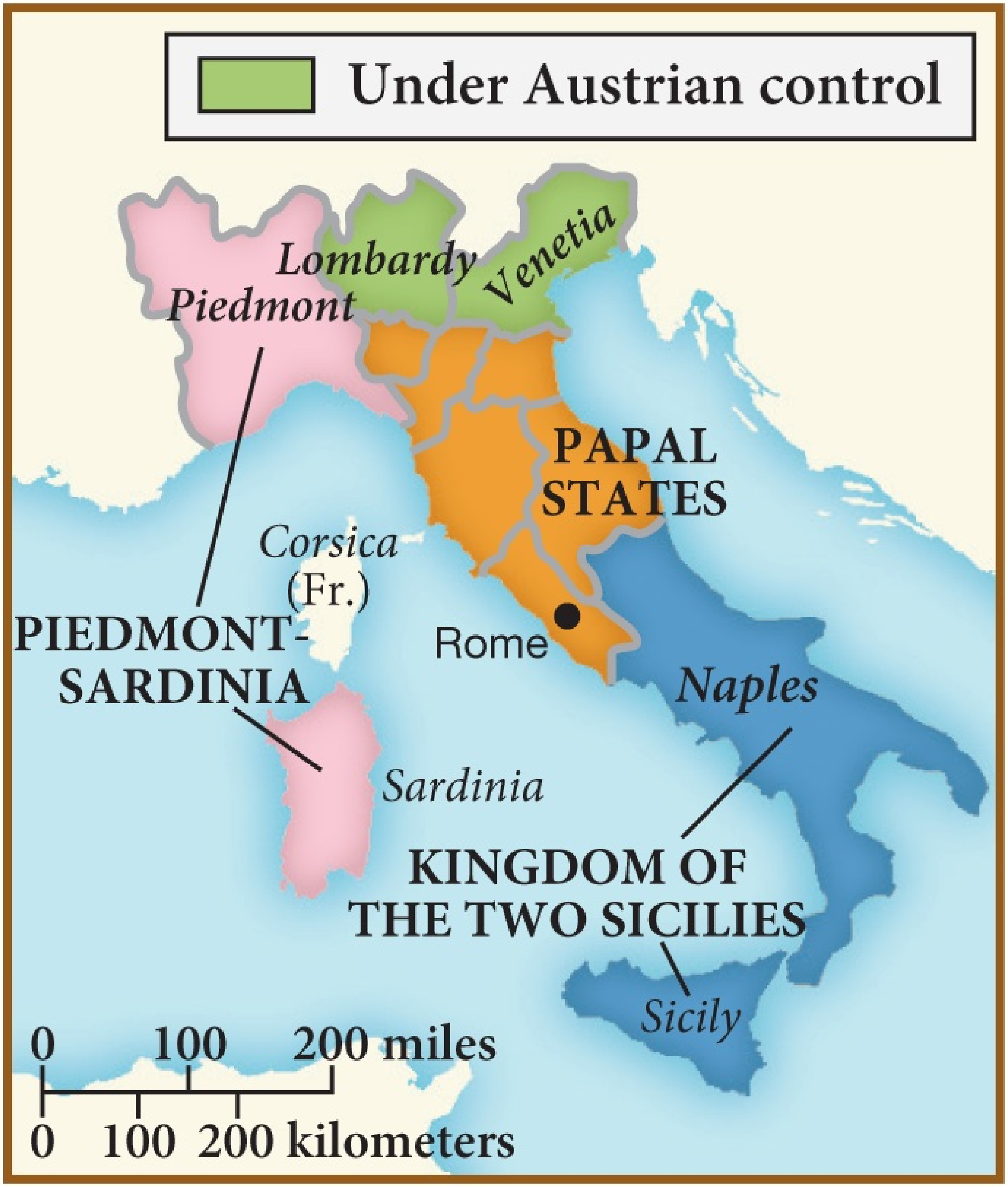
Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data for the languages and their corresponding European countries are as follows.

Portuguese was spoken in some parts of Spain in addition to Portugal. Spanish was spoken in Spain along with Catalan and Basque. French was spoken predominantly in France along with Breton. Breton was also spoken is some parts of England along with English and Welsh. Gaelic was spoken in Scotland, and Irish in Ireland. Dutch, Flemish, Walloon, Danish and Polish were spoken in Germany along with German. German was spoken in some parts of Czechoslovakia along with Czech, Slovak, Polish, Ukrainian, Magyar, and Slovenian. Croatian, Serbian, Albanian, Macedonian, Greek, Romanian, Bulgarian were spoken in the south eastern region. Turkish and some Greek was spoken in Turkey. White Russian and Great Russian were spoken in Russia. Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish were spoken in the northern region.

Return to Map 21.3 Languages of Nineteenth-Century Europe

Extended description for The Divisions of Italy, 1848



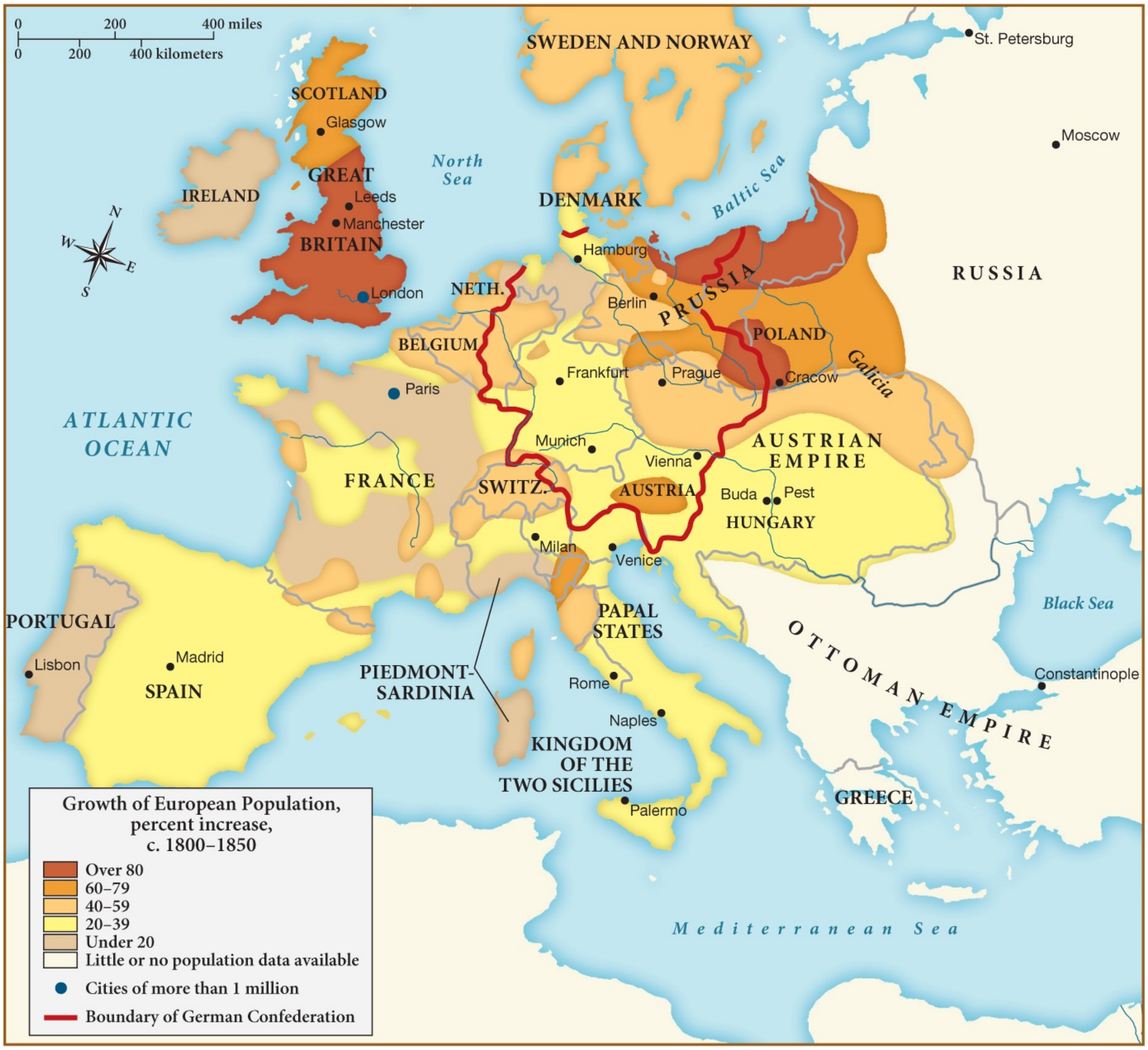
Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

The map shows Piedmont in the northwest, Lombardy in the north, and Venetia in the northeast; the Papal States extending south to the area around Rome; Naples in the south of the peninsula and Sicily forming the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies; and the island of Sardinia in south-west. Piedmont and Sardinia are collectively known as Piedmont-Sardinia. The island of Corsica is shown belonging to France. Lombardy and Venetia are labeled as under Austrian control

Return to The Divisions of Italy, 1848

Extended description for Mapping the West: Europe in 1850



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The key is as follows:

Over 80 percent:

-Great Britain

-Northern Prussia along the Baltic Sea

-Western Poland, northwest of Cracow

60-79 percent:

-Scotland

-Southern Prussia

-Eastern Poland and northern Galacia

-Central Austria

-Modena (Italy)

40-59 percent:

-Northern Austrian Empire

-Germany south and west of Berlin

-Sweden and Norway

-Northern Denmark

-Corsica

-Belgium

-Netherlands

-Switzerland

-Italy

-Tuscany

-Corsica

-France

-The west coast around the mouth of the Loire River, and in the southeast at the end of the Loire River

-South central along the border with Spain

-Around Marseilles on the southeast coast

-Northeast of Paris and to the coast of the English Channel

-Spain

20-39 percent:

-Ireland

-Southern Denmark

-Central Germany

-Southern Austrian Empire

-Hungary

-Italy

-Venice to Milan

-The Papal States

-Kingdom of the Two Sicilies

-France

-Along the southern coast

Under 20 percent:

-Portugal

-Piedmont-Sardinia

-France except for the areas previously noted

-Northern Germany

Little or no population data available

-Ottoman Empire

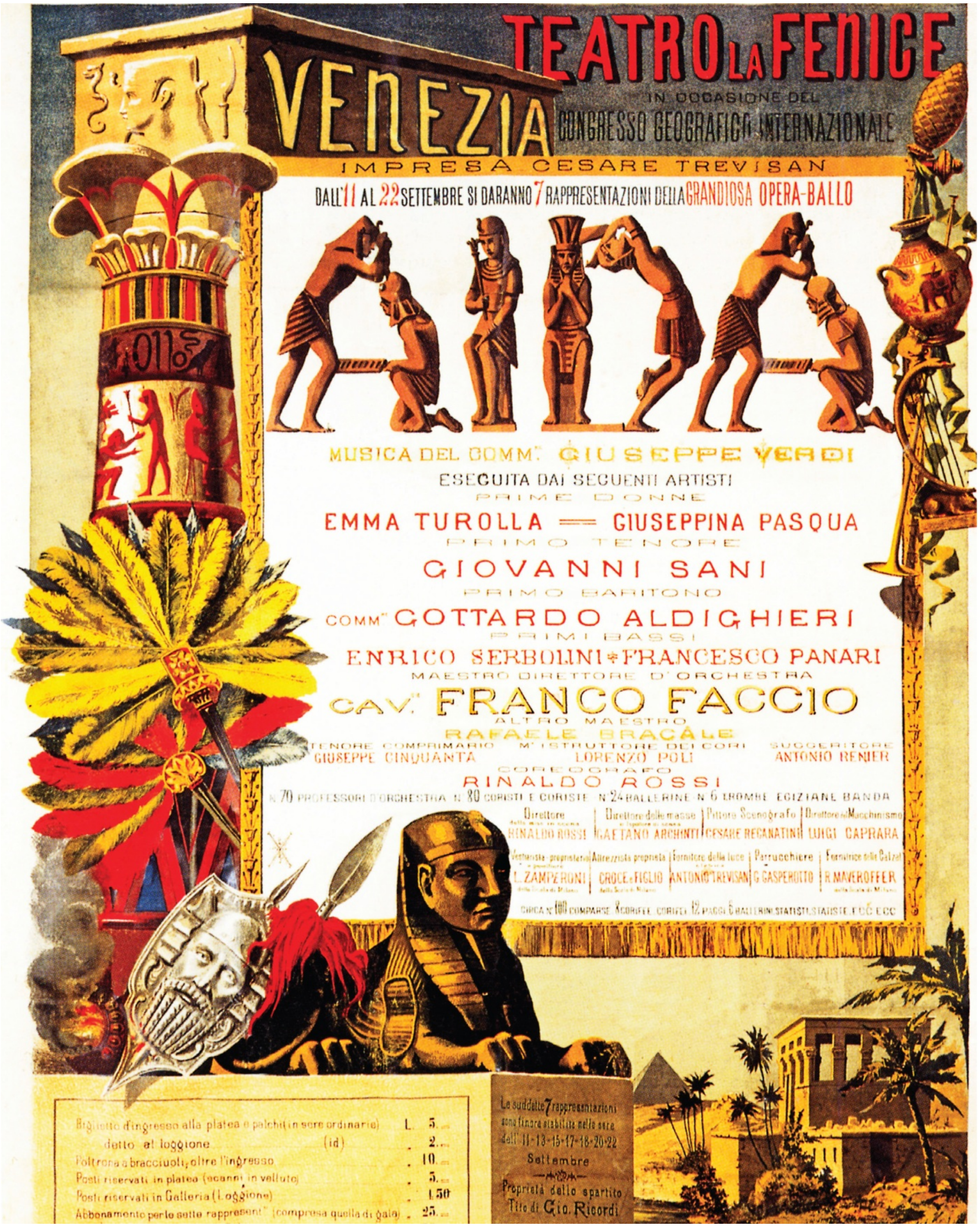
-Greece

-Russia

-Finland

Return to Mapping the West: Europe in 1850

Extended description for Aïda Poster



VENEZIA

TEATRO LA FENICE

IN OCCASIONE DEL

CONGRESSO GEOGRAFICO INTERNAZIONALE

IMPRESA CESARE TREVISAN

DALL'11 AL 22 SETTEMBRE SI DARANNO 7 RAPPRESENTAZIONI DELLA GRANDIOSA OPERA-BALLO

AIDA

MUSICA DEL COMM. GIUSEPPE VERDI

ESEGUITA DAI SEGUENTI ARTISTI

PRIME DONNE

EMMA TUROLLA — GIUSEPPINA PASQUA

PRIMO TENORE

GIOVANNI SANI

PRIMO BARITONO

COMM. GOTTARDO ALDIGHIERI

PRIMI BASSI

ENRICO SERBOLINI ✤ FRANCESCO PANARI

MAESTRO DIRETTORE D'ORCHESTRA

CAV. FRANCO FACCIO

ALTRO MAESTRO

RAFAELE BRACÀLE

TENORE COMPRIMARIO	M° ISTRUTTORE DEI CORI	SUGGERITORE
GIUSEPPE CINQUANTA	LORENZO POLI	ANTONIO RENIER

COREOGRAFO

RINALDO ROSSI

N. 70 PROFESSORI D'ORCHESTRA N. 80 CORISTI E CORISTE N. 24 BALLERINE N. 6 TROMBE EGIZIANE BANDA

Direttore	Direttore delle masse	Pittore Scenografo	Direttore del Macchinismo
RINALDO ROSSI	GAETANO ARCHINTI	CESARE RECANATINI	LUIGI CAPRARA

Vestiarista-proprietario	Attrezzista proprietà	Fornitore della luce	Parrucchiere	Fornitrice delle Calzat.
L. ZAMPERONI della Scala di Milano	CROCE e FIGLIO della Scala di Milano	ANTONIO TREVISAN	G. GASPEROTTO	R. MAVEROFFER della Scala di Milano

CIRCA N. 100 COMPARSE 8 CORIFEE CORIFEI 12 PAGGI 6 BALLERINI STATISTI, STATISTE ECC. ECC.

Biglietto d'ingresso alla platea e palchi (in sere ordinarie)	L.	5.—
detto al loggione (id)	.	2.—
Poltrona a bracciuoli, oltre l'ingresso	.	10.—
Posti riservati in platea (scanni in velluto)	.	5.—
Posti riservati in Galleria (Loggione)	.	1.50
Abbonamento per le sette rappresent. (compresa quella di gala)	.	25.—

Le suddette 7 rappresentazioni sono finora stabilite nelle sere dell' 11-13-15-17-18-20-22 Settembre

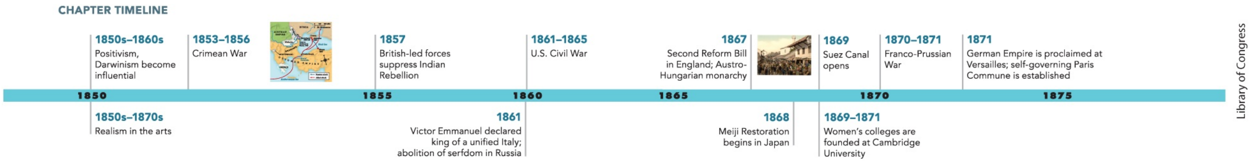
Proprietà dello spartito Tito di Gio. Ricordi

Lordprice Collection/Alamy.

The poster at the top left and right shows a man kneeling before a soldier who tries to hit him. The poster at top center shows mummies of King and Queen seated. The main body of poster reads a text in Italian. The pillars on the either side of the poster show ancient arts.

Return to Aïda Poster

Extended description for a timeline of events between 1850 and 1875

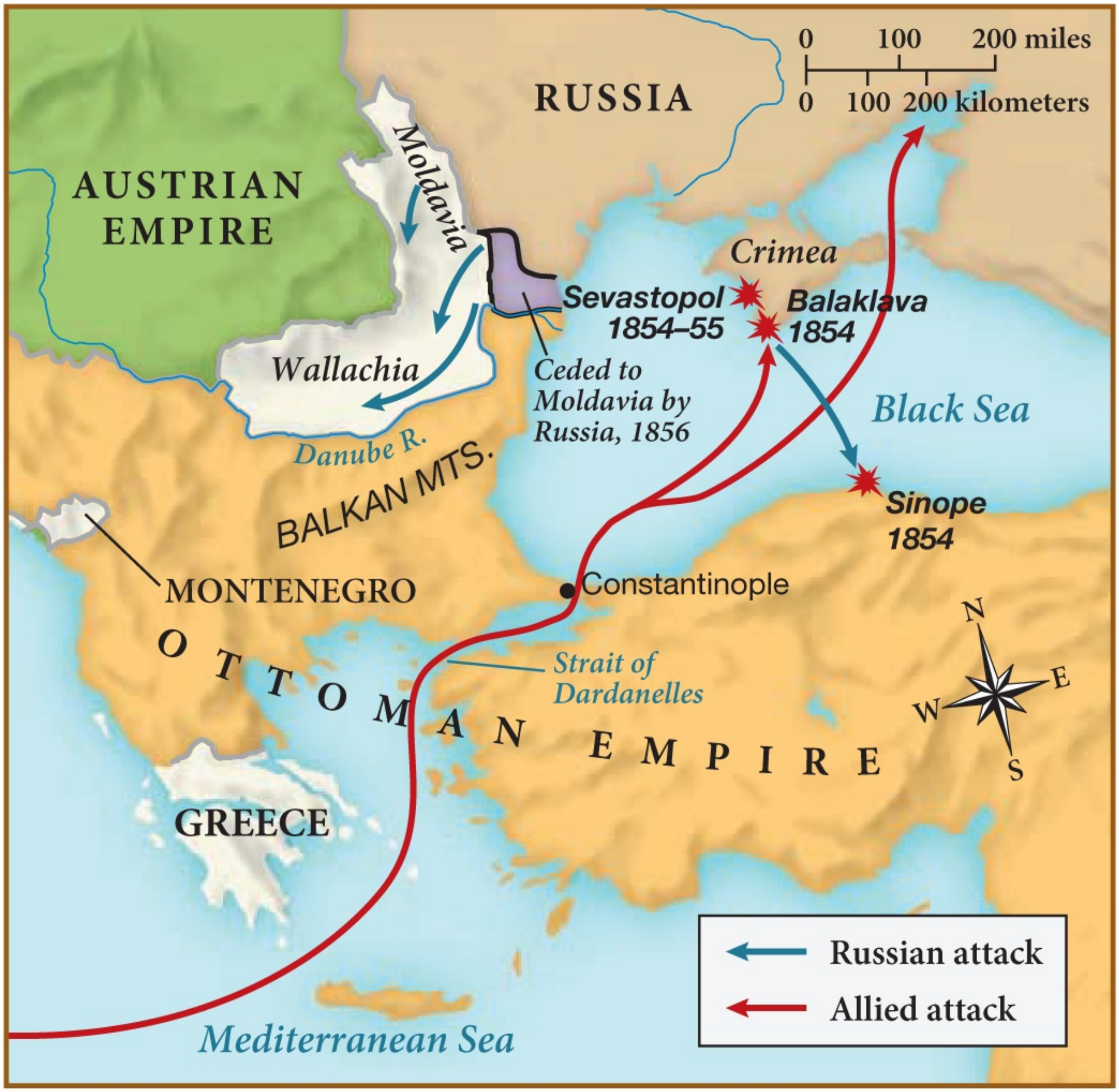

CHAPTER TIMELINE
1850s–1860s
Positivism, Darwinism become influential
1853–1856
Crimean War
1857
British-led forces suppress Indian Rebellion
1861–1865
U.S. Civil War
1867
Second Reform Bill in England; Austro-Hungarian monarchy
1869
Suez Canal opens
1870–1871
Franco-Prussian War
1871
German Empire is proclaimed at Versailles; self-governing Paris Commune is established
1850
1855
1860
1865
1870
1875
1850s–1870s
Realism in the arts
1861
Victor Emmanuel declared king of a unified Italy; abolition of serfdom in Russia
1868
Meiji Restoration begins in Japan
1869–1871
Women's colleges are founded at Cambridge University
Library of Congress

The important events are as follows.

1850s through 1860s: Positivism, Darwinism become influential. 1850s through 1870s: Realism in the arts. 1853 through 1856: Crimean War. 1857: British-led forces suppress Indian Rebellion. 1861 through 1865: US Civil War. 1861: Victor Emmanuel declared king of a unified Italy; abolition of serfdom in Russia.1867: Second Reform Bill in England; Austro-Hungarian monarchy. 1868: Meiji Restoration begins in Japan. 1869 through 1871: Women's colleges are founded at Cambridge University. 1869: Suez Canal opens. 1870 through 1871: Franco-Prussian War. 1871: German Empire is proclaimed at Versailles; self-governing Paris Commune is established.

Return to a timeline of events between 1850 and 1875

Extended description for Map 22.1 The Crimean War, 1853–1856



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

At the center of it all is the Black Sea, where the Crimean peninsula resides. To the northwest is the Austrian Empire, Moldavia, Wallachia, and a region east of Moldavia and Wallachia (ceded to Moldavia by

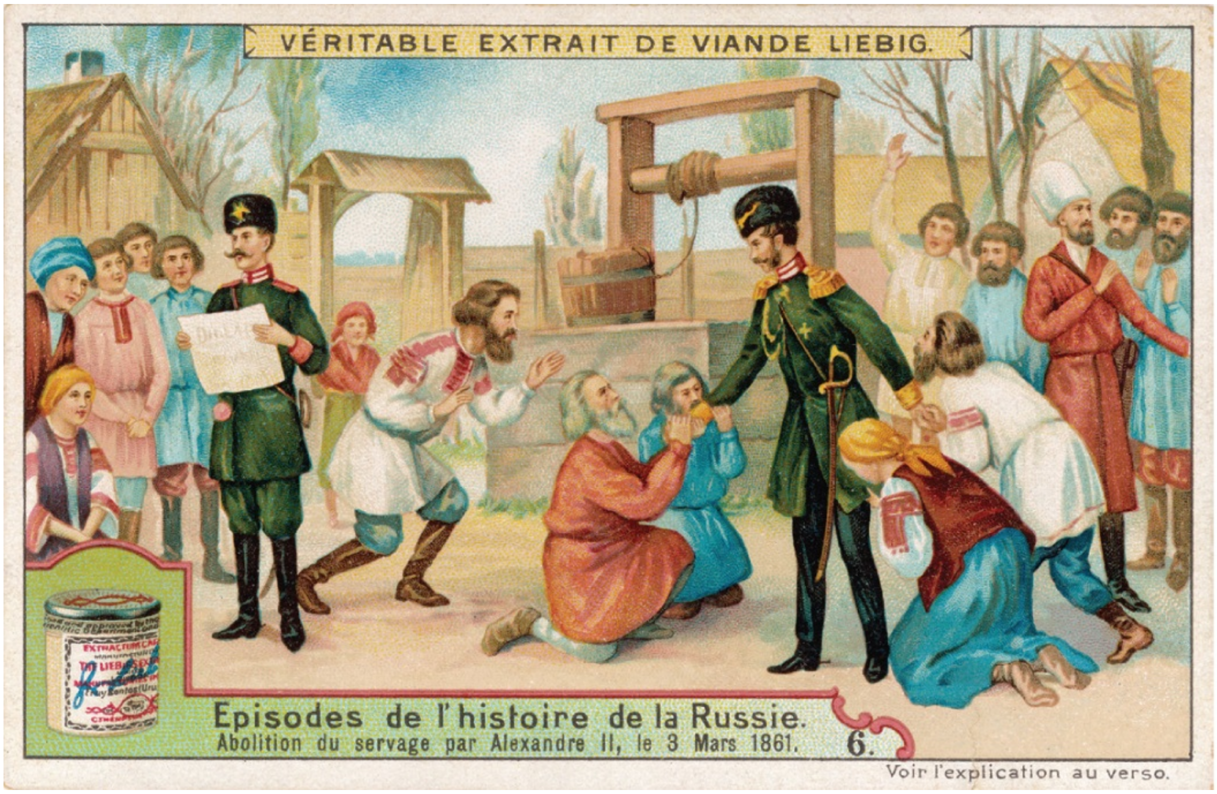
Russia, 1856). To the northeast is Russia, and to the south is the Ottoman Empire (Turkey and Montenegro with the Balkan Mountains).

The Russian attack started in Moldavia and moved southwest into Wallachia. There were two battles in Crimea, Sevastopol in 1854–1855 and Balaklava in 1854. Russia also crossed the Black Sea and attacked Sinope to the south in Turkey.

The Allied attack came from the Mediterranean, up through the Straits of Dardanelles, and into the Black Sea. They attacked Balaklava and also crossed into the Sea of Asov.

Return to Map 22.1 The Crimean War, 1853–1856

Extended description for Emancipation of the Russian Serfs

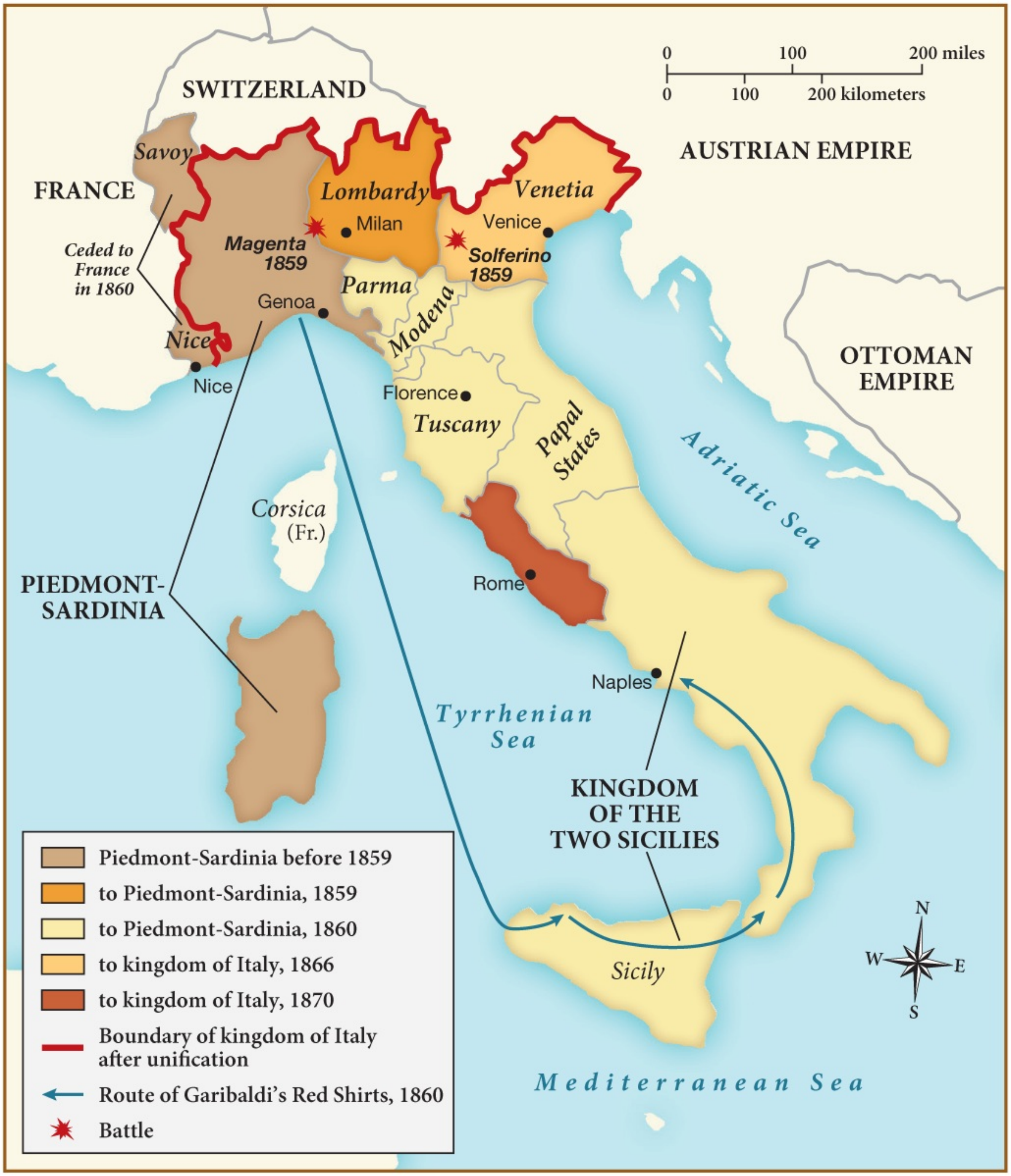

VÉRITABLE EXTRAIT DE VIANDE LIEBIG.
Episodes de l'histoire de la Russie.
Abolition du servage par Alexandre II, le 3 Mars 1861.
6.
Voir l'explication au verso.

Chronicle/Alamy Stock Photo.

The card shows peasants kneeling before an official and kissing his hands in a village square. Another official reads a paper amid a small crowd of peasants. A large well is in the background. The card has a text in Russian.

Return to Emancipation of the Russian Serfs

Extended description for Map 22.2 Unification of Italy, 1859–1870



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The map key is as follows:

Piedmont-Sardinia before 1859

-Nice and Savoy were ceded to France in 1860

-North western Italy on the border of Switzerland and France to the west and Lombardy and Parma to the east

To Piedmont-Sardinia, 1859

-Lombardy (battle took place on the western border in Magenta in 1859)

-Sardinia

To Piedmont-Sardinia, 1860

-Parma

-Modena

-Tuscany

-Papal States

-Kingdom of the Two Sicilies

To the kingdom of Italy, 1866

-Venetia (battle took place in Solferino in 1859)

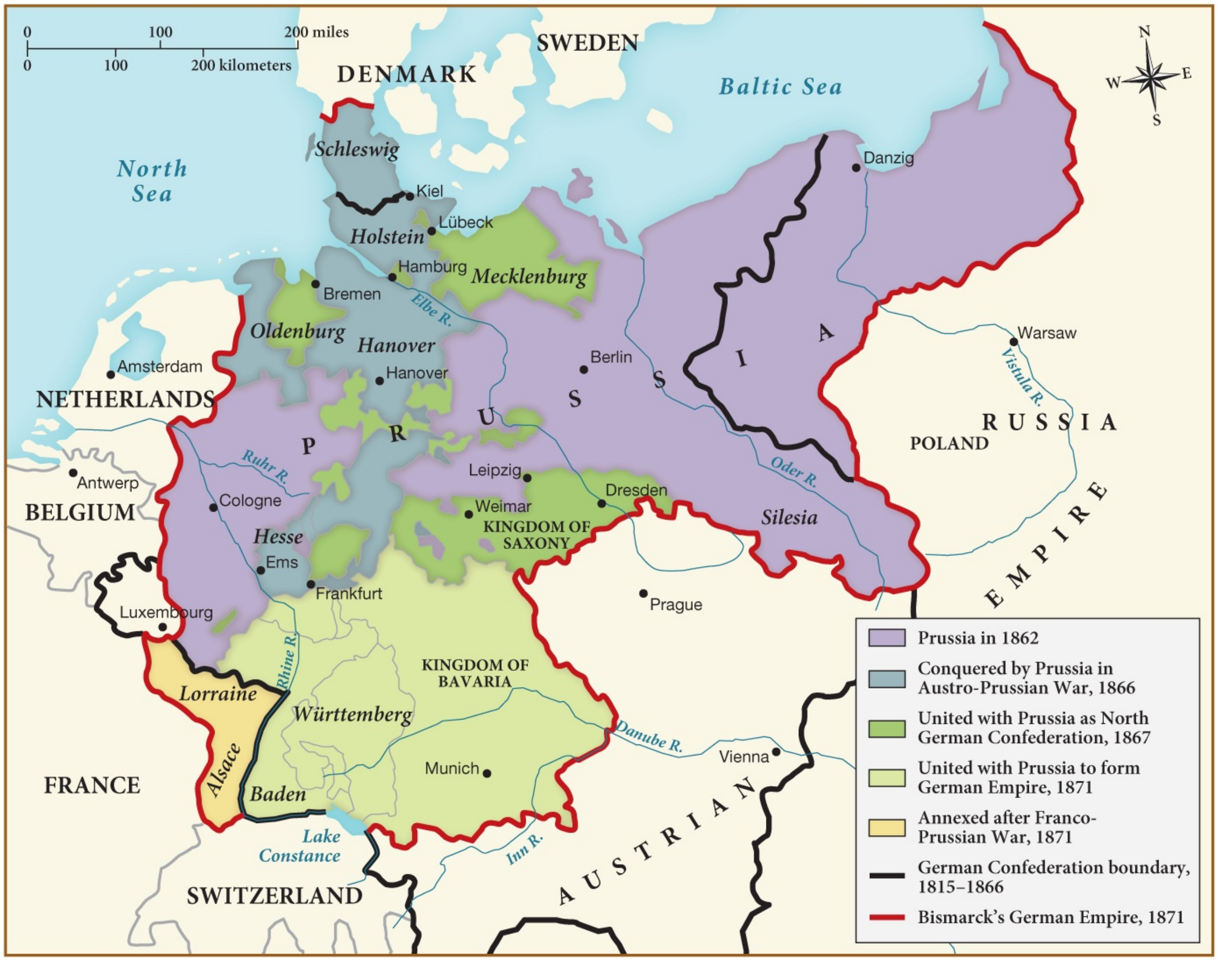
To the kingdom of Italy, 1870

-Areas north (to Tuscany) and south (Kingdom of the Two Sicilies) and slightly east of Rome

The route taken by Garibaldi's Thousand is represented by a blue arrow that starts in Genoa, south across the Tyrrhenian Sea, east to Sicily, across Sicily to the boot of Italy, and north to Naples.

Return to Map 22.2 Unification of Italy, 1859–1870

Extended description for Map 22.3 Unification of Germany, 1862–1871

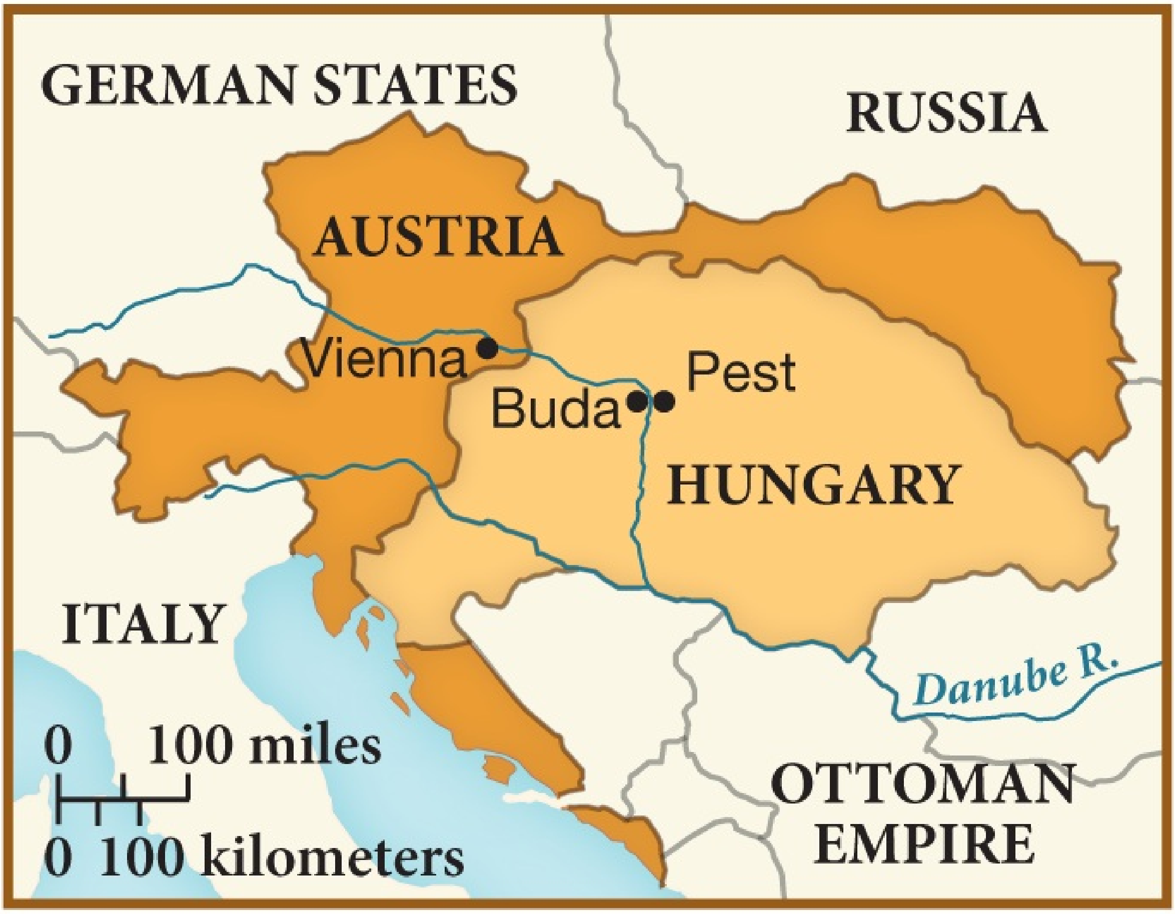


Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

German Confederation boundary 1815 to 1866 was bounded by Netherlands, Belgium, France, and Switzerland, the southern part of the Austrian Empire, Poland, Russia, the Baltic Sea, Denmark, and the North Sea (anticlockwise). Bismarck's German Empire in 1871 was nearly identical to the German Confederation boundary with some changes. Luxembourg, Portion of Austrian Empire including Vienna and Prague did not form part of the empire and Schleswig and Eastern Prussia including Danzig formed part of the empire. Prussia in 1862 included the region around Cologne in the west and the region around Berlin, Silesia, and Danzig in the center and in the east. The regions Hanover, Holstein, Schleswig, and Hesse including the cities, Ems, Frankfurt, Hanover, Bremen, and Kiel were conquered by Prussia in the Austro-Prussian Ward, 1866. The regions Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, and Kingdom of Saxony including the cities Hamburg, Lubeck, Weimar, Leipzig, and Dresden, as well as some portions near the Hanover region were united with Prussia as North German Confederation in 1867. The regions Wurttemberg, Baden, and Kingdom of Bavaria including the city of Munich were united with Prussia to form German Empire 1871. Alsace and Lorraine were annexed after Franco-Prussian War, 1871.

Return to Map 22.3 Unification of Germany, 1862–1871

Extended description for The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, 1867



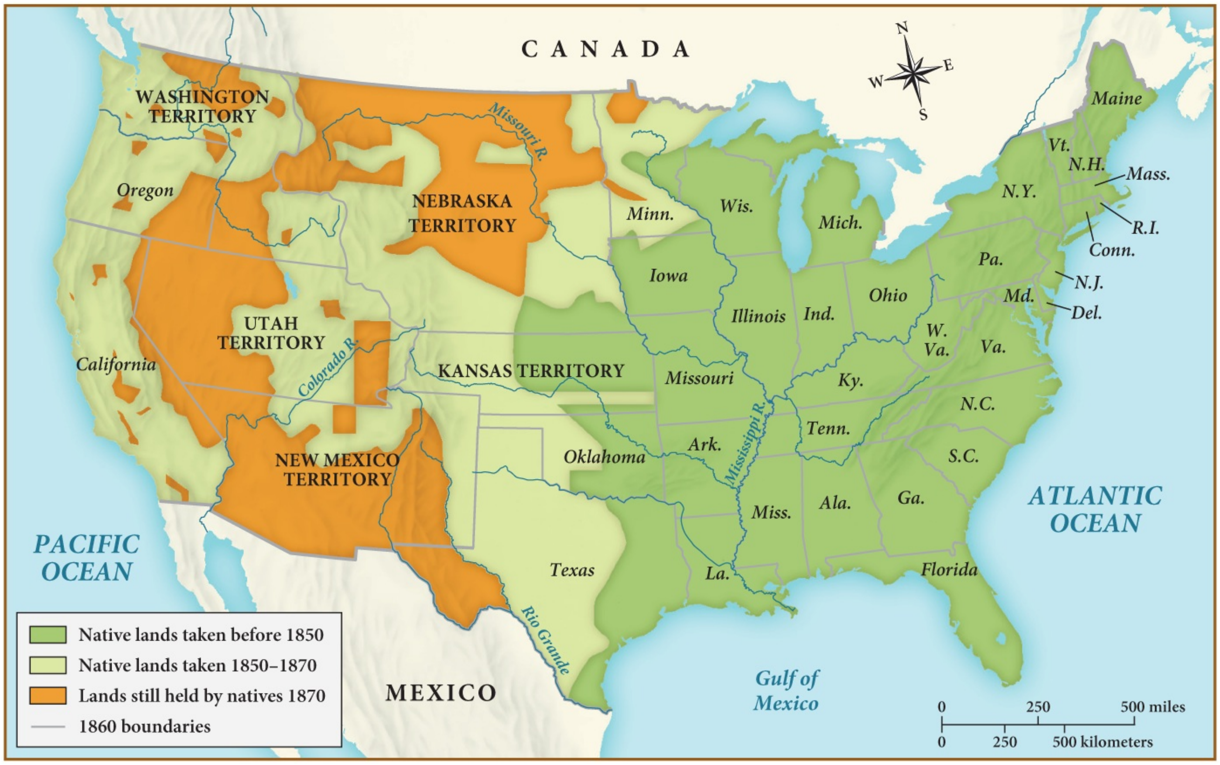
Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The map shows the German States at top left, Russia at top right, Italy at bottom left, and the Ottoman Empire at bottom right.

In the center of the map, Hungary is there with Buda and Pest along the Danube River. It has a small coastline on the Adriatic Sea. Austria, with its capital Vienna, surround Hungary on the west and north, with an enclave to the south on the Adriatic coast.

Return to The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, 1867

Extended description for Map 22.4 U.S. Expansion, 1850–1870



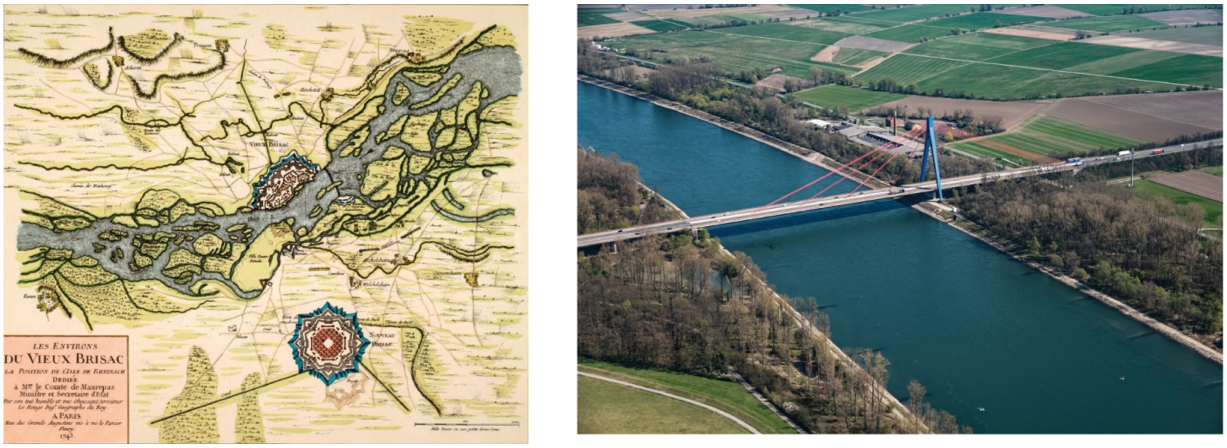
Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

The following regions were ceded before 1850: the whole of Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and the states to the east of the above mentioned states. Some or most parts of the following regions were ceded before 1850: Iowa, Kansas territory, Oklahoma, and Texas. Most parts of the following regions were ceded during 1850 to 1870: most parts of California, Oregon, Washington territory, Texas, Minnesota, and Oklahoma as well as some parts of Kansas territory, Nebraska territory, New Mexico territory, and Utah territory. Most parts of New Mexico territory, Utah territory, and Nebraska territory and some parts of Washington territory, California, Minnesota, and Texas were held by Indians in 1970.

Return to Map 22.4 U.S. Expansion, 1850–1870

Extended description for a two-part illustration shows straightening of the Rhine

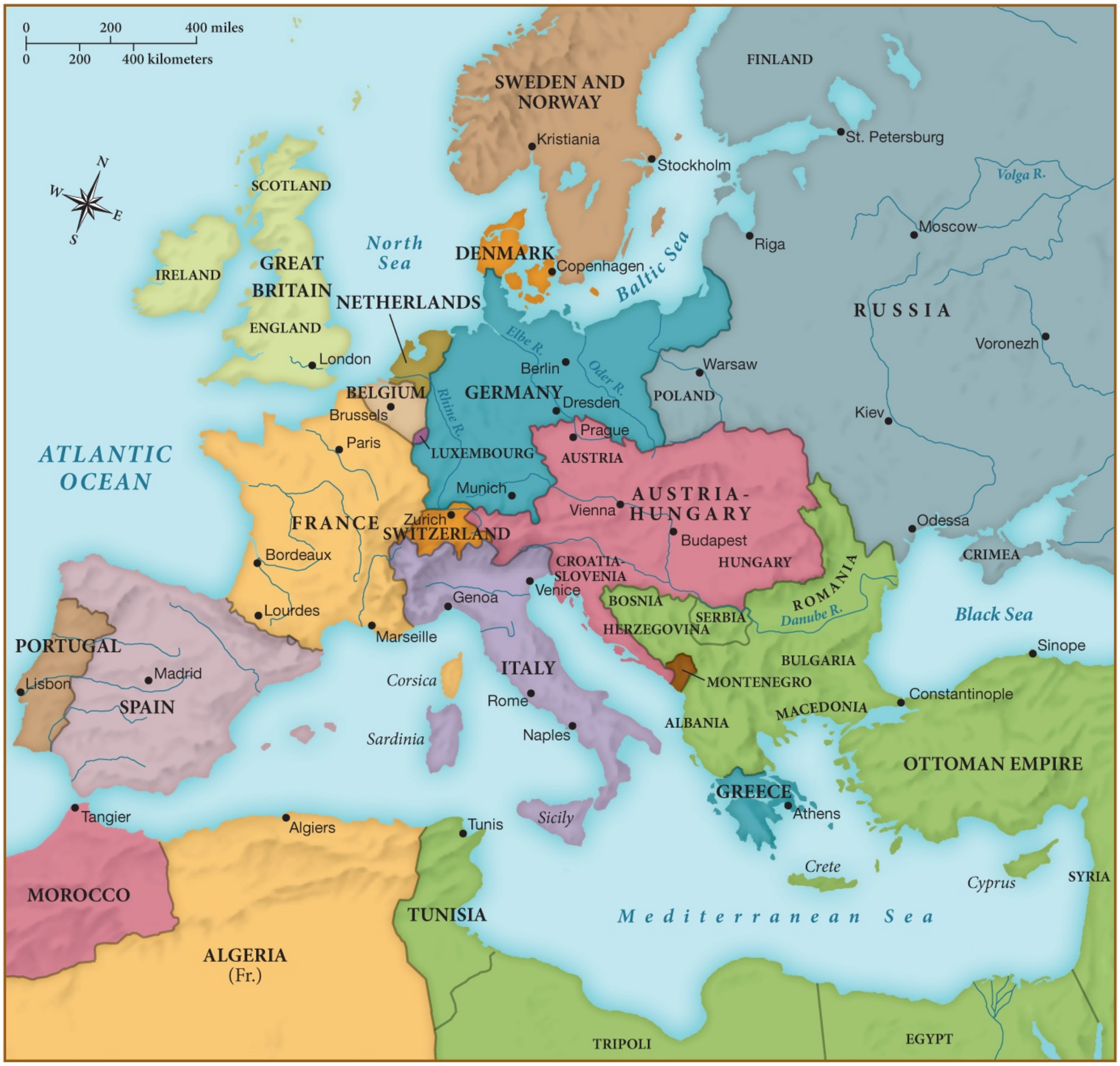

LES ENVIRONS
DU VIEUX BRISAC
LA POSITION DE L'ISLE DE RHEINACH
DEDIÉE
à Mr. le Comte de Maurepas
Ministre et Secretaire d'Etat
A PARIS
1743
VIEUX BRISAC
NOUVEAU BRISAC

Left: akg-images/Newscom; right: picture alliance/Getty Images

The first part on the left shows an antique map of cities on the Rhine's banks and the Rhine as a common source of waterways among them. The photo on the right shows an aerial view of the straightened Rhine between two even cement banks. A modern bridge crosses the river.

Return to a two-part illustration shows straightening of the Rhine

Extended description for Mapping The West: Europe and the Mediterranean, 1871



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The countries listed on the map are as follows:

Sweden and Norway

Great Britain

-Scotland
-Ireland
-England
Denmark
Germany
Netherlands
Belgium
France
-Corsica
Portugal
Spain
Switzerland
Italy
-Sardinia
-Sicily

Austria-Hungary

-Croatia-Slovenia

Ottoman Empire

-Bosnia

-Herzegovina

-Serbia

-Bulgaria

-Albania

-Macedonia

-Turkey

-Crete

-Cyprus

-Syria

-Tunisia, Tripoli, Egypt (North Africa)

Montenegro

North Africa

-Morocco

-Algeria (under French control)

Greece

Russia

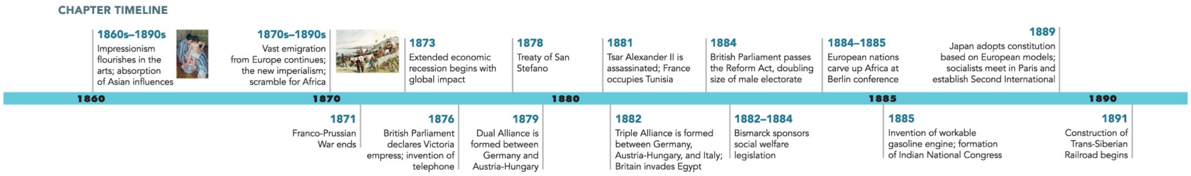
-Finland

-Poland

-Crimea

Return to Mapping The West: Europe and the Mediterranean, 1871

Extended description for a timeline of events between 1860 and 1891


CHAPTER TIMELINE
1860s–1890s
Impressionism flourishes in the arts; absorption of Asian influences
1870s–1890s
Vast emigration from Europe continues; the new imperialism; scramble for Africa
1873
Extended economic recession begins with global impact
1878
Treaty of San Stefano
1881
Tsar Alexander II is assassinated; France occupies Tunisia
1884
British Parliament passes the Reform Act, doubling size of male electorate
1884–1885
European nations carve up Africa at Berlin conference
1889
Japan adopts constitution based on European models; socialists meet in Paris and establish Second International
1860
1870
1880
1885
1890
1871
Franco-Prussian War ends
1876
British Parliament declares Victoria empress; invention of telephone
1879
Dual Alliance is formed between Germany and Austria-Hungary
1882
Triple Alliance is formed between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy; Britain invades Egypt
1882–1884
Bismarck sponsors social welfare legislation
1885
Invention of workable gasoline engine; formation of Indian National Congress
1891
Construction of Trans-Siberian Railroad begins

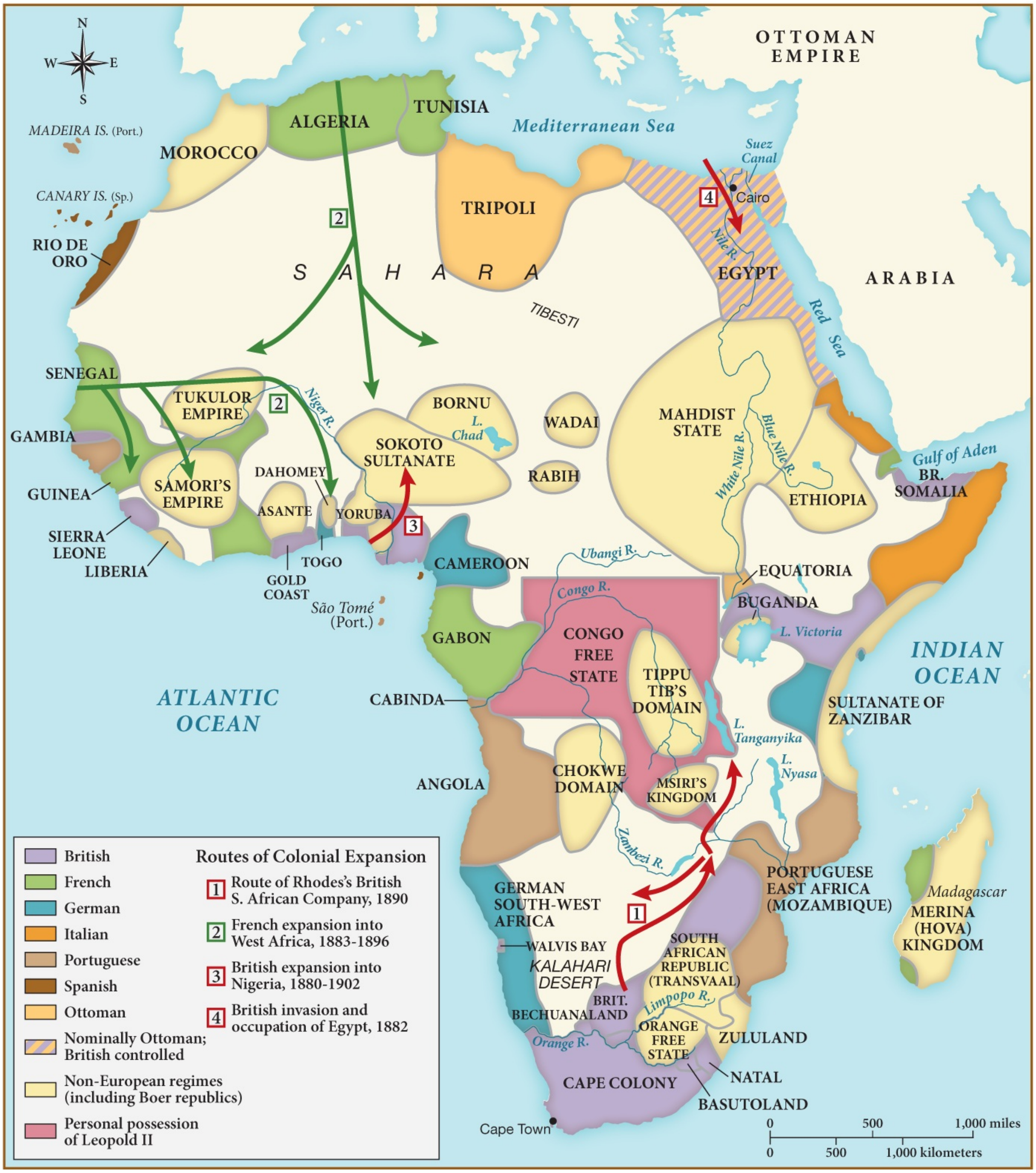
Fine Art/Contributor/Getty Images; Universal History Archive/UIG/Bridgeman Images

The important events are as follows.

1860s to 1890s: Impressionism flourishes in the arts; absorption of Asian influences. 1870s to 1890s: Vast emigration from Europe continues; the new imperialism; scramble for Africa. 1871: Franco-Prussian War ends. 1873: Extended economic recession begins with global impact. 1876: British Parliament declares Victoria empress; invention of telephone. 1878: Treaty of San Stefano. 1879: Dual Alliance is formed between Germany and Austria-Hungary. 1881: Tsar Alexander II is assassinated; France occupies Tunisia. 1882: Triple Alliance is formed between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy; Britain invades Egypt. 1882 through 1884: Bismarck sponsors social welfare legislation. 1884: British Parliament passes the Reform Act, doubling size of male electorate. 1884 through 1885: European nations carve up Africa at Berlin conference. 1885: Invention of workable gasoline engine; formation of Indian National Congress. 1889: Japan adopts constitution based on European models; socialists meet in Paris and establish Second International. 1891: Construction of Trans-Siberian Railroad begins.

Return to a timeline of events between 1860 and 1891

Extended description for Map 23.1 Africa, c. 1890



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows:

British

-Sierra Leone

-Gold Coast

-Cape Colony

-Basutoland

-Natal

-British Bechuanaland

French

-Algeria

-Tunisia

-Senegal

-Guinea

-Gabon

-Madagascar (northwest and southwest corners)

German

-German South-West Africa

-Cameroon

-Togo

Italian

-Eritreia

-Italian Somalialand

Portugese

-Angola

-Portugese East Africa

-Portugese Guinea

Spanish

-Rio de Oro

-Canary Islands

Ottoman

-Tripoli

-Equatoria

Nominally Ottoman; British controlled

-Egypt

-British Somalia

Non-European Regimes, including Boer republics

-Morocco

-Tukulor Empire

-Samori's Empire

-Dahomey

-Liberia

-Asante

-Yoruba

-Sokoto Sultanate

-Bornu

-Wadai

-Rabih

-Mahdist State

-Ethiopia

-Tippu Tib's Domain

-Chokwe Domain

-Msiri's Kingdom

-Sultanate of Zanzibar

-South African Republic (Transvaal)

-Orange Free State

-Zululand

-Merina (Hova) Kingdom (on Madagascar)

Routes of Colonial Expansion

1-Route of Rhodes's British S. African Company, 1890, south from British Bechuanaland northeast across the Kalahari Desert, north to Lake Tanganyika, and also southwest following the Zambezi River.

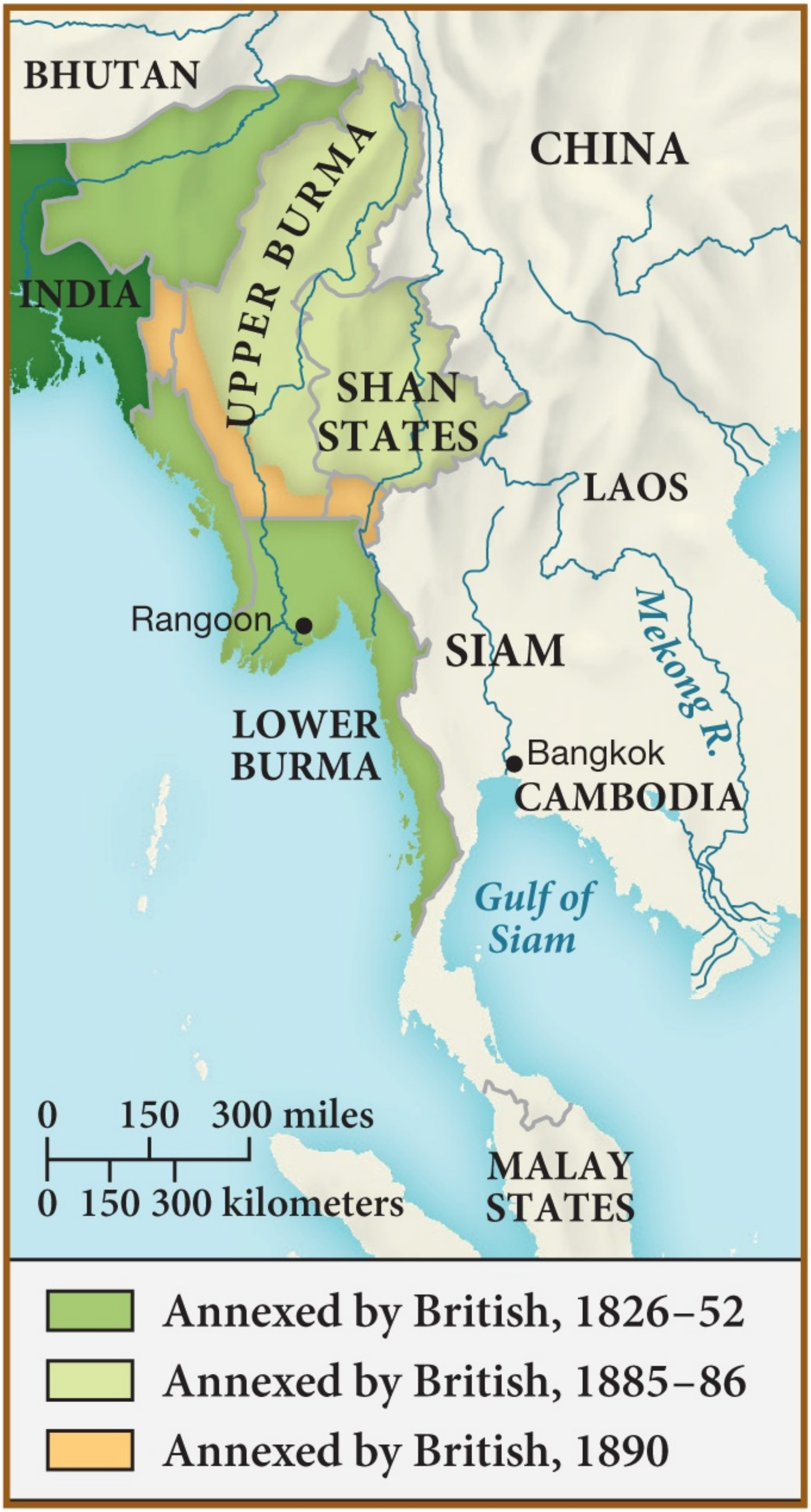
2-French expansion into West Africa, 1883–1896, from Algeria in the north, they traveled southeast, south, and southwest into the Sahara. From Senegal on the west coast, the traveled east, then south into Guinea, then into Samori's Empire, and south into Dahomey.

3-British expansion into Nigeria, 1880–1902, traveled north from the Gold Coast into the Sokoto Sultanate.

4-British invasion and occupation of Egypt, 1882, traveled south from Mediterranean into Egypt along the Nile River.

Return to Map 23.1 Africa, c. 1890

Extended description for British Colonialism in the Malay Peninsula and Burma, 1826–1890



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

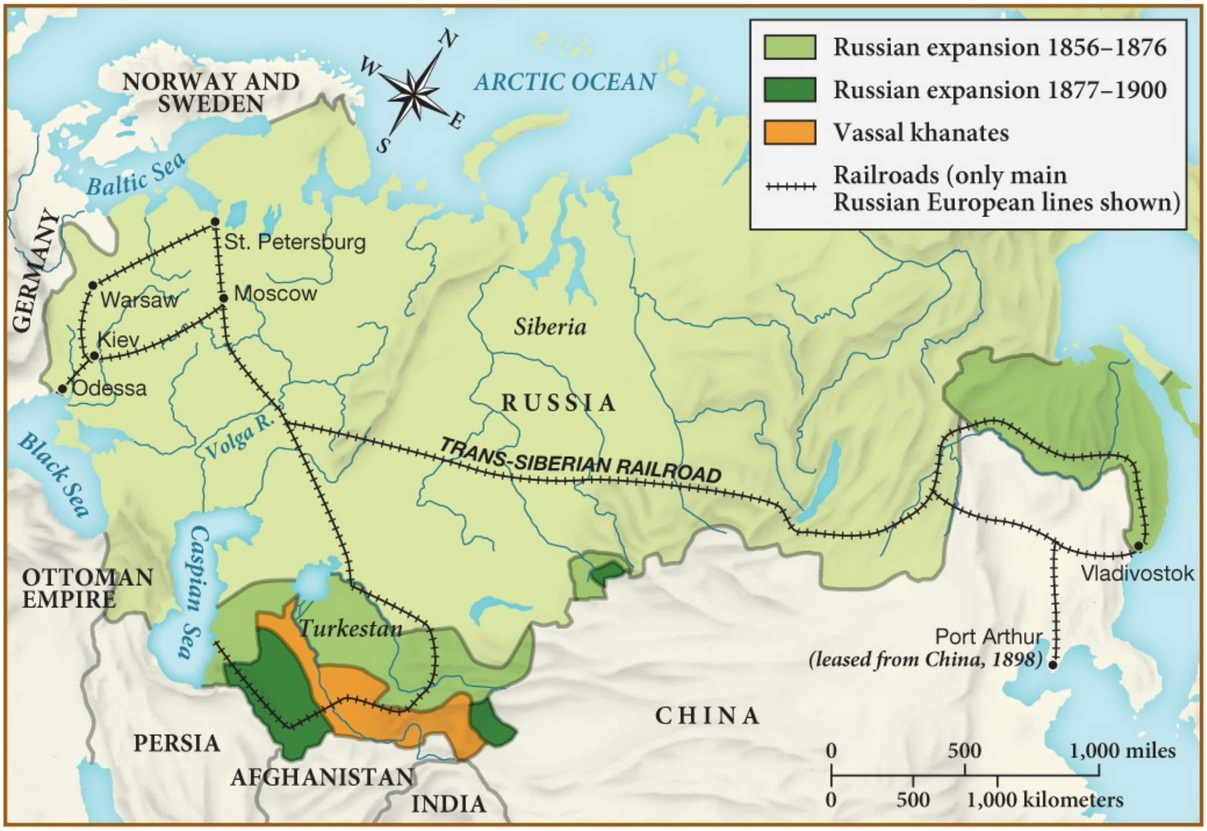
Areas annexed by British during the years 1826 and 1852 include India, Rangoon, Lower Burma

Areas annexed by British during the years 1885 and 1886 are as follows. Upper Burma and Shan States

Areas annexed by British in the 1890 include Small part of Upper Burma and Shan States

Return to British Colonialism in the Malay Peninsula and Burma, 1826–1890

Extended description for Map 23.2 Expansion of Russia in Asia, 1865–1895



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The key for the map is as follows:

Russian expansion, 1856–1876

Russian expansion, 1877–1900

Vassal khanate

In 1856, Russia had the following boundaries:

-North: Arctic Ocean

-Northwest: Norway and Sweden

-West: Germany

-Southwest: Ottoman Empire

-South: Turkestan

-East: Bering Sea

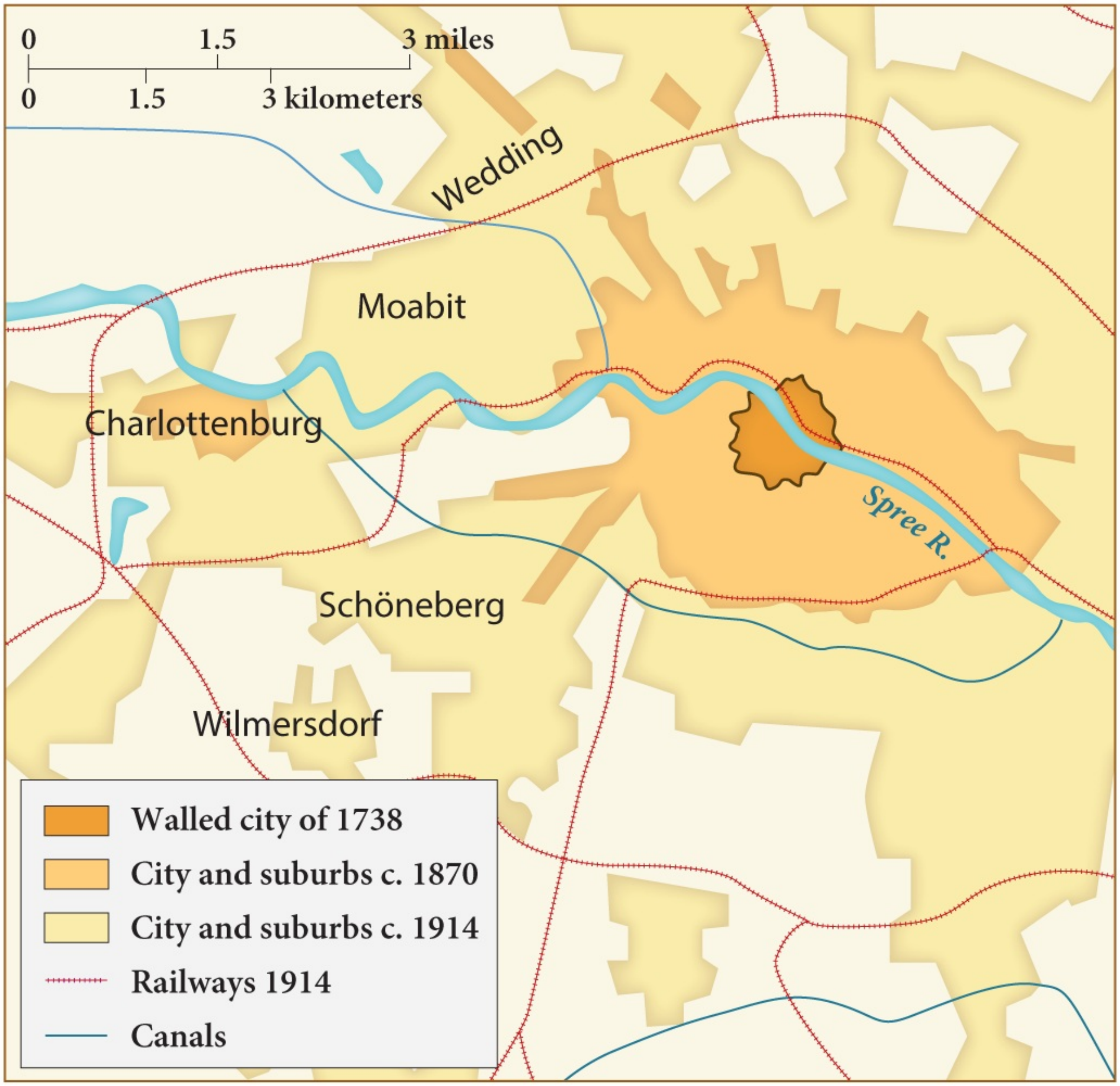
It expanded between 1856 and 1876 into the following territories:

-Turkestan

It expanded between 1877–1900 into territories north of Persia and Afghanistan, and on the east coast south to Vladivostok.

Return to Map 23.2 Expansion of Russia in Asia, 1865–1895

Extended description for Map 23.3 Expansion of Berlin to 1914



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The key of this map is as follows:

(Walled City of 1738)

-A small area on the eastern portion of the Spree River

(City and suburbs c. 1870)

-It expanded in all directions, including the suburb of Charlottenburg to the west.

(City and suburbs c. 1914)

-It now included the suburbs of Wedding (northwest), Moabit (northwest), Charlottenburg (west), Schoneberg (southwest), and Wilmersdorf (southwest of Schoneberg), and a large swath of land to the southeast

Canals

-A canal ran from the eastern portion of the Spree River due west and then northwest to the western portion of the river near Charlottenburg.

-Another canal ran north from the western portion of the Spree River, then northwest between Moabit and Wedding.

-A third canal starts and ends off the map to the south.

Railroads ran in all directions:

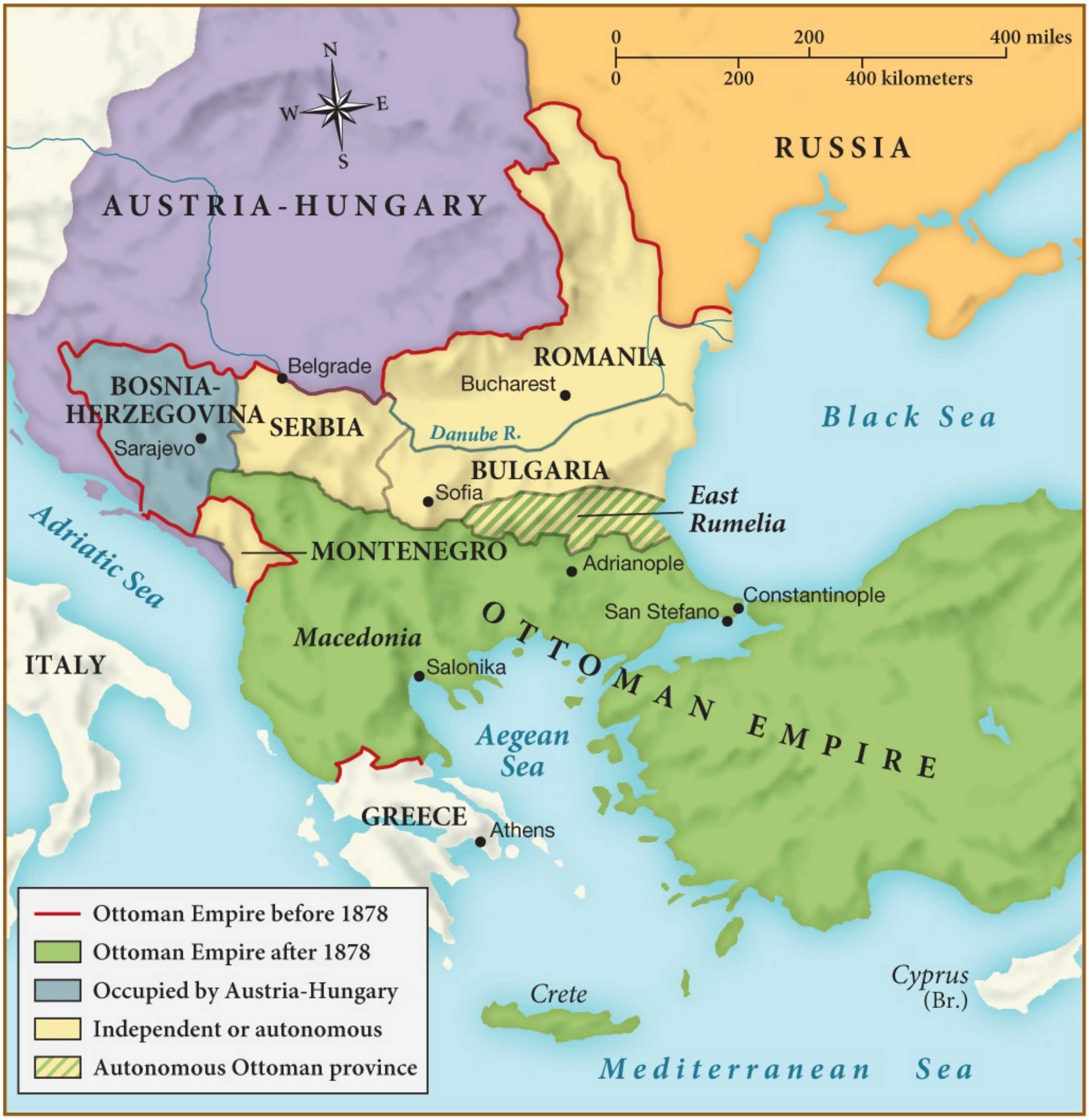
-East-west to the north and south of Berlin, with north-south lines ending at these railroads

-North-south into Berlin and then east-west along the 1870 southern border of Berlin

-East-west, following the Spree River, then southwest between Charlottenburg and Schoneberg

Return to Map 23.3 Expansion of Berlin to 1914

Extended description for Map 23.4 The Balkans, c. 1878



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The key for this map is as follows:

Ottoman Empire before 1878

-Turkey

-Macedonia

Occupied by Empire after 1878

-Bosnia-Herzegovina

Independent or autonomous

-Romania

-Bulgaria

-Serbia

-Montenegro

-Greece

-Italy

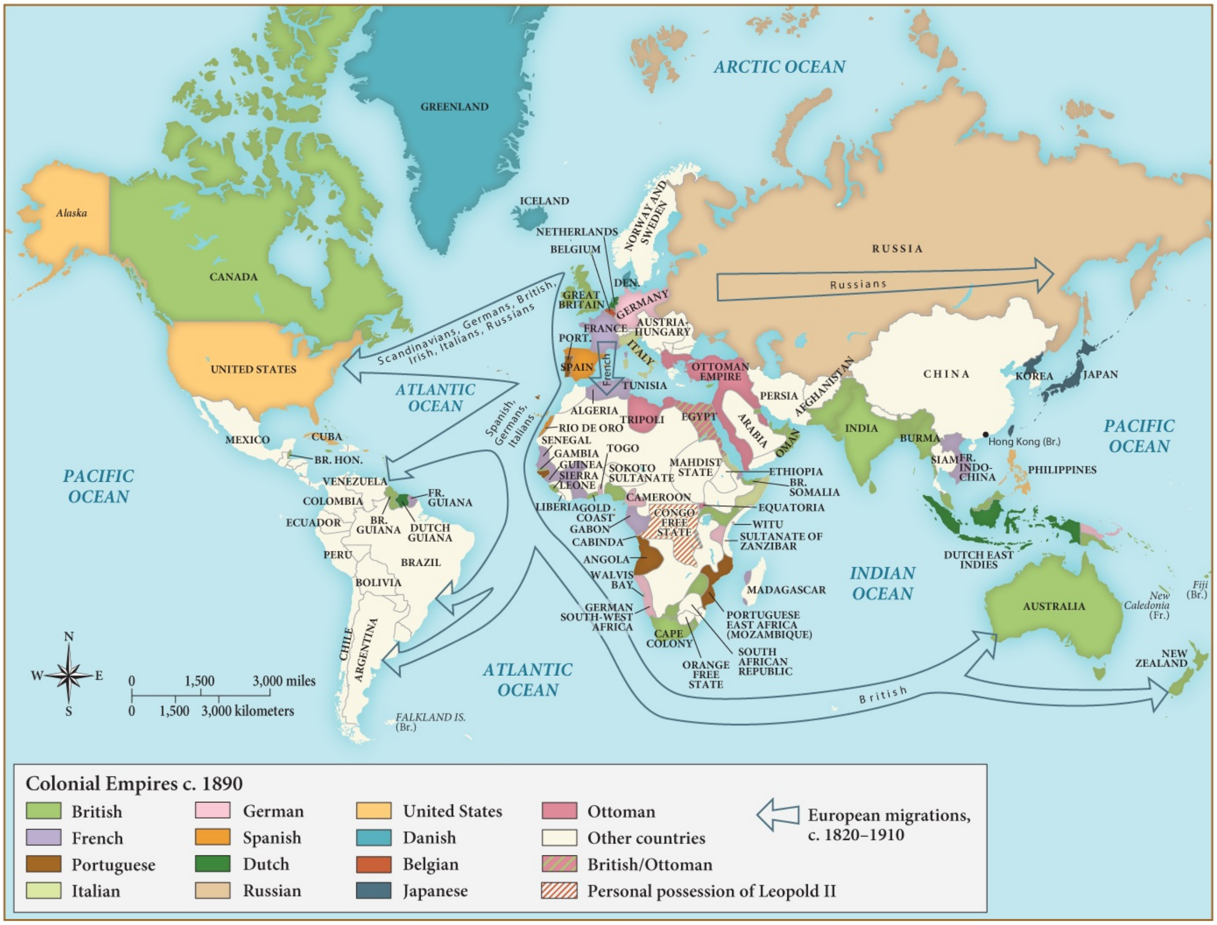
Autonomous Ottoman province

-East Rumelia (south of Bulgaria and north of Macedonia, on the Black Sea)

Austria-Hungary is shown to the northwest in a medium shade of blue, and Russia is to the northeast.

Return to Map 23.4 The Balkans, c. 1878

Extended description for Mapping The West: The West and the World, c. 1890



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The map key is as follows:

British

-Great Britain

-Canada

-British Honduras

-British Guiana

-Falkland Islands

-Gambia (Africa)

-Sierra Leone (Africa)

-Gold Coast (Africa)

-Togo

-Cape Colony

-British Somalia

-Oman

-India

-Burma

-Australia

-New Zealand

-Fiji

-Hong Kong

French

-France

-French Guiana

-Algeria

-Tunisia

-Senegal

-Gabon

-Madagascar (northwest and southwest corners of the island)

-French Indochina

-New Caledonia

Portuguese

-Portugal

-Angola

-Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique)

Italian

-Italy

-Italian Somaliland

German

-Germany

-German South-West Africa

-German East Africa

Spanish

-Spain

-Rio de Oro (Africa)

Dutch

-The Netherlands

-Dutch Guiana (South America)

-Dutch East Indies

Russian

-Russia

-Finland

Danish

-Denmark

-Greenland

-Iceland

United States

-Alaska

Belgian

-Belgium

Personal possession of Leopold II

-Congo Free State (Africa)

Japanese

-Japan

-Korea

Ottoman Empire

-Turkey

-Balkans

-Macedonia

-Arabia (west coast, north coast, and east coast south to Oman)

-Tripoli

Other countries

-Mexico

-Central America

-Venezuela

-Colombia

-Ecuador

-Brazil

-Peru

-Bolivia

-Chile

-Argentina

-Sokoto Sultanate (Africa)

-Madagascar (with the exception of the northwest and southwest corners)

-Orange Free State (Africa)

-South African Republic

-Mahdist State (Africa)

-Ethiopia (Africa)

-Arabia

-Persia

-Afghanistan

-China

-Siam

Large blue arrows show the paths of European migrations, c. 1820–1910

-Europe to North America

-Scandavians, Germans, British, Irish, Italians, Russians

-Europe to South America (north coast, Brazil, and Argentina)

-Spanish, Germans, Italians

-Europe around Africa to the Pacific

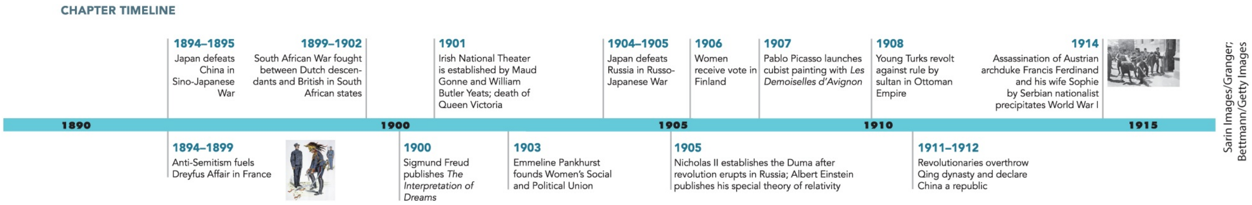
-British (Australia and New Zealand)

-French went south to North Africa (Tunisia and Algeria)

-Russians migrated east across the entire continent of Asia, with Persia, Afghanistan, India, China, and Korea to the south.

Return to Mapping The West: The West and the World, c. 1890

Extended description for a timeline of events between 1890 and 1915


CHAPTER TIMELINE
1894–1895
Japan defeats China in Sino-Japanese War
1899–1902
South African War fought between Dutch descendants and British in South African states
1901
Irish National Theater is established by Maud Gonne and William Butler Yeats; death of Queen Victoria
1904–1905
Japan defeats Russia in Russo-Japanese War
1906
Women receive vote in Finland
1907
Pablo Picasso launches cubist painting with *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*
1908
Young Turks revolt against rule by sultan in Ottoman Empire
1914
Assassination of Austrian archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife Sophie by Serbian nationalist precipitates World War I
1890
1900
1905
1910
1915
1894–1899
Anti-Semitism fuels Dreyfus Affair in France
1900
Sigmund Freud publishes *The Interpretation of Dreams*
1903
Emmeline Pankhurst founds Women's Social and Political Union
1905
Nicholas II establishes the Duma after revolution erupts in Russia; Albert Einstein publishes his special theory of relativity
1911–1912
Revolutionaries overthrow Qing dynasty and declare China a republic

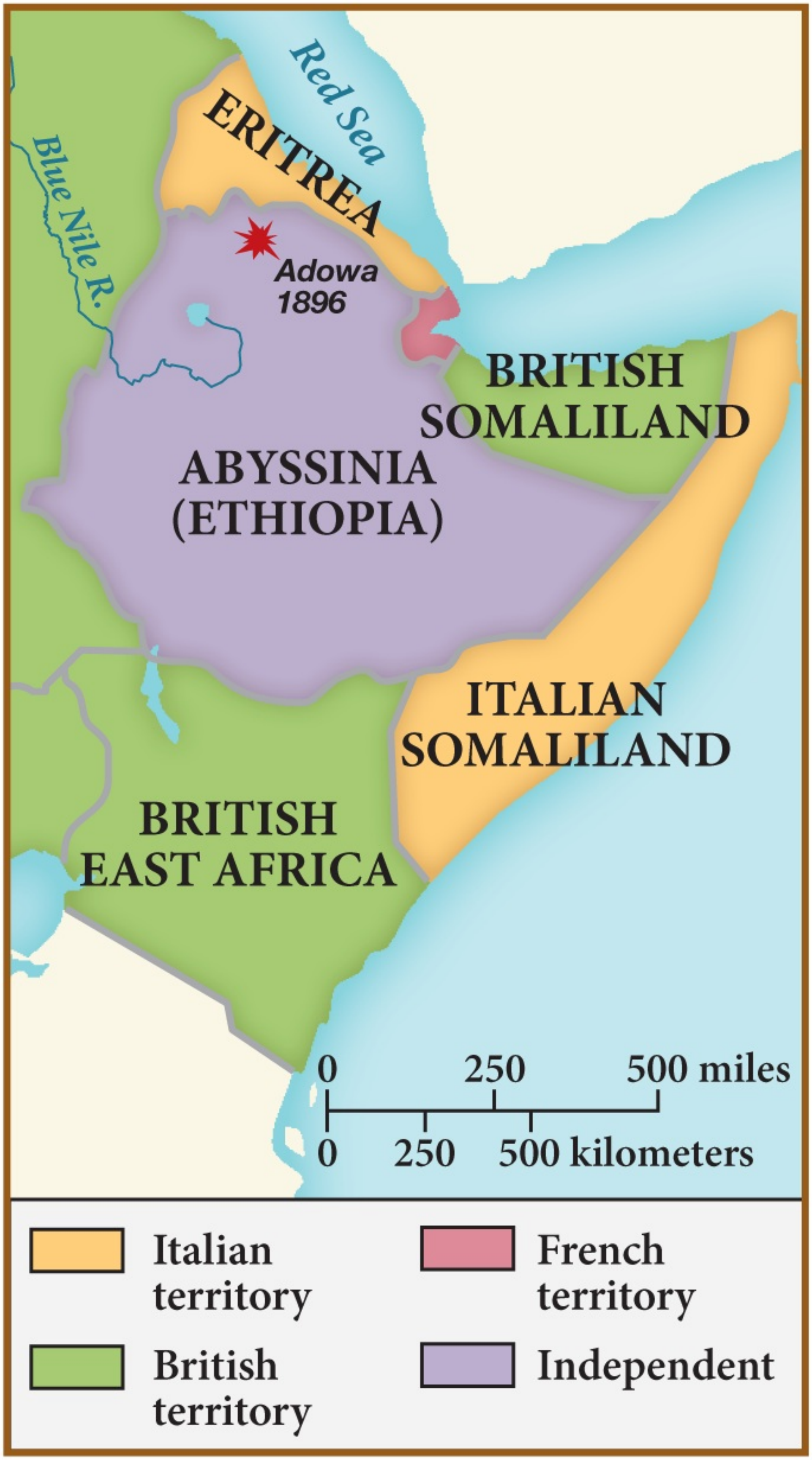
Sarin Images/Granger; Bettmann/Getty Images

The timeline events are as follows.

1894 and 1895: Japan defeats China in Sino-Japanese War. 1894 through 1899: Anti-Semitism fuels Dreyfus Affair in France. 1899 through 1902: South African War fought between Dutch descendants and British in South African states. 1900: Sigmund Freud publishes italic The Interpretation of Dreams end italic. 1901: Irish National Theater is established by Maud Gonne and William Butler Yeats; death of Queen Victoria. 1903: Emmeline Pankhurst founds Women's Social and Political Union. 1904 and 1905: Japan defeats Russia in Russo-Japanese War. 1905: Nicholas Second establishes the Duma after revolution erupts in Russia; Albert Einstein publishes his special theory of relativity. 1906: Women receive vote in Finland. 1907: Pablo Picasso launches cubist painting with italic Les Demoiselles d'Avignon end italic. 1908: Young Turks revolt against rule by sultan in Ottoman Empire. 1911 and 1912: Revolutionaries overthrow Qing dynasty and declare China a republic. 1914: Assassination of Austrian archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife Sophie by Serbian nationalist precipitates World War One.

Return to a timeline of events between 1890 and 1915

Extended description for The Struggle for Ethiopia, 1896



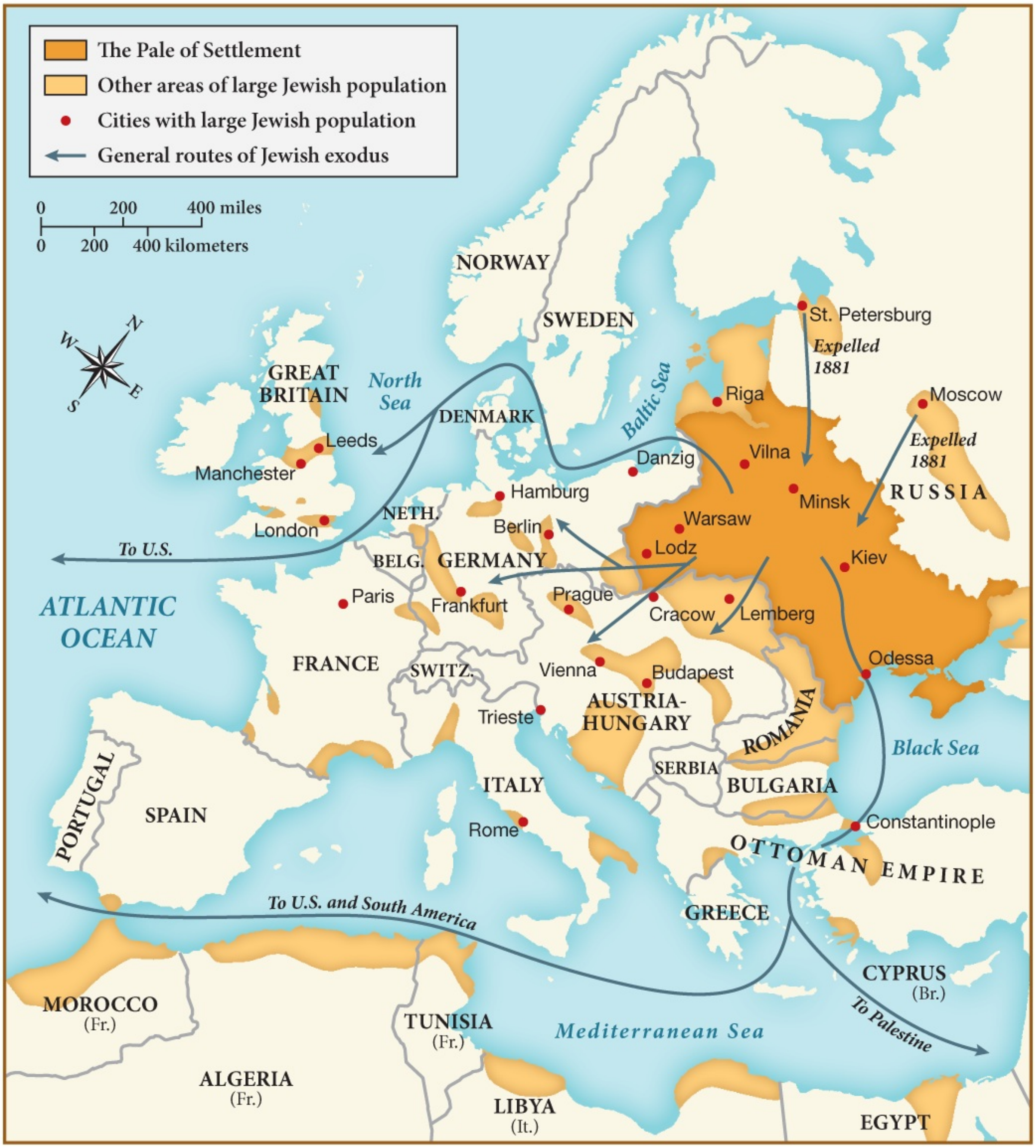
Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

Ethiopia (formerly Abyssinia) an independent land was surrounded by the following: British East Africa in the west and south, Italian Somaliland in the south East, British Somaliland in the north East, and Eritrea (Italian territory) in the north. A piece of land belonging to the French was between Eritrea and British Somaliland, to the north East of Abyssinia.

Return to The Struggle for Ethiopia, 1896

Extended description for Map 24.1 Jewish Migrations in the Late Nineteenth Century



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

The Pale of Settlement extends south from the Black Sea northwest to the Baltic Sea. On the western border were Romania, Austria-Hungary, and Germany. To the east were the cities of Kiev, Minsk, and Vilna.

Other areas of large Jewish populations included the following, including cities with large Jewish populations:

-St. Petersburg (expelled in 1881)

-Moscow (expelled in 1881)

-The area surrounding Riga, north to the Baltic Sea

-Eastern Austria-Hungary (Cracow and Lemberg)

-Southern and eastern Romania

-Along the border of southern Bulgaria

-Northeast of Greece

-Northeast and northwest around Budapest

-Northwest and east around Vienna

-Northwest and southeast around Prague

-North and south around Berlin; an area west of Berlin

-Southwest of Hamburg

-A corridor northwest of Frankfurt into southern Netherlands; an area east of Frankfurt

-Ottoman Empire

-South of Constantinople

-South western coast

-The heel of Italy

-Rome

-Southern coast of France

-Southwestern corner of France

-An area in between Paris and Frankfurt, straddling Germany and France

-Southern Spain around Gibraltar

-In areas surrounding London, Manchester, Leeds in Great Britain

The routes Jewish populations took to escape persecution are indicated on the map, emanating from The Pale of Settlement:

-St. Petersburg to Minsk

-Moscow to Kiev

-Kiev south to the Ottoman Empire, then west to the United States and South America, or east to Palestine

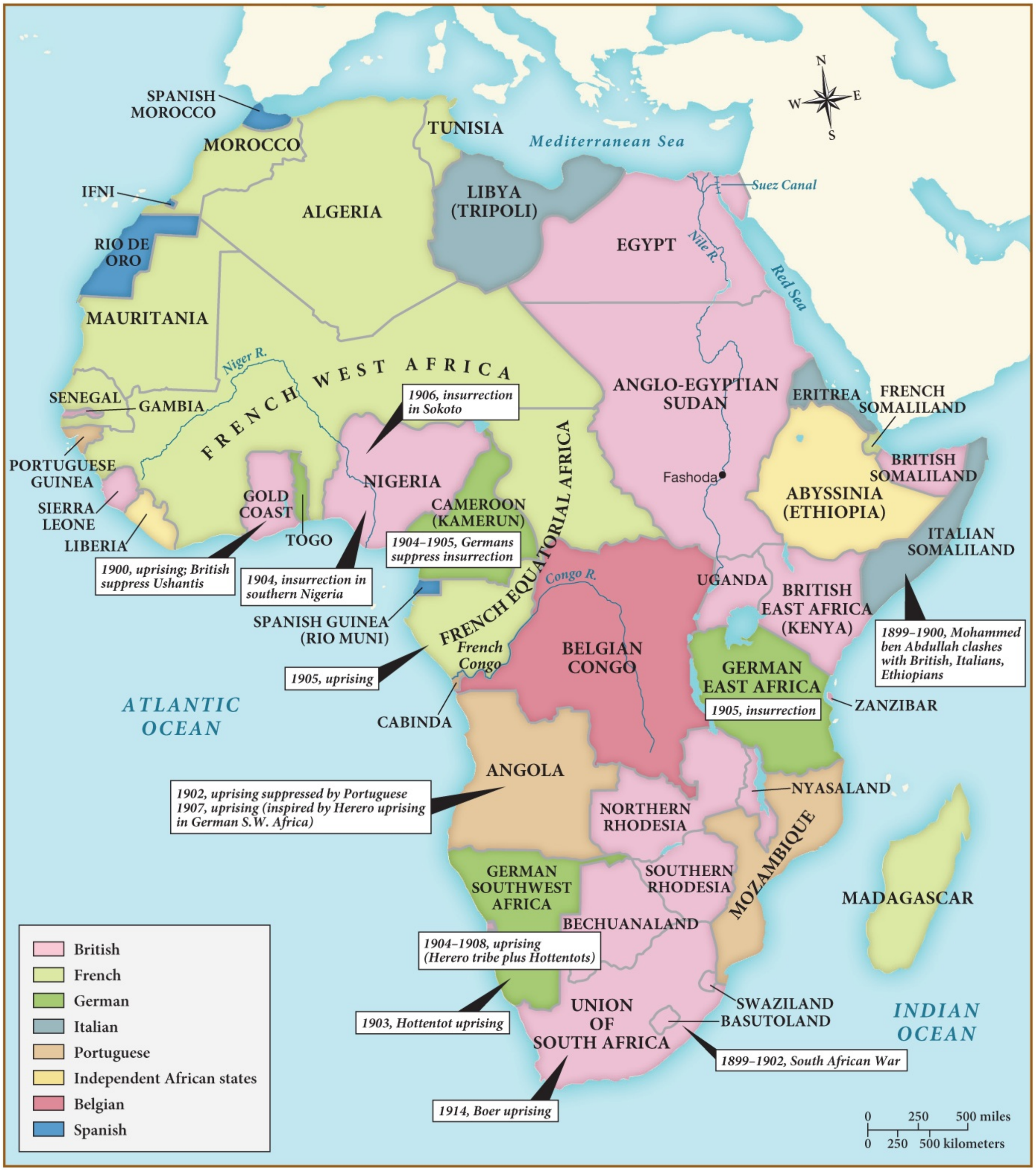
-East to south of Lekberg

-South of Warsaw, west to Austria-Hungary, central Germany, and near Berlin

-Northwest to Danzig, through the Baltic Sea, North Sea to Great Britain, or continuing west to the United States

Return to Map 24.1 Jewish Migrations in the Late Nineteenth Century

Extended description for Map 24.2 Africa in 1914



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

British

-Egypt

-Anglo-Egyptian Sudan

-British Somaliland

-Sierra Leone

-Gambia

-Gold Coast (1900, uprising; British suppress Ushantis)

-Nigeria (1904, insurrection in southern Nigeria)

-Uganda

-British East Africa (Kenya)

-Northern Rhodesia

-Southern Rhodesia

-Nyasaland

-Bechuanaland

-Union of South Africa (1914, Boer uprising; 1899–1902, South African War)

-Swaziland

French

-Morocco

-Algeria

-Tunisia

-Mauritania

-French West Africa

-Senegal

-French West Africa

-French Equatorial Africa (1905, uprising)

-French Somaliland

-Madagascar

German

-Togo

-Cameroon (Kamerun) - 1904–1905, Germans suppress insurrection

-German Southwest Africa (1904–1908, uprising - Herero tribe plus

Hottentots; 1903, Hottentot uprising)

-German East Africa (1905, insurrection)

Italian

-Libya (Tripoli)

-Eritrea

-Italian Somaliland (1899–1900, Mohammed ben Abdullah clashes with British, Italians, Ethiopians)

Portugese

-Angola (1902, uprising suppressed by Portuguese; 1907, uprising inspired by Herero uprising in German SW Africa)

-Mozambique

-Cabinda

Independent African states

-Liberia

-Abyssinia (Ethiopia)

Belgian

-Belgian Congo

Spanish

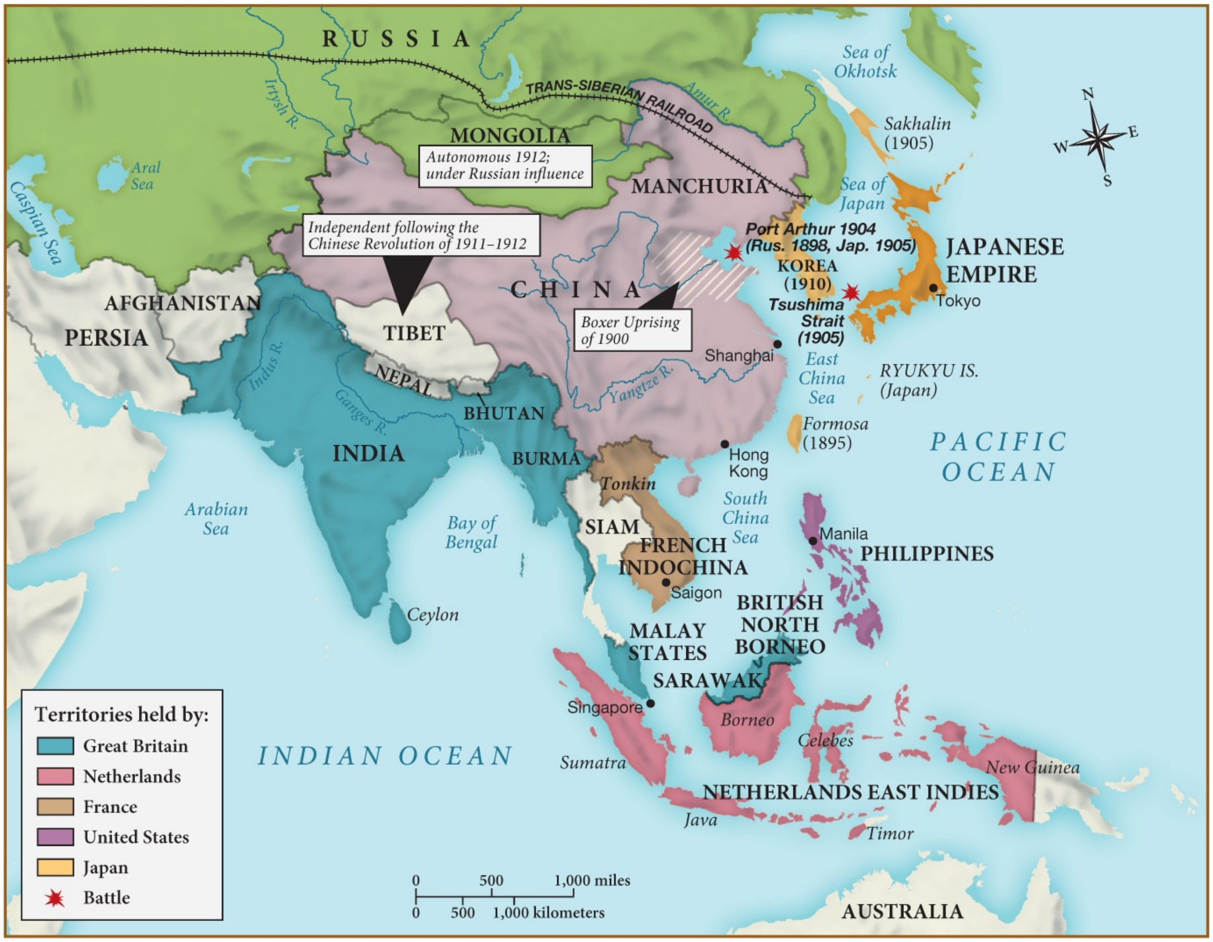
-Rio de Oro

-Ifni

-Spanish Guinea

Return to Map 24.2 Africa in 1914

Extended description for Map 24.3 Imperialism in Asia, 1894–1914



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

Territories were held by the following:

Great Britain

-India

-Bhutan

-Burma

-British North Borneo (in East Indies)

-Malay States

-Sarawak

Netherlands

-Netherlands East Indies

-Sumatra

-Java

-Borneo

-Celebes

-Timor

-Eastern New Guinea

France

-French Indochina

United States

-The Philippines

Japan

-Formosa (1895)

-Korea (1910)

-Sakhalin (1905)

Battles took place in the following areas:

-Port Arthur, east of Korea in Manchuria, 1898 (Russia), 1904, and 1905 (Japan)

-Tsushima Strait (1905) between Korea and Japan

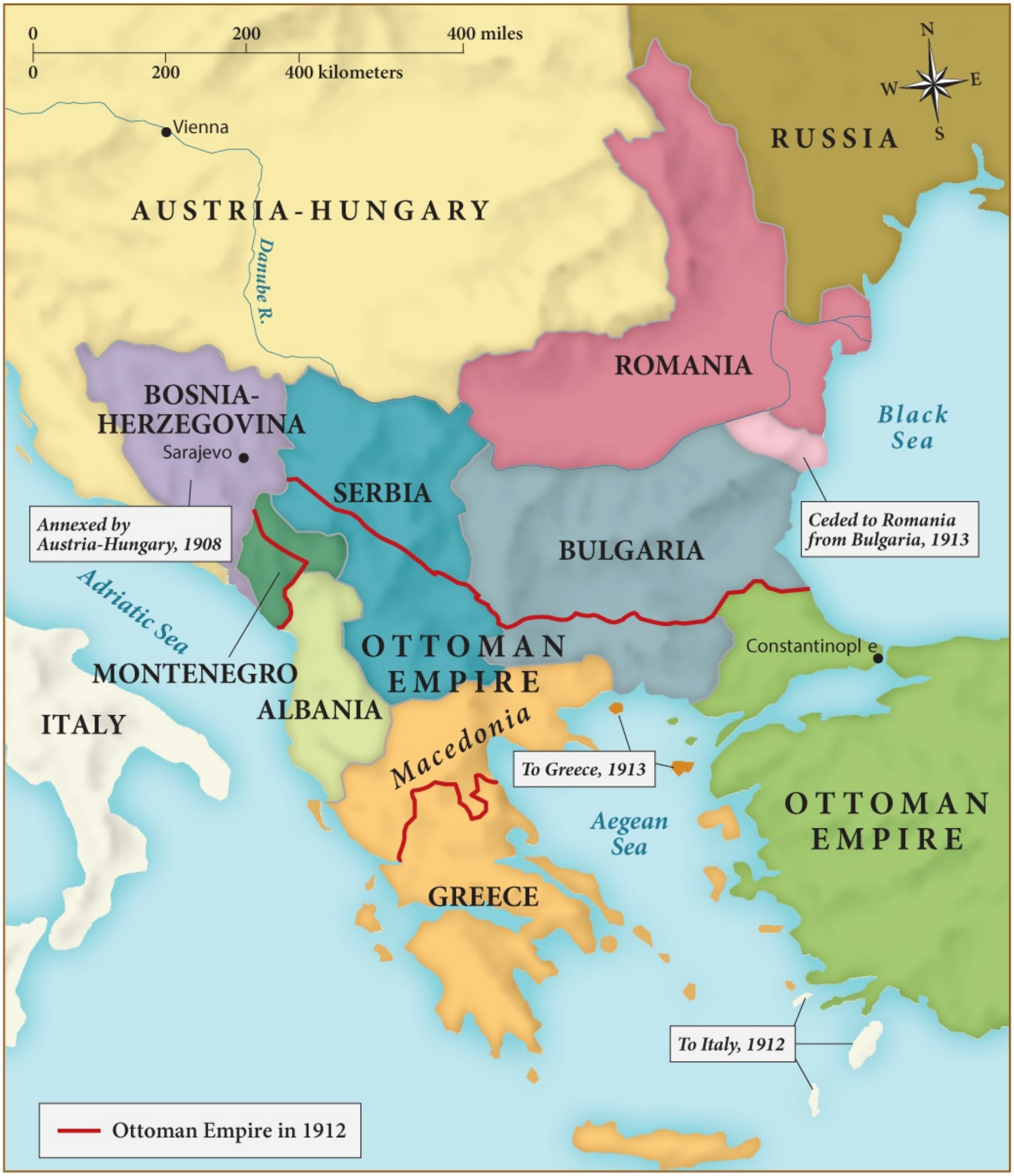
Tibet became independent following the Chinese Revolution of 1911–1912

Mongolia was autonomous after 1912, but was still under Russian influence.

The Boxer Rebellion took place in 1900 in eastern China, south of Manchuria.

Return to Map 24.3 Imperialism in Asia, 1894–1914

Extended description for Map 24.4 The Balkans, 1908–1914



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Balkan region was made up of the following countries:

-Greece/Macedonia was bordered to the north by Albania, Serbia, and Bulgaria (west to east).

-Albania on the west coast of the peninsula shared its southern border with Macedonia/Greece, its eastern border with Serbia, and its northern border with Montenegro.

-Montenegro north of Albania, shared its eastern border with Serbia and its northern border with Bosnia-Herzegovina.

-Bosnia-Herzegovina north of Montenegro, bordered by Austria-Hungary to the west and north.

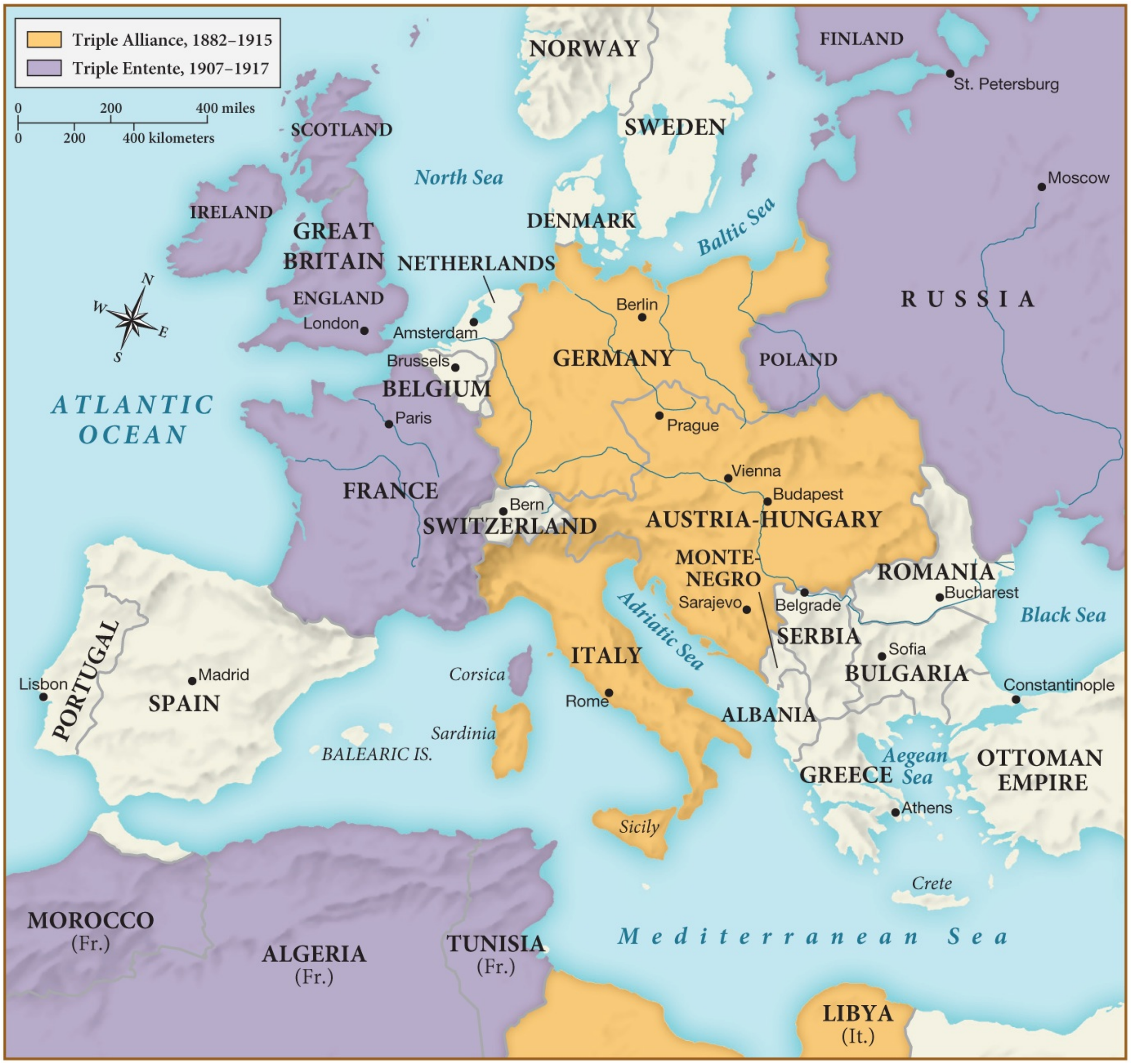
-Serbia north of Greece and Macedonia, with Albania, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Herzegovina to the west and Bulgaria to the east, and Austria-Hungary to the north.

-Bulgaria (gray with white dots), shared its northern border with Romania, its south eastern border with the Ottoman Empire, Macedonia to the south, and Serbia to the west.

-Romania (dark gray) shared its western border with Austria-Hungary and Russia, its southern border with Bulgaria, and its south western border with Serbia.

Return to Map 24.4 The Balkans, 1908–1914

Extended description for Mapping The West: Europe at the Outbreak of World War I, August 1914



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Triple Alliance consisted of the following countries:

-Germany

-Austria-Hungary

-Italy

-Sardinia

-Sicily

-Libya

The Triple Entente consisted of the following countries:

-Great Britain

-France

-Corsica

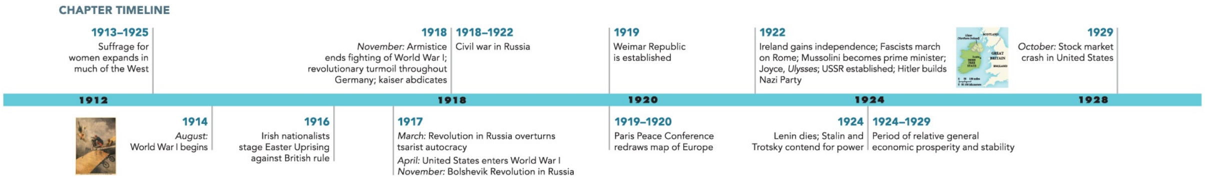
-Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia

-Russia/Poland/Finland

Portugal, Spain, Belgium, The Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Albania, Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, and the Ottoman Empire were not part of either alliance.

Return to Mapping The West: Europe at the Outbreak of World War I, August 1914

Extended description for a timeline of events between 1912 and 1928


CHAPTER TIMELINE
1913–1925
Suffrage for women expands in much of the West
1918
November: Armistice ends fighting of World War I; revolutionary turmoil throughout Germany; kaiser abdicates
1918–1922
Civil war in Russia
1919
Weimar Republic is established
1922
Ireland gains independence; Fascists march on Rome; Mussolini becomes prime minister; Joyce, *Ulysses*; USSR established; Hitler builds Nazi Party
1929
October: Stock market crash in United States
1912
1918
1920
1924
1928
1914
August: World War I begins
1916
Irish nationalists stage Easter Uprising against British rule
1917
March: Revolution in Russia overturns tsarist autocracy
April: United States enters World War I
November: Bolshevik Revolution in Russia
1919–1920
Paris Peace Conference redraws map of Europe
1924
Lenin dies; Stalin and Trotsky contend for power
1924–1929
Period of relative general economic prosperity and stability
SCOTLAND
GREAT BRITAIN
ENGLAND
IRISH FREE STATE

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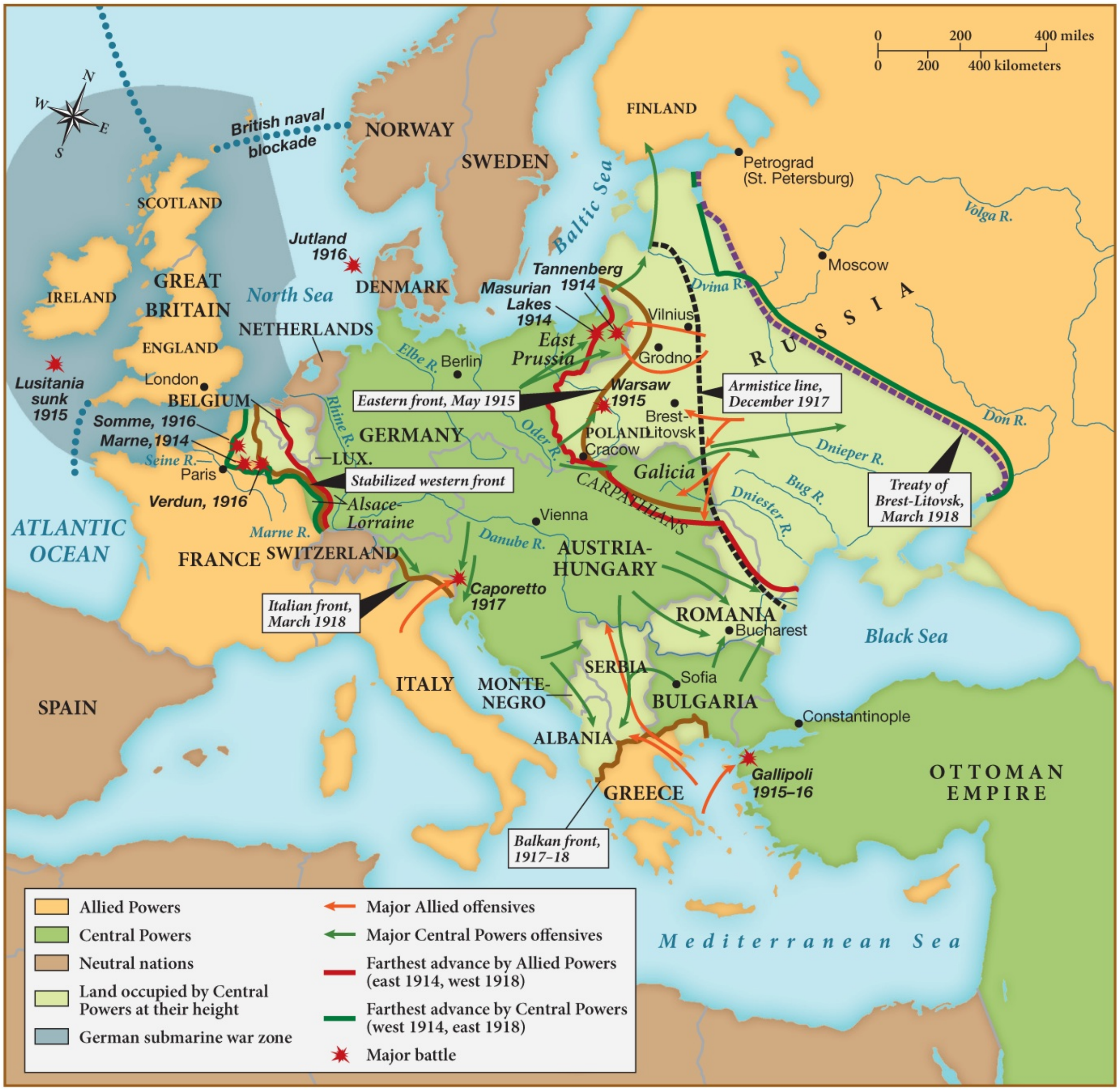
The timeline events are as follows.

1913 through 1925: Suffrage for women expands in much of the West. 1914: August: World War One begins. 1916: Irish nationalists stage Easter Uprising against British rule. 1917: March: Revolution in Russia overturns tsarists autocracy; April: United States enters World War One; November: Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. 1918: November: Armistice ends fighting of World War One; revolutionary turmoil throughout Germany; kaiser abdicates. 1918 through 1922: Civil war in Russia. 1919: Weimar Republic is established. 1922: Ireland gains independence; Fascists march on Rome; Mussolini becomes prime minister; Joyce, italic Ulysses end italic; USSR established; Hitler builds Nazi Party. 1919 through 1920: Paris Peace Conference redraws map of Europe. 1924: Lenin dies; Stalin and Trotsky contend for power. 1924 through 1929: Period of relative general economic prosperity and stability. 1929: October: Stock market crash in United States.

Return to a timeline of events between 1912 and 1928

Extended description for Map 25.1 The Fronts of World War I, 1914–1918



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

The following countries have allied powers:

-France

-Italy

-Greece

-Great Britain

The following countries have central powers:

-Germany

-Austria-Hungary

-Ottoman Empire

-Bulgaria

-Galicia (region)

The Neutral nations are as follows:

-Spain

-Netherlands

-Denmark

-Sweden

-Norway

Lands occupied by Central Powers at their height:

-Belgium

-Poland

-Romania

-Serbia

-Albania

-East into Russia, with the line going northwest/southeast from west of St. Petersburg, down in between the Dnieper and Don Rivers to the Caspian Sea. This line also served as the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, March of 1918.

German submarine war zone extended in all directions around Great Britain, from the western coast of France to the Netherlands in the English Channel and North Sea.

Major Allied offensives are as follows:

-Tannenberg (1914): Russian forces in Vilnius and Grodno drove west to this city

-Brest-Litovsk: Russian forces drove west into this city, and also drove southwest

-Russian forces drove southwest into Galicia

-Greek forces drove into northern and southern Serbia

-Forces drove east from Greece to Gallipoli in the Ottoman Empire

-Italian forces drove northeast to Caporetto, Austria-Hungary in 1917

Major Central Powers offensives are as follows:

-Forces converged on Caporetto in Austria-Hungary from the northwest and north

-Forces pushed east from Montenegro, south into Albania and northeast into Serbia

-Forces pushed south from Austria-Hungary into southern Serbia, western Bulgaria, and into Romania (three separate forces entered Romania)

-Germany pushed east into East Prussia and drove north into Finland

-Germany pushed east from the Oder River northeast and southeast of Cracow

-Forces in Galicia pushed east into Russia, first to the Bug River, and then to the Dnieper River

Major battles on the map:

-Sinking of the Lusitania off the western coast of England

-Jutland off the west coast of Denmark

-Marne, 1914

-Somme, 1916

-Verdun, 1916

-Caporetto, 1917

-Masurian Lakes, 1914

-Tannenberg, 1914

-Warsaw, 1915

-Gallipoli, 1915–1916

-Forces in Bulgaria pushed northeast into Romania

The following represent the farthest advance by Central Powers:

-West, 1914: Somme in the north, to Paris, around Belgium, and southeast to Alsace-Lorraine

-East, 1918: Going northwest/southeast from west of St. Petersburg, down in between the Dnieper and Don Rivers to the Caspian Sea. This line also served as the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, March of 1918.

The following represent the farthest advance by the Allied Powers:

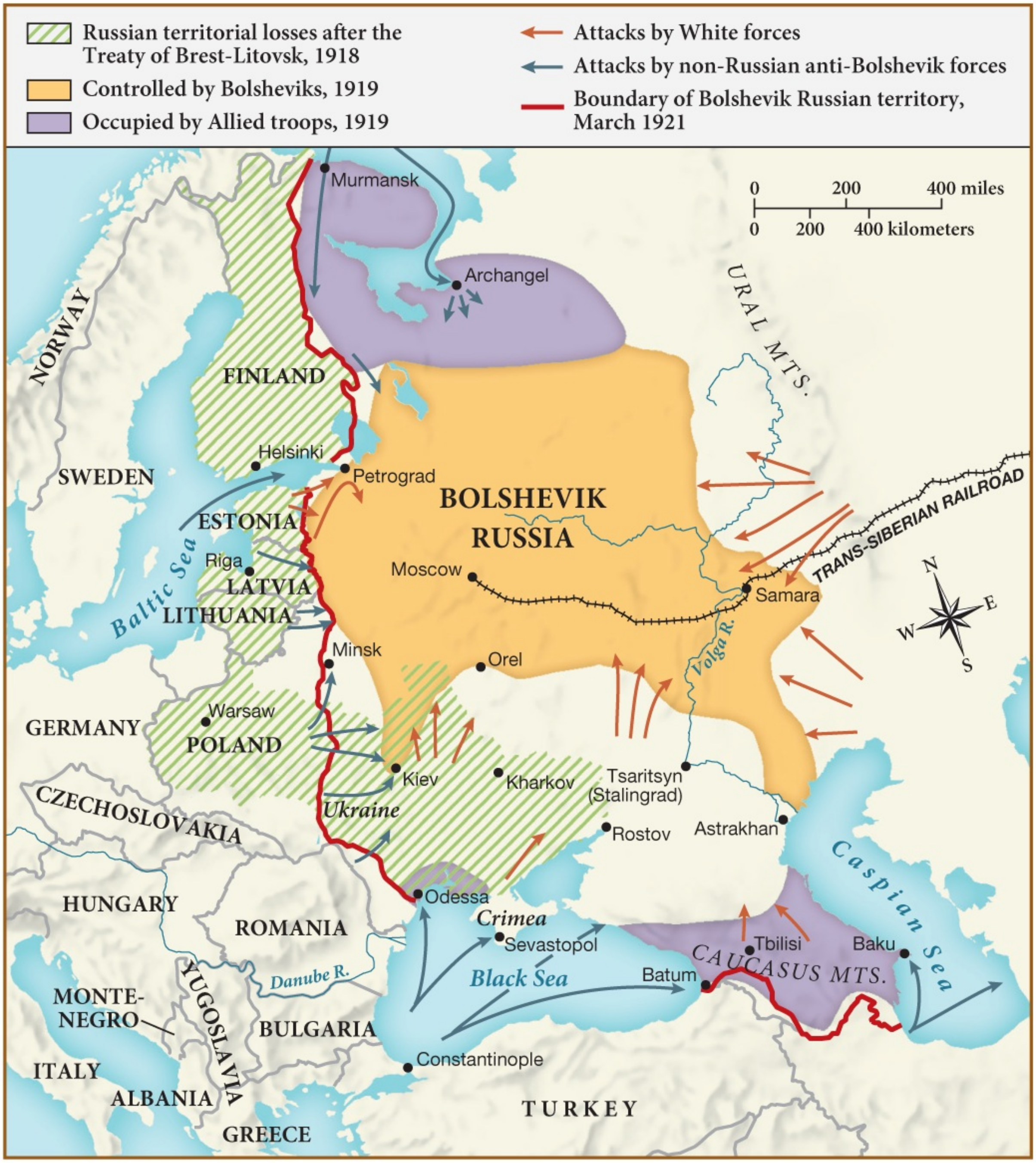
-East, 1914: Northeast of Bucharest on the Black Sea, extending northwest into the Carpathians, going around Poland, northeast into East Prussia, then north to the Baltic Sea

-West, 1918: The line drove south through Belgium and into Alsace-Lorraine.

A line on the map shows the Balkan Front, 1917–1918, going from the northwest coast of Greece, and extending northeast into Bulgaria, then south to the Aegean Sea. There is also the Italian front, 1918, that extended along northeastern Italian border with Austria-Hungary and followed a similar path as the Allied and Central fronts in the west. The Eastern front, May 1915, also followed a white line from the Carpathian Mountains in the south, northwest toward the Oder River, around Poland, north to Warsaw, winding northeast/northwest to the Baltic Sea.

Return to Map 25.1 The Fronts of World War I, 1914–1918

Extended description for Map 25.2 The Russian Civil War, 1917–1922



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

Russian territorial losses after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, 1918:

-Finland

-Estonia

-Latvia

-Lithuania

-Poland

-Ukraine

Controlled by the Bolsheviks, 1919

-Western border: All the areas lost after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

-Eastern border: From the Caspian Sea north to Samara

-Southern border: From the Caspian Sea west to Orel, then south to Kiev

-Northern border: Northwest of Petrograd and points east

Occupied by Allied troops, 1919

-The area east of Finland, north to Murmansk, and west of Archangel

-The Caucasus Mountains east of the Caspian Sea to the Black Sea

The following areas show attacks by non-Russian, anti-Bolshevik forces

-South to Murmansk and Archangel, northeast and east of Finland

-Baltic Sea northeast

-Latvia, west

-Poland, north, east (twice)

-Ukraine, east then northeast

-Romania, northeast to Ukraine

-Black Sea, north to Odessa, northeast to Sevastopol on Crimea

-Black Sea, northeast to the Caucasus Mountains and also to Batum

-Caspian Sea, north to Baku and east

The following areas show attacks by White forces:

-Estonia, northeast and east, north to Petrograd, then south

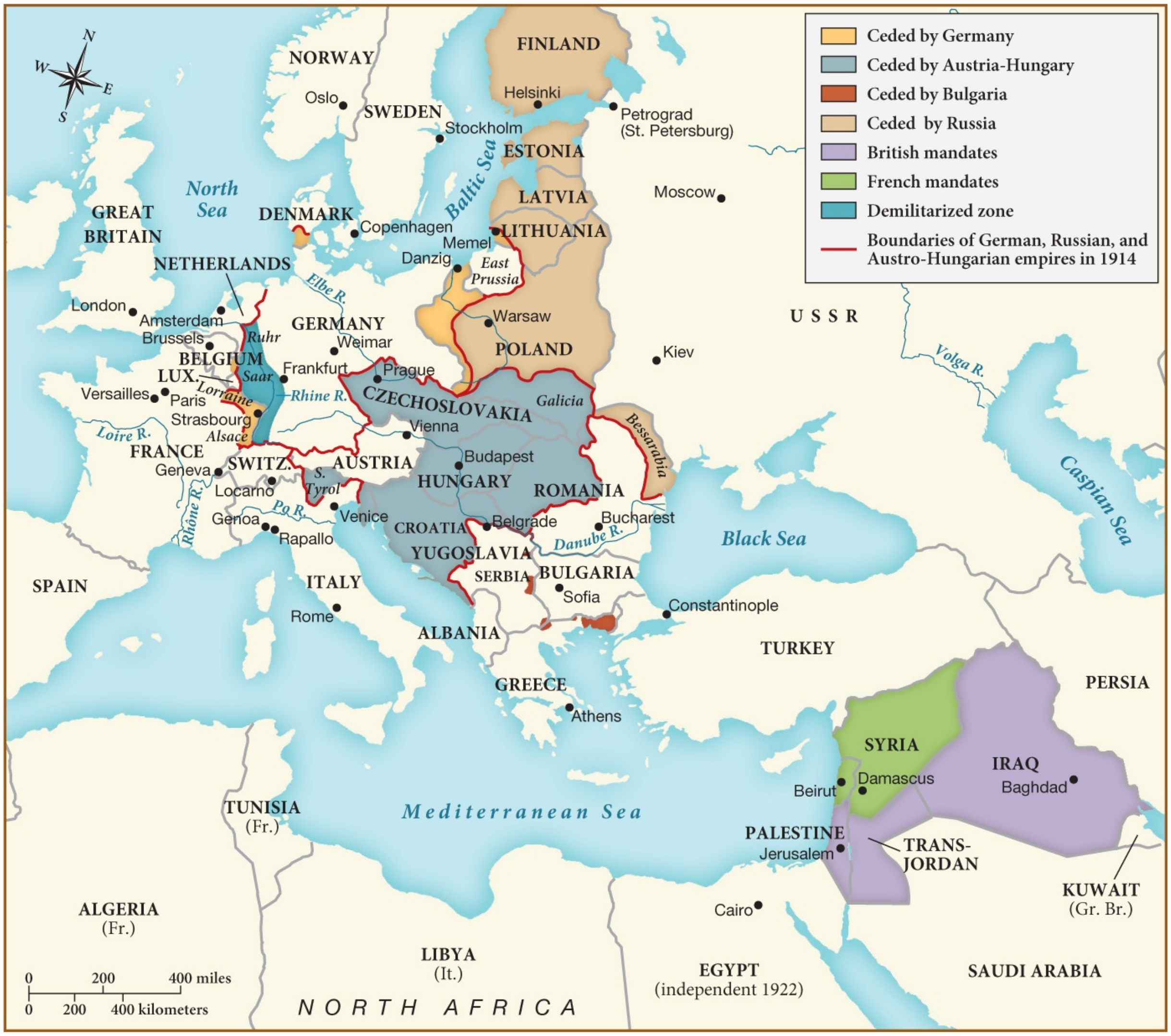
-Ukraine, east of Kiev, north (three-pronged attack)

-West of Tsaritsyn (Stalingrad), three-pronged attack north

-From the east, a five-pronged attack northwest, west, and southwest

Return to Map 25.2 The Russian Civil War, 1917–1922

Extended description for Map 25.3 Europe and the Middle East after the Peace Settlements of 1919–1920



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The data from the map are as follows.

Areas ceded by Germany are:

-Western Germany on the border with Poland (to Poland)

-The southern portion of Denmark (to Denmark)

-Alsace and Lorraine in southwest Germany (to France)

Areas ceded by Austria-Hungary include

-Czechoslovakia

-Hungary

-Budapest

-Croatia

-S. Tyrol

-Galacia (region)

-Northern Yugoslavia

-Western Romania

Areas ceded by Bulgaria are:

-The north eastern corridor of Macedonia

-The south western corner shared with Macedonia

-Along the eastern border with Serbia

Areas ceded by Russia (medium blue) are:

-Poland

-Bessarabia

-Lithuania

-Latvia

-Estonia

-Finland

British mandates (lightest blue) include

-Iraq

-Palestine

-Trans-Jordan

Demilitarized zone (medium gray) include

-Along the western German border with France, including the Ruhr and Saar valleys

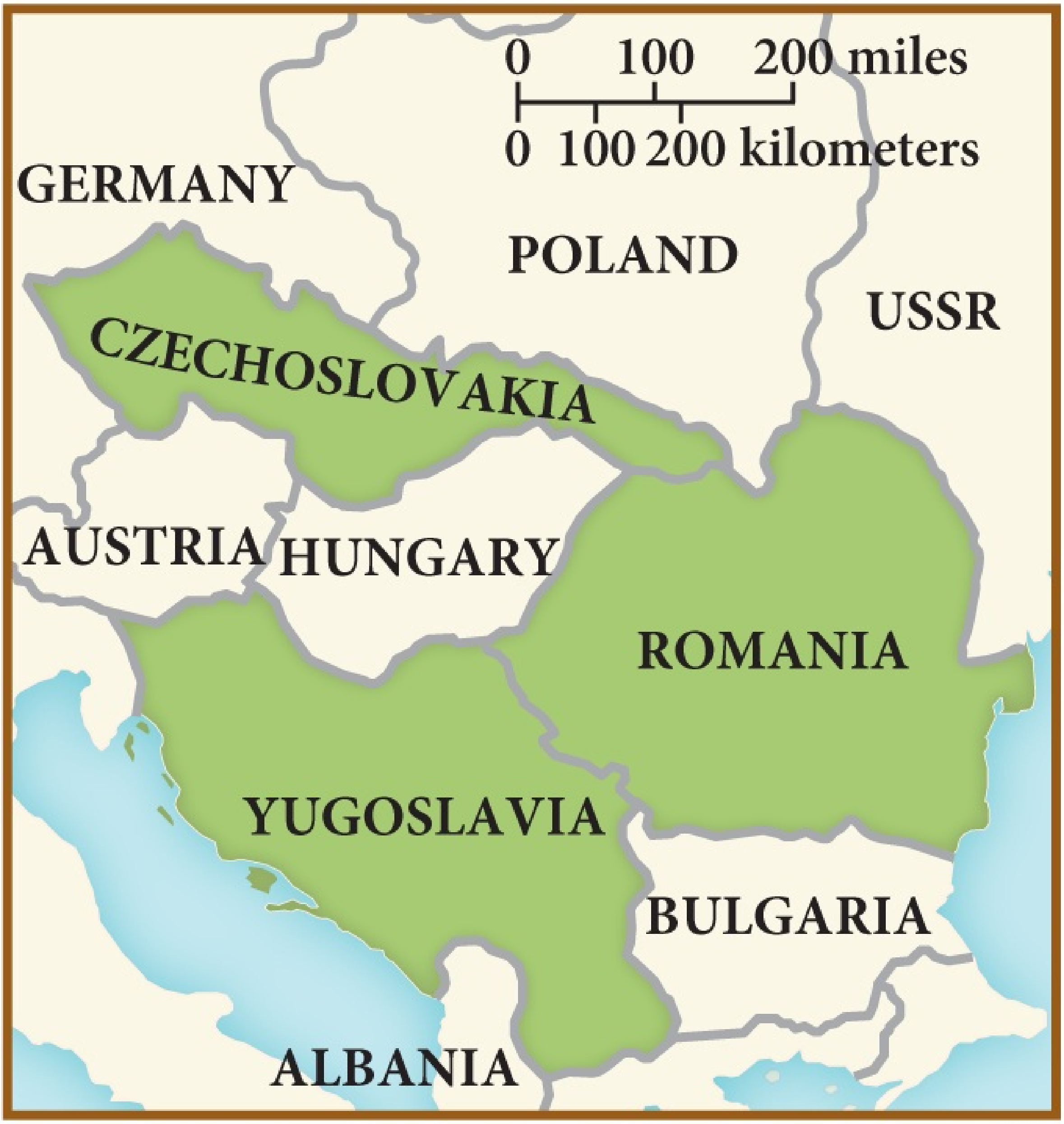
French mandates include

-Syria

-Lebanon

Return to Map 25.3 Europe and the Middle East after the Peace Settlements of 1919–1920

Extended description for The Little Entente



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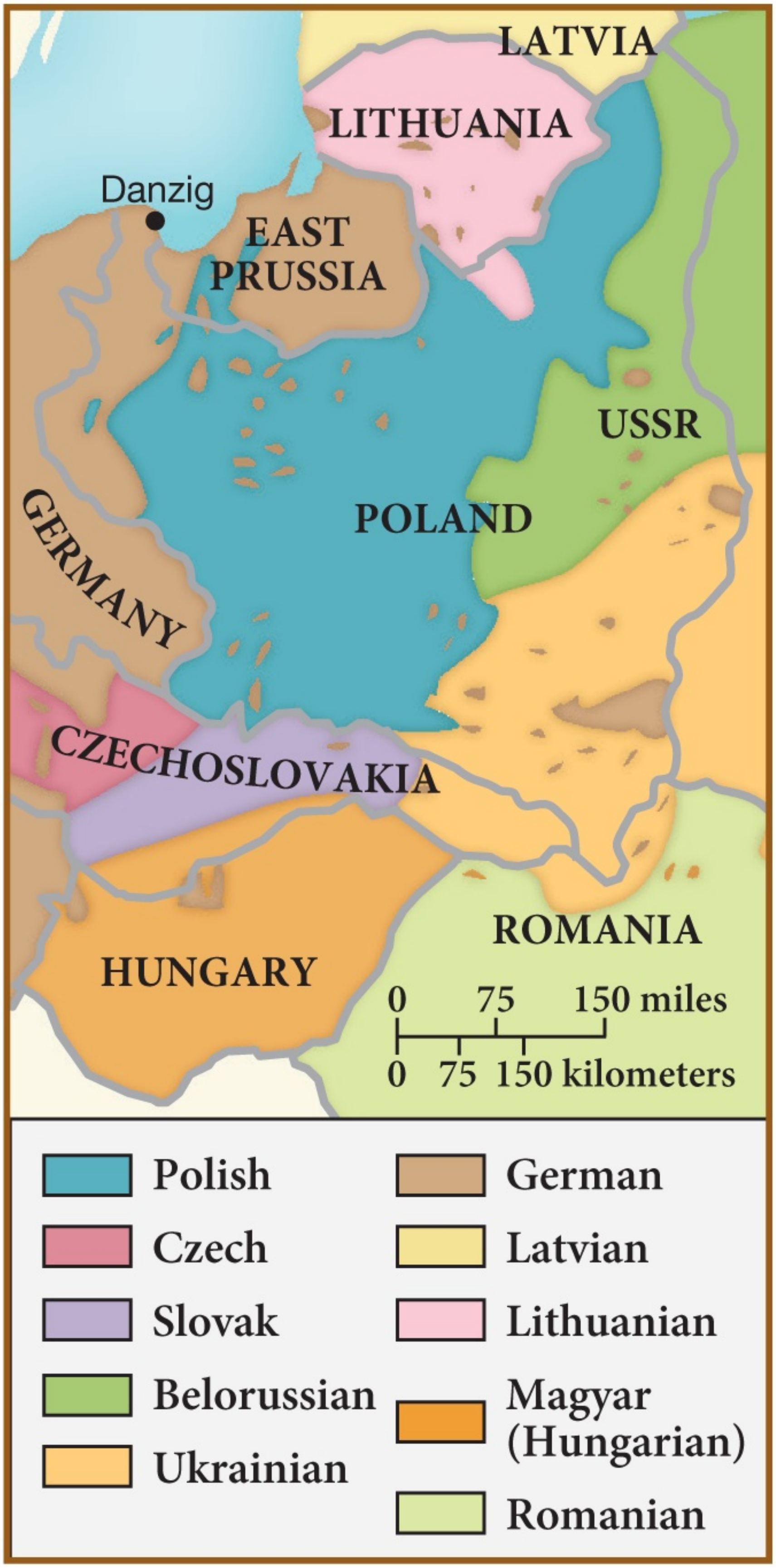
The countries marked include: Germany, Poland, and USSR in the north, Czechoslovakia to the south of Germany and Poland, Austria and Hungary to the south of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia to the south of Austria and Hungary, Albania to the south of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria to the south east of Yugoslavia, and Romania between USSR and Bulgaria.

Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia together formed the Little Entente.

Return to The Little Entente

Extended description for National Minorities in Postwar Poland



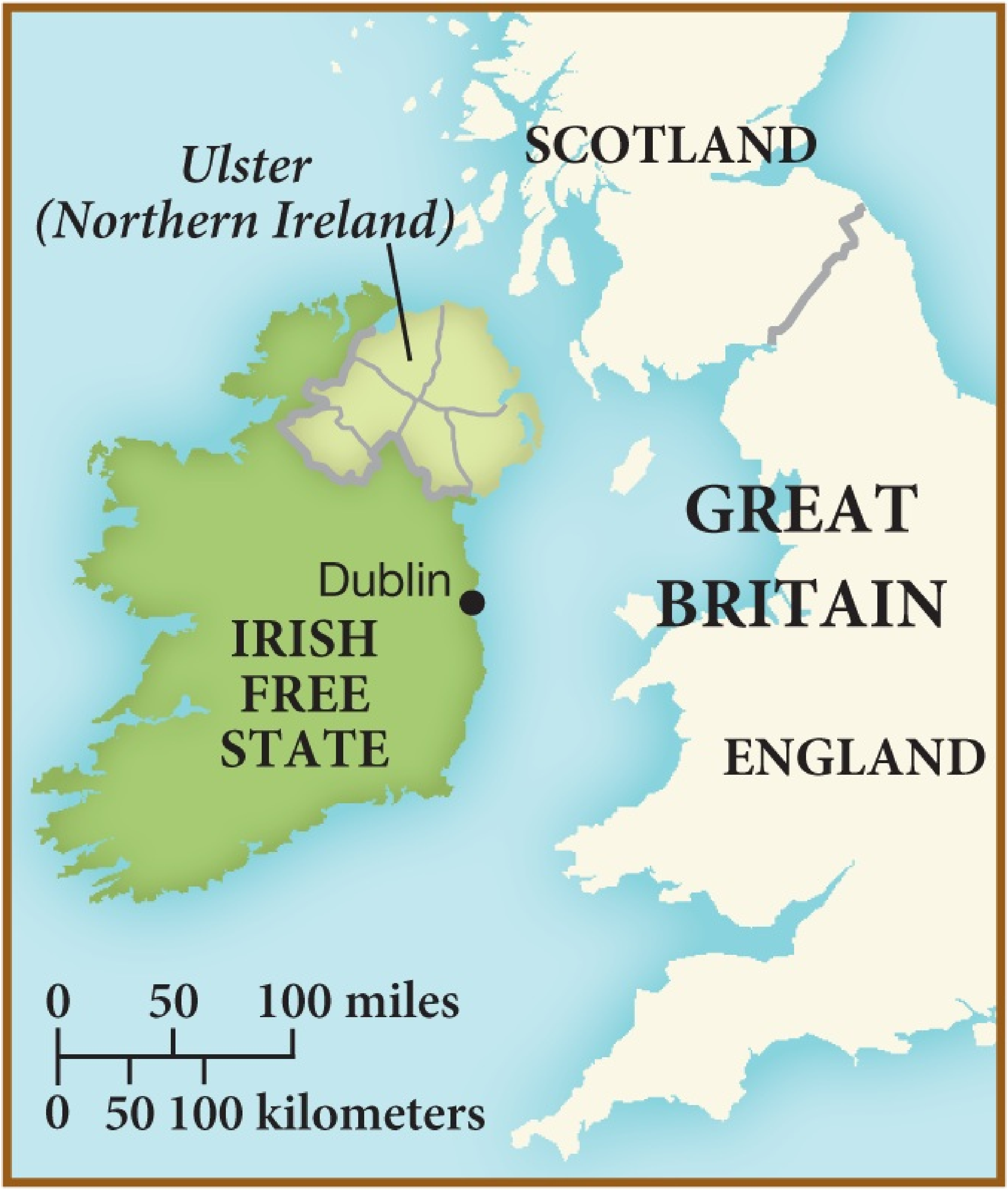
Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

The countries marked include: East Prussia, Lithuania, and Latvia in the north, Germany, Poland, and USSR in the center, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Romania in the south. The Hungarians held almost all of their land and a portion of southern Czechoslovakia under their reign, while minor portions were under German control. Romania held on to most parts of its land, losing a minor piece of land to the Ukrainians. Czechs held a portion of the western Czechoslovakia, and the Slovaks held a portion between the Czech land and the Hungarian controlled land. Another portion of their land in the west was controlled by Germany and a portion in the east was controlled by Ukraine. Germany held all its land and a portion of western Poland, and majority of East Prussia, and tiny pieces of land through Poland and Lithuania. Lithuanians held on to most part of their land, and a minor portion of Poland. Latvia held on to all its land. The Polish held on to more than half their land while the rest was shared between USSR, Ukraine, and Germany, where Germany held the least share.

Return to National Minorities in Postwar Poland

Extended description for The Irish Free State and Ulster, 1921



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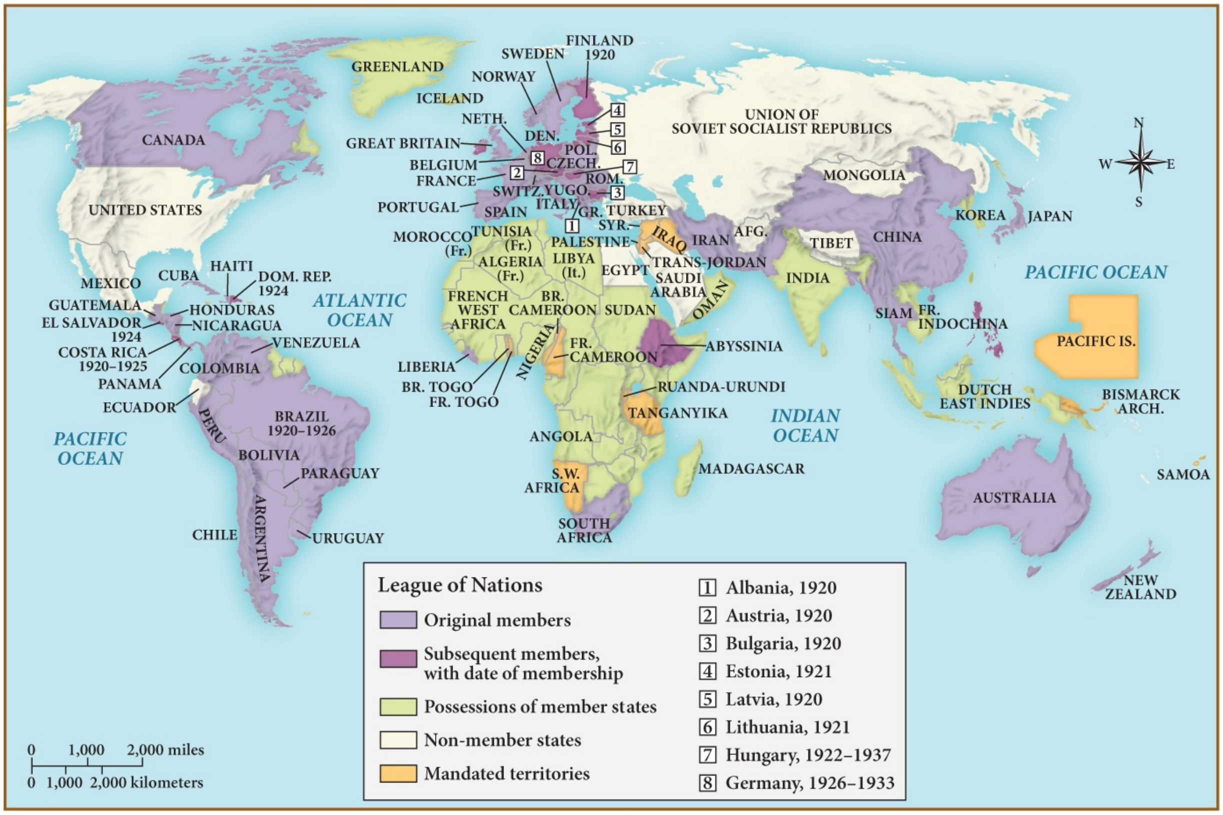
The map shows Ulster (Northern Ireland) in the northwest corner of

Ireland, divided into five counties. The rest of the island is the Irish Free State, with the city of Dublin on the central east coast. On the island of Great Britain, Scotland is in the northernmost quarter with England to the south.

Return to The Irish Free State and Ulster, 1921

Extended description for Mapping The West: Europe and the World in 1929



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The original members in the League of Nations are as follows:

-Canada

-Guatemala

-El Salvador (1924)

-Costa Rica (1920–1925)

-Panama

-Cuba

-Haiti

-Honduras

-Nicaragua

-Venezuela

-Colombia

-Ecuador

-Peru

-Brazil (1920–1926)

-Bolivia

-Paraguay

-Chile

-Argentina

-Uruguay

-Libya

- Sweden
- Finland
- Great Britain
- Belgium
- France
- Switzerland
- Portugal
- Spain
- Italy
- South Africa
- Iran
- China
- Siam
- Japan

-Australia

-New Zealand

The subsequent members with the date of membership are as follows:

-Finland (1920)

-Poland

-Czechoslovakia

-Romania

-Yugoslavia

-Greece

-Abyssinia

The possessions of member states are as follows:

-Greenland

-Iceland

-India

-Korea

-Oman

-French Indochina

-Dutch East Indies

-Morocco (French)

-Tunisia

-Algeria

-Libya

-French West Africa

The countries with dates of admission are as follows:

-Albania, 1920

-Austria, 1920

-Bulgaria, 1920

-Estonia, 1921

-Latvia, 1920

-Lithuania, 1921

-Hungary, 1922–1937

-Germany, 1926–1933

-British Cameroon

-Sudan

-French Cameroon

-Nigeria

-Ruanda-Urundi

-Angola

-Madagascar

The non-member states are:

-United States

-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

-Egypt

-Tibet

-Saudi Arabia

The mandated territories are as follows:

-British Togo

-French Togo

-British Cameroon

-French Cameroon

-Tanganyika

-SW Africa

-Syria

-Iraq

-Palestine

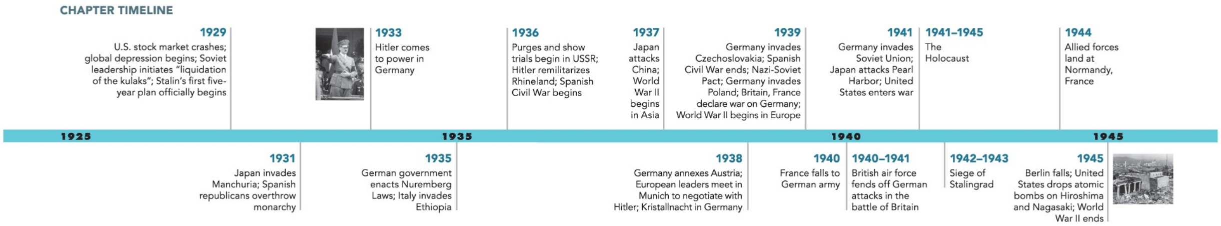
-Trans-Jordan

-Pacific Islands

-Bismarck Arch.

Return to Mapping The West: Europe and the World in 1929

Extended description for a timeline of events between 1925 and 1945


CHAPTER TIMELINE
1925
1935
1940
1945
1929
U.S. stock market crashes; global depression begins; Soviet leadership initiates "liquidation of the kulaks"; Stalin's first five-year plan officially begins
1931
Japan invades Manchuria; Spanish republicans overthrow monarchy
1933
Hitler comes to power in Germany
1935
German government enacts Nuremberg Laws; Italy invades Ethiopia
1936
Purges and show trials begin in USSR; Hitler remilitarizes Rhineland; Spanish Civil War begins
1937
Japan attacks China; World War II begins in Asia
1938
Germany annexes Austria; European leaders meet in Munich to negotiate with Hitler; Kristallnacht in Germany
1939
Germany invades Czechoslovakia; Spanish Civil War ends; Nazi-Soviet Pact; Germany invades Poland; Britain, France declare war on Germany; World War II begins in Europe
1940
France falls to German army
1940–1941
British air force fends off German attacks in the battle of Britain
1941
Germany invades Soviet Union; Japan attacks Pearl Harbor; United States enters war
1941–1945
The Holocaust
1942–1943
Siege of Stalingrad
1944
Allied forces land at Normandy, France
1945
Berlin falls; United States drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; World War II ends

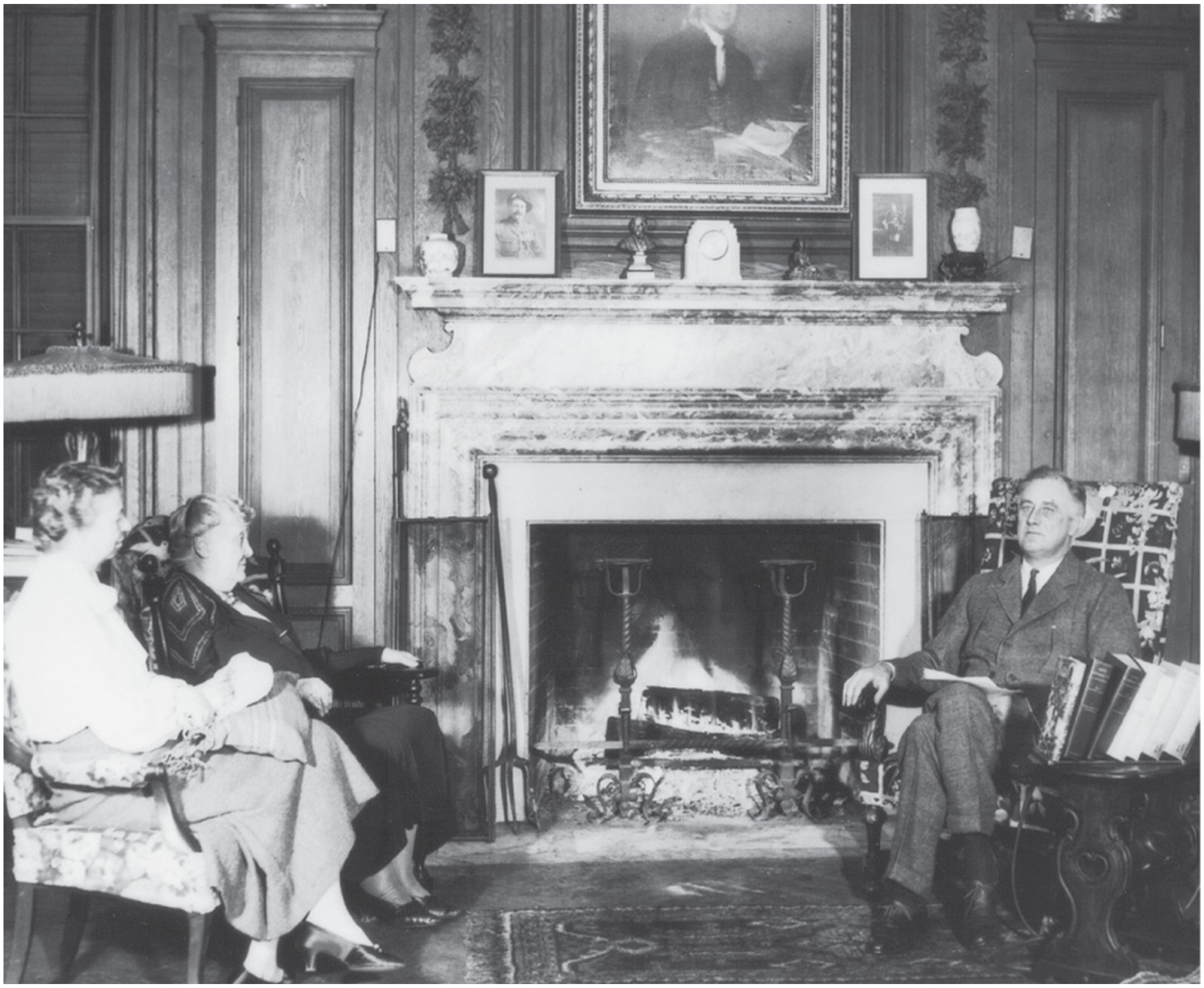
akg-images/Newscom; Everett Collection

The timeline events are as follows.

1929: US stock market crashes; global depression begins; Soviet leadership initiates "liquidation of the kulaks"; Stalin's first five year plan officially begins. 1931: Japan invades Manchuria; Spanish republicans overthrow monarchy. 1933: Hitler comes to power in Germany. 1935: German government enacts Nuremberg Laws; Italy invades Ethiopia. 1936: Purges and show trials begin in USSR; Hitler remilitarizes Rhineland; Spanish Civil War begins. 1937: Japan attacks China. 1939: Germany invades Czechoslovakia; Spanish Civil War ends; Nazi hyphen Soviet Pact; Germany invades Poland; Britain and France declare war on Germany; World War Two begins. 1938: Germany annexes Austria; European leaders meet in Munich to negotiate with Hitler; Kristallnacht in Germany. 1940: France falls to German army. 1940 and 1941: British air force fends off German attacks in the battle of Britain. 1941: Germany invades Soviet Union; Japan attacks Pearl Harbor; United States enters war. 1941 through 1945: The Holocaust. 1942 and 1943: Siege of Stalingrad. 1944: Allied forces land at Normandy, France. 1945: Berlin falls; United States drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; World War Two ends.

Return to a timeline of events between 1925 and 1945

Extended description for a Fireside Chat with FDR

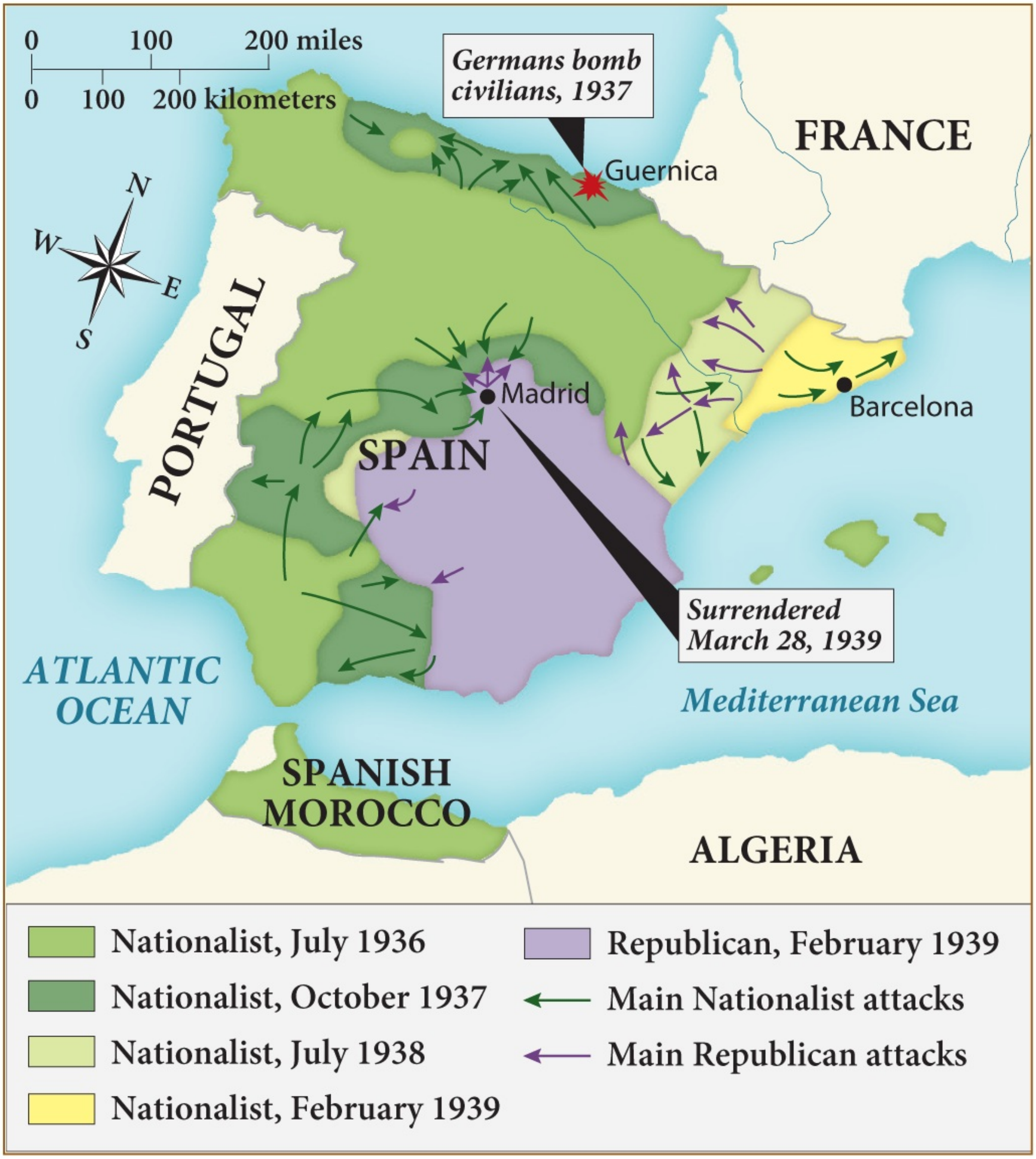


Keystone/Getty Images.

Roosevelt sits by a large, fireplace with paper in his hand. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt and the president’s mother, Sara, sit on the other side of the fireplace and observe images of Hitler and Mussolini on the mantle.

Return to a Fireside Chat with FDR

Extended description for Map 26.1 The Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939



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The data from the map are as follows.

Nationalist, July 1936

-Northern Spain, with the exception of an east-west corridor along the northern coast, west to Portugal, east to France, and south surrounding Madrid; the southwest corner, with Portugal to the west; Spanish Morocco in North Africa, with the exception of the northwest coast.

Blue arrows converged on Madrid from the northern area, indicating main Nationalist attacks. They also emanated from the south western region under Nationalist control, driving north and east.

Nationalist, October 1937

-The north coast of Spain; central Spain, closer around Madrid; and the area along the Portugal border east to central Spain. Blue arrows go from south to north, southeast to northwest, west, and east indicating main Nationalist attacks in the coastal portion of this region.

Nationalist, July 1938

-A corridor extending southwest from the border with France

Arrows go from west to east and west to southwest indicating main Nationalist attacks.

Arrows go from east to west and east to southwest main Republican attacks.

Nationalist, February 1939

-The area surrounding Barcelona

Arrows go from west to east into Barcelona, indicating Nationalist attacks.

Republican, February 1939

-Madrid and central Spain, south to the Mediterranean

Madrid surrendered March 28, 1939.

Germans bombed civilians in Guernica.

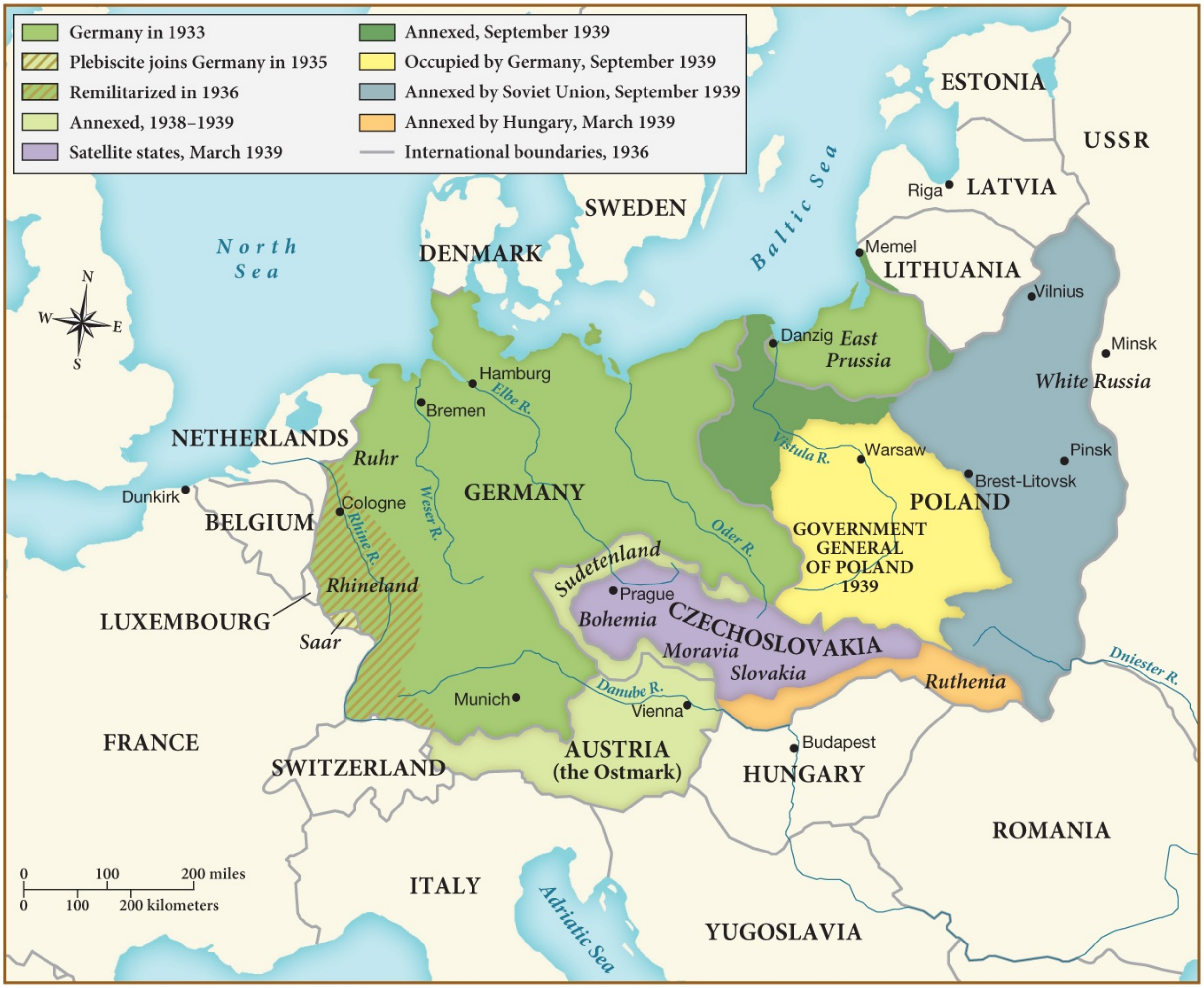
Main Republican attacks are shown as follows:

-Madrid north to the Nationalist zones

-Central Spain southwest

Return to Map 26.1 The Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939

Extended description for Map 26.2 The Growth of Nazi Germany, 1933–1939



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The data from the map are as follows.

Germany in 1933 includes

-Germany

-East Prussia

Plebiscite joins Germany in 1935

-The Saar Valley

Remilitarized in 1936

-Rhineland, east and west of the Rhine River

Annexed, 1938–1939

-Sudetenland

-Austria (the Ostmark)

Satellite states, March 1939

-Czechoslovakia

Annexed, September 1939

-The area between East Prussia and Germany

Occupied by Germany, September 1939

-Eastern Poland (Government of General Poland, 1939)

Annexed by the Soviet Union, September 1939

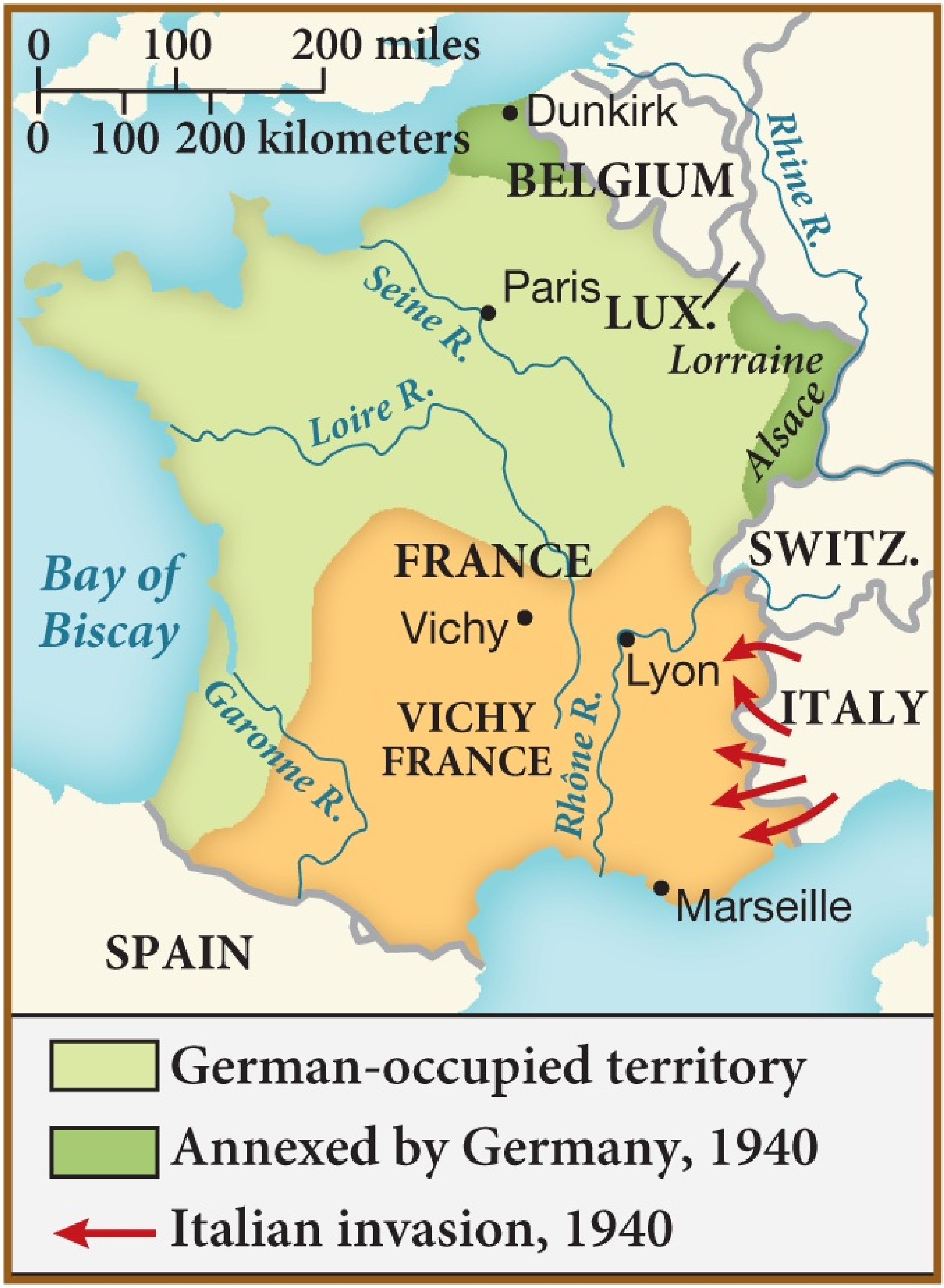
-Western Poland

Annexed by Hungary, March 1939

-Ruthenia, an east-west region on the border along Romania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia

Return to Map 26.2 The Growth of Nazi Germany, 1933–1939

Extended description for The Division of France, 1940



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

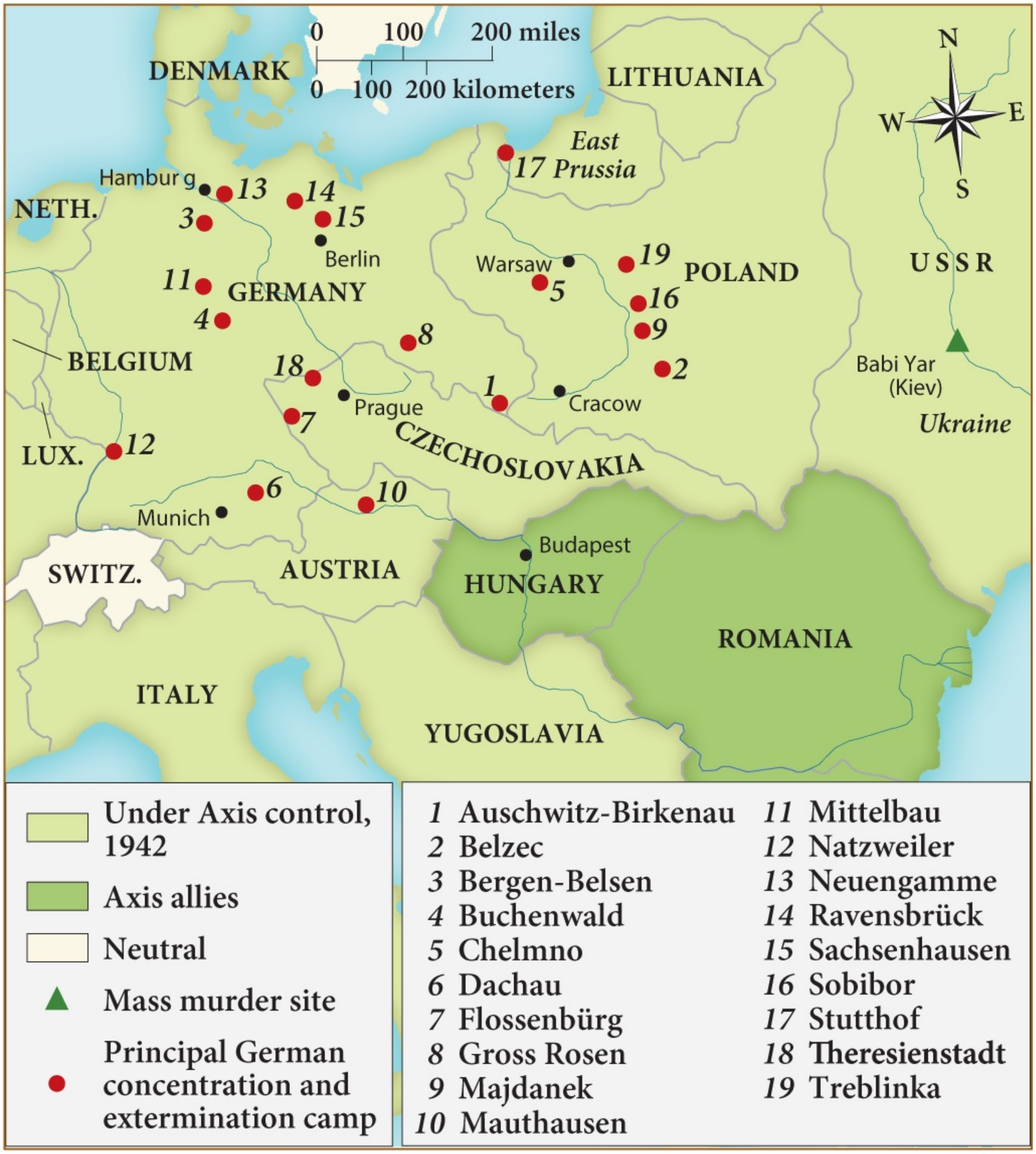
German-occupied territory included Paris and the entire north and west two thirds of France. The south east third formed Vichy France, with the cities of Vichy, Lyon, and Marseille on the Mediterranean coast.

Areas annexed by Germany in 1940 include Belgium with the city of Dunkirk on the English Channel, and the small regions of Lorraine and Alsace on the French dash German border.

The Italian invasion of 1940 moved from Italy west into Vichy France toward Lyon and Marseille.

Return to The Division of France, 1940

Extended description for Map 26.3 Concentration Camps and Extermination Sites in Europe



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The concentration and extermination camps in Europe are as follows:

1-Auschwitz (Germany)

2-Belzec (Poland)

3-Bergen-Belsen (Germany)

4-Buchenwald (Germany)

5-Chelmno (Poland)

6-Dachau (Germany)

7-Flossenburg (Czechoslovakia)

8-Gross Rosen (Germany)

9-Majdanek (Poland)

10- Mauthausen (Austria)

11-Mittelblau (Germany)

12-Natzweiler (Germany)

13-Neuengamme (Germany)

14-Ravensbruck (Germany)

15-Sachsenhausen (Germany)

16-Sobibor (Poland)

17-Stutthof (East Prussia)

18-Theresienstadt (Czechoslovakia)

19-Treblinka (Poland)

Areas under Axis control, 1942

-Denmark

-Netherlands

-Belgium

-Luxembourg

-Germany

-Italy

-Austria

-Poland

-Czechoslovakia

-Yugoslavia

-Lithuania

-Western USSR (including Ukraine)

Axis Allies

-Hungary

-Romania

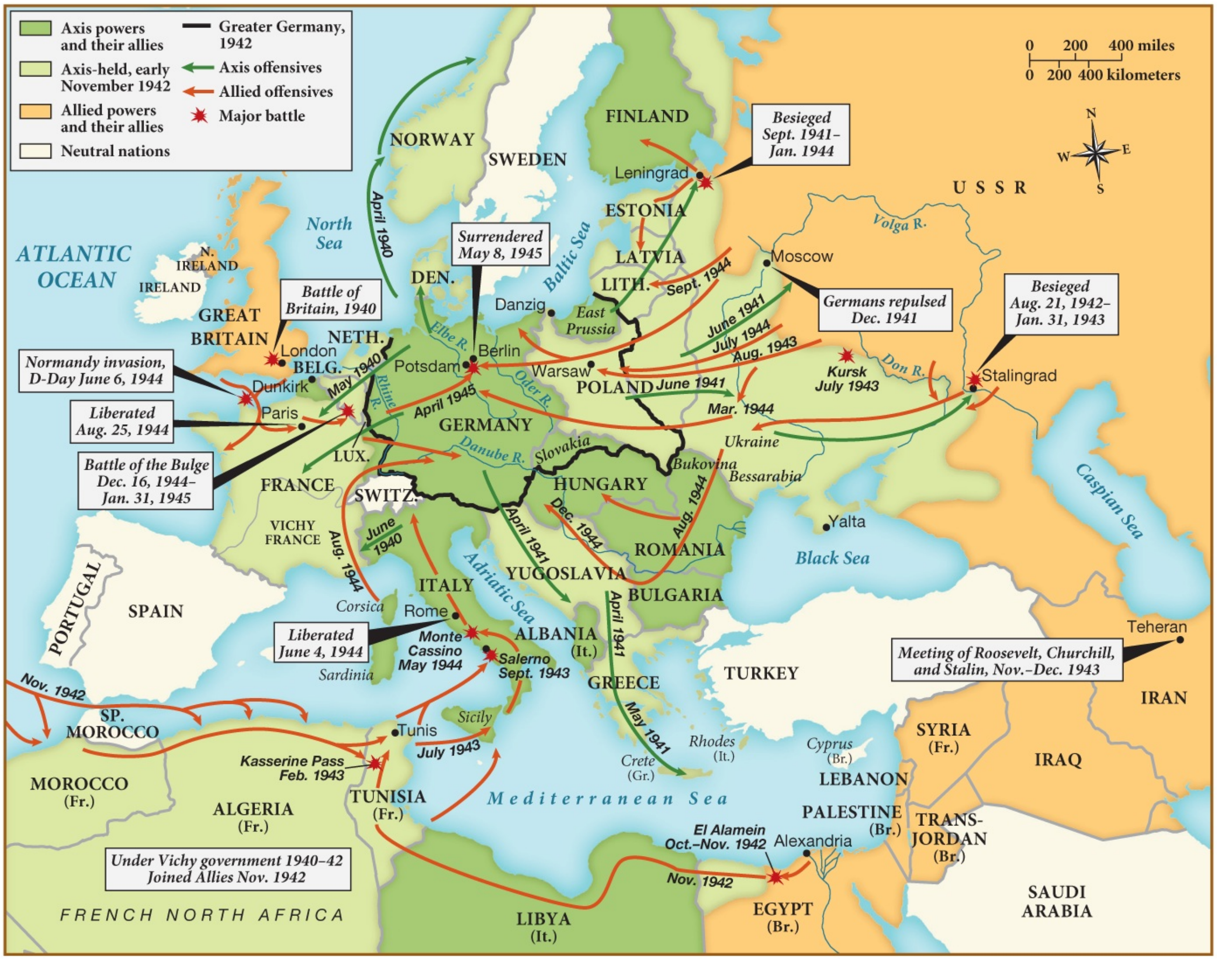
Neutral

-Switzerland

Mass murder site: Babi Yar (Kiev in Ukraine)

Return to Map 26.3 Concentration Camps and Extermination Sites in Europe

Extended description for Map 26.4 World War II in Europe and Africa



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The data from the map are as follows.

Axis powers and their allies

-Germany

-Finland

-Italy

-Sicily

-Sardinia

-Hungary

-Romania

-Bulgaria

-Albania (under Italian control)

-Libya (under Italian control)

Axis-held lands, early November 1942

-France

-Belgium

-Netherlands

-Yugoslavia

-Poland

-Latvia

-Estonia

-Eastern USSR to the Don River and east of the Caspian Sea, northwest to Kursk

-Greece

-Crete

-Morocco (under French control)

-Algeria (under French control)

-Tunisia (under French control)

-North western Egypt

Allied powers and their allies

-Great Britain/Northern Ireland

-USSR

-Iran

-Iraq

-Syria (under French control)

-Trans-Jordan (under British control)

-Lebanon

-Palestine

-Egypt (under British control)

Neutral nations

-Ireland

-Portugal

-Switzerland

-Spain

-Spanish Morocco

-Sweden

-Turkey

-Saudi Arabia

The following regions show Allied offensives

Eastern Front

-Stalingrad west into the Ukraine, then southwest into Romania (August 1944), then northwest into Hungary (December 1944). They also invaded east into Germany in 1944. Stalingrad was besieged August 21, 1942 to January 31, 1943.

-Southwest from Russia to Warsaw, August 1943 and July 1944

-Southwest from northern Russia into Lithuania (September 1944)

-From Leningrad northwest into Finland and southwest through Estonia into Latvia. Leningrad was besieged September 1941 to January 1944.

-Battle took place in Kursk, July 1943.

Western Front

-D-Day invasion, June 6, 1944 - Great Britain south into France, then southwest and southeast to liberate western France on August 25, 1944, and Paris to the east. The Battle of Britain took place in 1940 over the skies of London.

-Paris, east to Belgium, where the Battle of the Bulge took place from December 16, 1944 to January 31, 1945.

-Belgium, east to Potsdam where a battle took place, and then to Berlin in April 1945. Germany surrendered May 8, 1945.

-Eastern France into south-central Germany

-Corsica north and northeast around Switzerland and into south-central Germany

North Africa and Italy

-From the Atlantic into the Mediterranean (November, 1942), landing in Morocco (French), driving east through Algeria into Tunisia (French, Battle at Kasserine Pass, February 1943). From Tunisia, forces crossed the Mediterranean to Sicily in July 1943, then on to fight in the Battle at Salerno in south western coastal Italy in September 1943. They also crossed the Mediterranean and fought in the Battle at Monte Cassino on the south western coast of Italy in May 1944. Rome was liberated on June 4, 1944. Forces drove north through Italy as well.

-A battle took place in El-Alamein, Egypt from October to November, 1942.

The following regions show the Axis offensives

Germany

-North to Denmark, and then to Norway, April 1940

-Southwest to Belgium, May 1940

-Southwest into France

-Southeast into southern Yugoslavia, April 1941, then south through to

Greece and on to Crete in May 1941

Italy

-West to the border with southern France

East Prussia

-Northeast to Leningrad

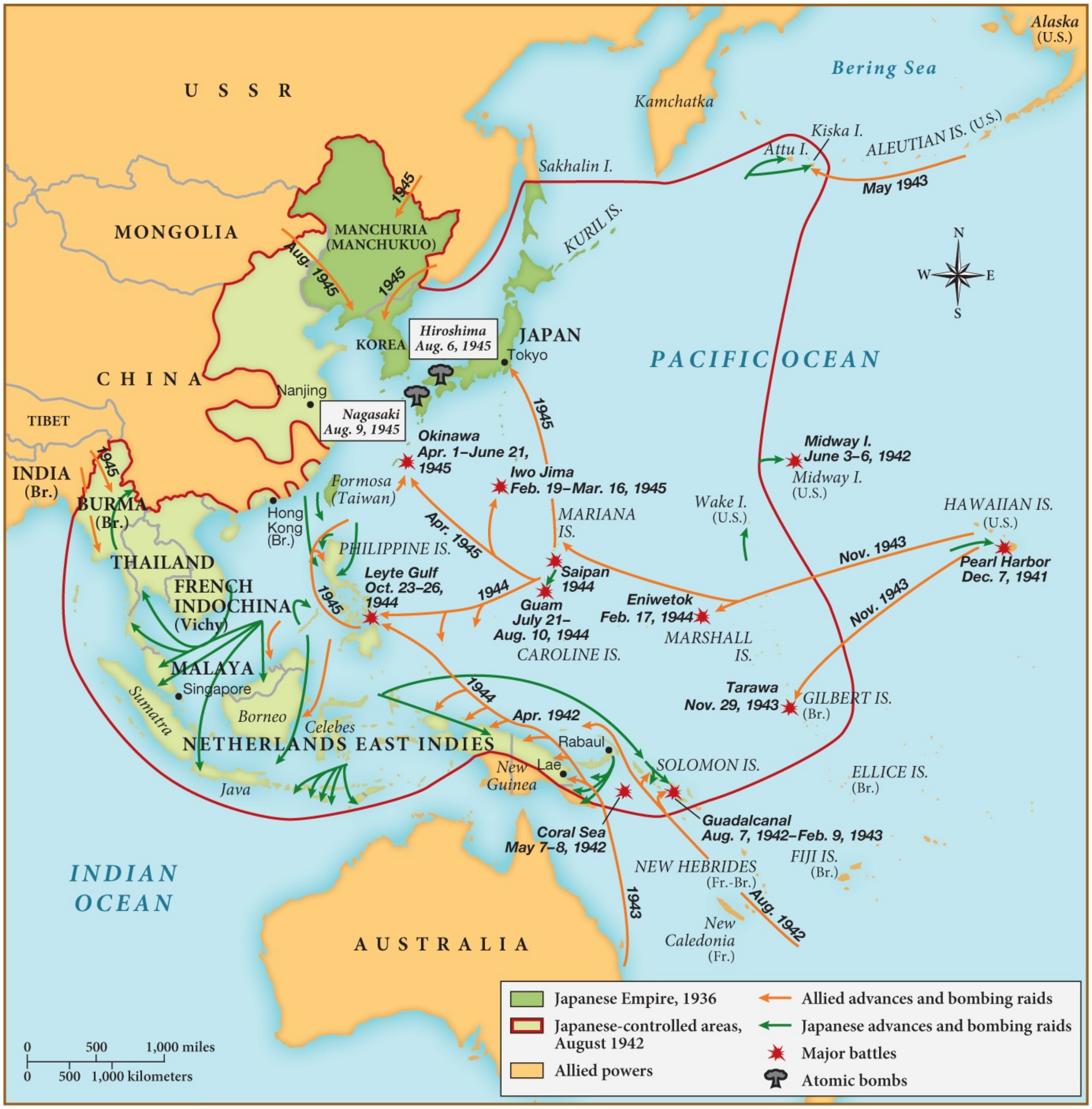
Poland

-East to Moscow, where the Germans were repulsed in 1941

-East to the Volga River and into the Ukraine, east to Stalingrad

Return to Map 26.4 World War II in Europe and Africa

Extended description for Map 26.5 World War II in the Pacific



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

Japanese Empire, 1936 include

-Manchuria (Manchukuo)

-Islands of Japan

-Southern half of Sakhalin Island

-Formosa (Taiwan)

Japanese-controlled areas during August 1942 are as follows.

-Eastern China

-Burma (Britain)

-Thailand

-French Indochina (Vichy)

-Malaya

-Netherlands East Indies

-Philippine Islands

Allied powers include

-Australia

-Tibet

-China

-Mongolia

-India (Britain)

-USSR

The following show Allied advances and bombing raids

-Pearl Harbor: West to Gilbert Islands, Nov. 1943, where the battle at Tarawa took place, Nov. 29, 1943. West to Marshall Islands, Nov. 1943, and the battle at Eniwetok took place Feb. 17, 1944.

-From Eniwetok east to the Mariana Islands. The battle at Saipan took place in 1944, and in Guam from July 21 to August 10, 1944.

-From Mariana Islands, north to Tokyo, Japan in 1945; Northwest to Iwo Jima, where the battle took place from February 19 to March 16, 1945. Northwest to Okinawa, where a battle took place from April 1 to June 21, 1945. West to the Philippines where a battle took place in Leyte Gulf from October 23-26, 1944.

-From the west coast of the Philippines north to Okinawa, 1945; south to the east and west coast of Borneo in the Netherlands East Indies.

-From India south into Burma in 1945.

-From Australia in 1943 north to the Netherlands East Indies. Across the northern coast of the East Indies (1944). They then pushed northwest to the Philippines for the battle at Leyte Gulf.

-From the New Hebrides Islands northwest to the Solomon Islands in August 1942. The Battle at Guadalcanal took place from August 7, 1942 to February 9, 1943. They then pushed northwest.

-From the Aleutian Islands (U.S.) to Kiska Island, May 1943.

-China invaded Manchuria and Korea in 1945

-Mongolia invaded Manchuria in August of 1945

-Battle at Coral Sea took place from May 7-8, 1942.

-Battle at Midway took place from June 3-6, 1942.

The following regions show Japanese advances and bombing raids

-From the sea in between French Indochina and the island of Borneo.

-Southwest around French Indochina into Thailand

-Southwest around French Indochina into Malaya

-Southwest to Sumatra (Netherlands East Indies)

-South to Java (Netherlands East Indies)

-South to Borneo

-From Celebes, a 5-pronged attack on the southern islands of Netherlands East Indies; east to New Guinea and then to the Solomon Islands

-From Rabaul in the Solomon Islands, southwest to New Guinea in a three-pronged attack

-Japan attacked Wake Island (U.S.)

-South from Hong Kong to the Philippine Islands

-Attu Island and Kiska Island, just west of the Aleutian Islands

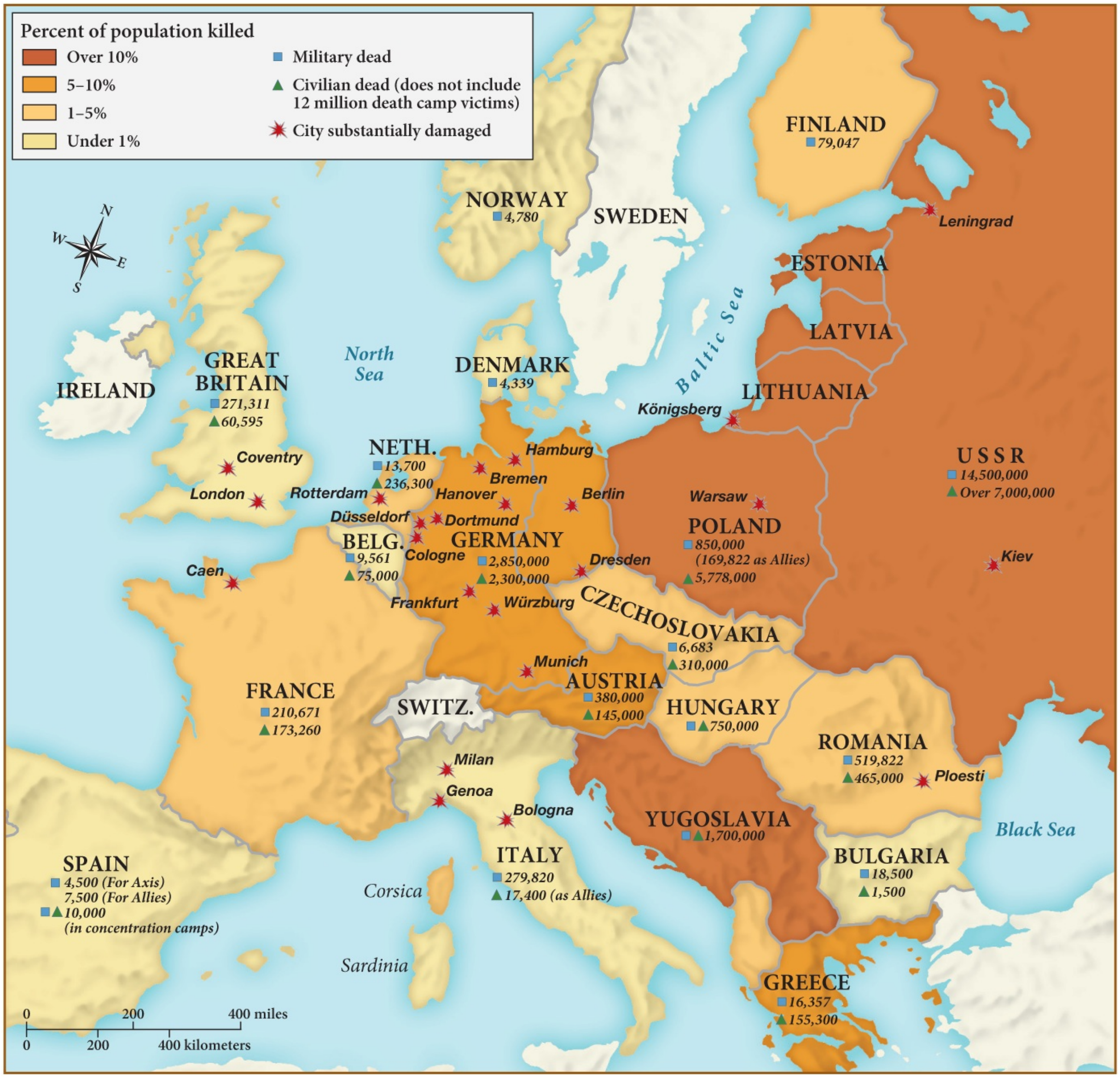
-Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in Hawaii on December 7, 1941.

A battle took place at Saipan in 1944.

Nuclear bombs were dropped on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945 and on Nagasaki on August 9, 1945, ending the war with Japan.

Return to Map 26.5 World War II in the Pacific

Extended description for Mapping The West: Europe at War’s End, 1945



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

Percent of population killed

Over 10 percent

-USSR

-14,500,000 military dead

-Over 7,000,000 civilian dead

-Estonia

-Latvia

-Lithuania

-Poland

-850,000 military dead (169,222 as Allies)

-5,778,000 civilian dead

-Yugoslavia

-1,700,000 dead, combined military and civilian

5 to 10 percent

-Germany

-2,850,000 military dead

-2,300,000 civilian dead

-Austria

-380,000 military dead

-145,000 civilian dead

-Greece

-16,357 military dead

-155,300 civilian dead

-Finland: 79,047 military dead

1 to 5 percent

-France

-210,671 military dead

-173,260 civilian dead

-Netherlands

-13,700 military dead

-236,300 civilian dead

-Czechoslovakia

-6,683 military dead

-310,000 civilian dead

-Hungary

-750,000 combined military and civilian dead

-Romania

-519,822 military dead

-465,000 civilian dead

Under 1 percent

-Great Britain

-271,311 military dead

-60,595 civilian dead

-Norway: 4,780 military dead

-Denmark: 4,339 military dead

-Belgium

-9,561 military dead

-75,000 military dead

-Spain

-4,500 military for Axis dead

-7,500 military for Allies dead

-10,000 civilian dead (in concentration camps)

-Italy

-279,820 military dead

-17,400 civilian dead (as Allies)

-Bulgaria

-18,500 military dead

-1,500 civilian dead

Cities that were substantially damaged

-Coventry

- London
- Caen (France)
- Rotterdam
- Dusseldorf
- Cologne
- Hanover
- Dortmund
- Bremen
- Hamburg
- Berlin
- Frankfurt
- Wurzburg
- Munich
- Dresden
- Konigsberg (Lithuania)

-Warsaw

-Milan

-Genoa

-Bologna

-Ploesti (Romania)

-Kiev

Return to Mapping The West: Europe at War’s End, 1945

Extended description for Doctor Zhivago Poster

A LOVE CAUGHT IN THE FIRE OF REVOLUTION
Turbulent were the times and fiery was the love story of Zhivago, his wife... and the passionate, tender Lara.
METRO-GOLDWYN-MAYER PRESENTS A CARLO PONTI PRODUCTION
DAVID LEAN'S FILM OF BORIS PASTERNAK'S
DOCTOR ZHIVAGO
STARRING
GERALDINE CHAPLIN · JULIE CHRISTIE · TOM COURTENAY
ALEC GUINNESS · SIOBHAN McKENNA · RALPH RICHARDSON
OMAR SHARIF (AS ZHIVAGO) ROD STEIGER · RITA TUSHINGHAM
SCREEN PLAY BY ROBERT BOLT · DIRECTED BY DAVID LEAN
IN PANAVISION® AND METROCOLOR
MGM
WINNER OF 6 ACADEMY AWARDS!

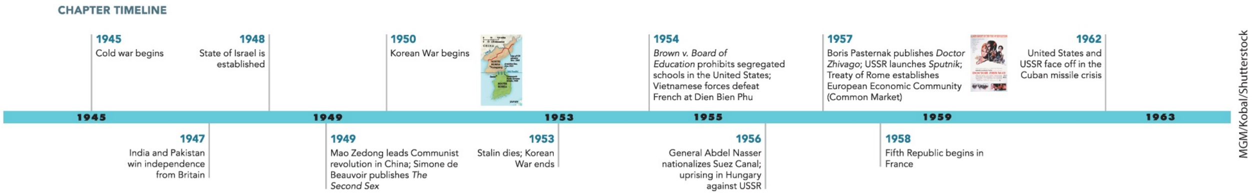
MGM/Kobal/Shutterstock.

A tag line reads, “A love caught in the fire of revolution. Turbulent were the times and the fiery was the love story of Zhivago his wife (ellipses) and the passionate tender Lara.” A montage shows a male and female in profile surrounded by other characters and images of charging cavalry. Below this, text provides credits and the title of the film, along with an icon of a statuette with the words

“Winner of six academy awards.” At the bottom of the poster, still images from the movie show cavalry and two couples kissing.

Return to Doctor Zhivago Poster

Extended description for a timeline of events between 1945 and 1963


CHAPTER TIMELINE
1945
Cold war begins
1948
State of Israel is established
1950
Korean War begins
1954
Brown v. Board of Education prohibits segregated schools in the United States; Vietnamese forces defeat French at Dien Bien Phu
1957
Boris Pasternak publishes *Doctor Zhivago*; USSR launches *Sputnik*; Treaty of Rome establishes European Economic Community (Common Market)
1962
United States and USSR face off in the Cuban missile crisis
1945
1949
1953
1955
1959
1963
1947
India and Pakistan win independence from Britain
1949
Mao Zedong leads Communist revolution in China; Simone de Beauvoir publishes *The Second Sex*
1953
Stalin dies; Korean War ends
1956
General Abdel Nasser nationalizes Suez Canal; uprising in Hungary against USSR
1958
Fifth Republic begins in France

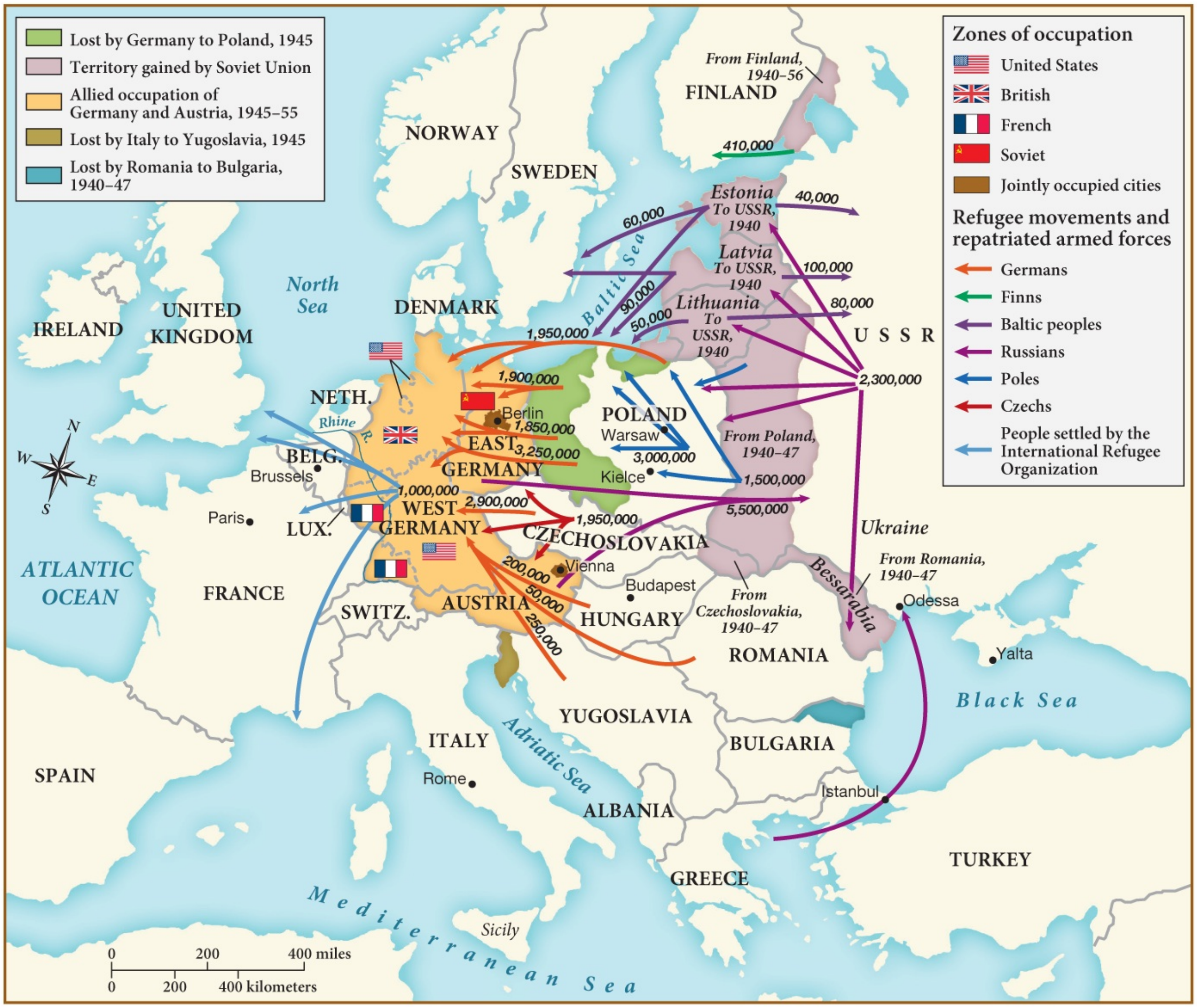
MGM/Kobal/Shutterstock

The timeline events are as follows.

1945: Cold war begins. 1947: India and Pakistan win independence from Britain. 1948: State of Israel is established. 1949: Mao Zedong leads Communist revolution in China; Simone de Beauvoir publishes italic The Second Sex end italic. 1950: Korean War begins. 1953: Stalin dies; Korean War ends. 1954: Brown versus Board of Education prohibits segregated schools in the United States; Vietnamese forces defeat French at Dien Bien Phu. 1956: General Abdel Nasser nationalizes Suez Canal; uprising in Hungary against USSR. 1957: Boris Pasternak publishes italic Doctor Zhivago end italic; USSR launches Sputnik; Treaty of Rome establishes European Economic Community (Common Market). 1958: Fifth Republic begins in France. 1962: United States and USSR face off in the Cuban missile crisis.

Return to a timeline of events between 1945 and 1963

Extended description for Map 27.1 The Impact of World War II on Europe



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the graph are as follows.

Lost by Germany to Poland, 1945

-Eastern Germany

Territory gained by Soviet Union

-Estonia, 1940

-Latvia, 1940

-Lithuania, 1940

-An area along the eastern border of Poland, 1940–1947

-A small eastern portion of Czechoslovakia, 1940–1947

-Bessarabia

Allied occupation of Germany and Austria

-West Germany

-Austria

-East Germany

Lost by Italy to Yugoslavia

-An area just south of central Austria

Lost by Romania to Bulgaria

-An area of south-eastern Romania

Zones of occupation

-United States

-North-western West Germany

-British

-West Germany east of the Netherlands and Belgium

-French

-West Germany east of Luxembourg, and northeast of Switzerland

-Soviet

-East Germany

Jointly occupied cities

-Berlin

-Vienna

Refugee movements and repatriated armed forces

-Germans

-From Poland into East Germany and West Germany - A total of 8,950,000

-From Czechoslovakia into East and West Germany - A total of 2,900,000

-From Hungary to West Germany - 200,000

-From Romania to West Germany - 50,000

-From Yugoslavia to West Germany - 250,000

-Finns

-410,000 from Russia to Finland

-Baltic peoples

-Estonia: 40,000 to USSR, and 60,000 to Sweden and Poland

-Latvia: 100,000 to USSR and 90,000 to Sweden

-Lithuania: 80,000 to USSR and 50,000 to Poland

-Russians:

-A total of 2,300,000 moved to Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, and Bessarabia

-A total of 5,500,000 moved from East Germany and Austria to the USSR

-Poles

-A total of 1,500,000 moved from USSR to Poland

-A total of 3,000,000 moved westward within Poland

-Czechs

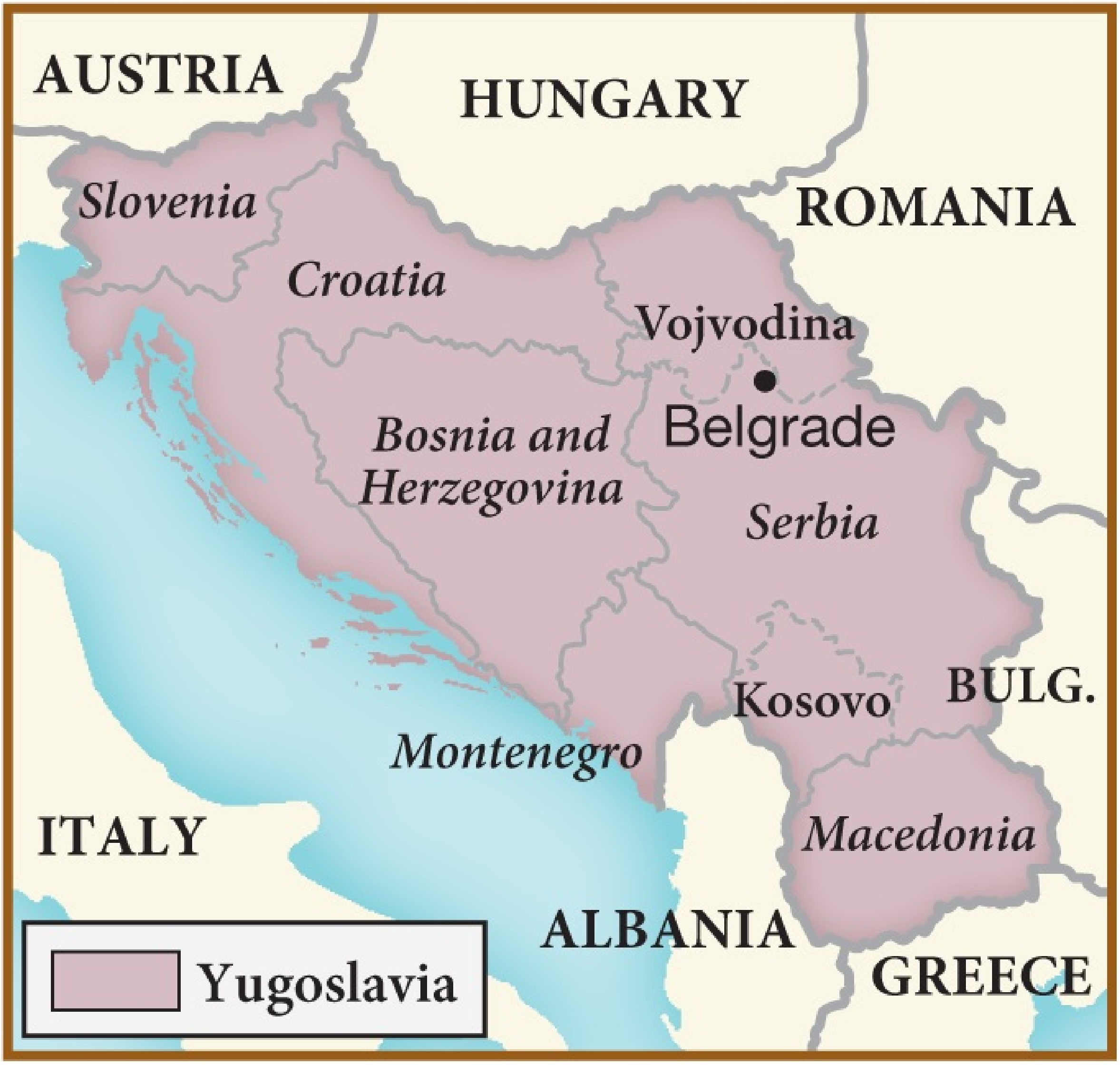
-A total of 1,950,000 moved westward within Czechoslovakia

-People settled by the International Refugee Organization

-From West Germany into the United Kingdom, eastern France, and southern France

Return to Map 27.1 The Impact of World War II on Europe

Extended description for Yugoslavia after the Revolution



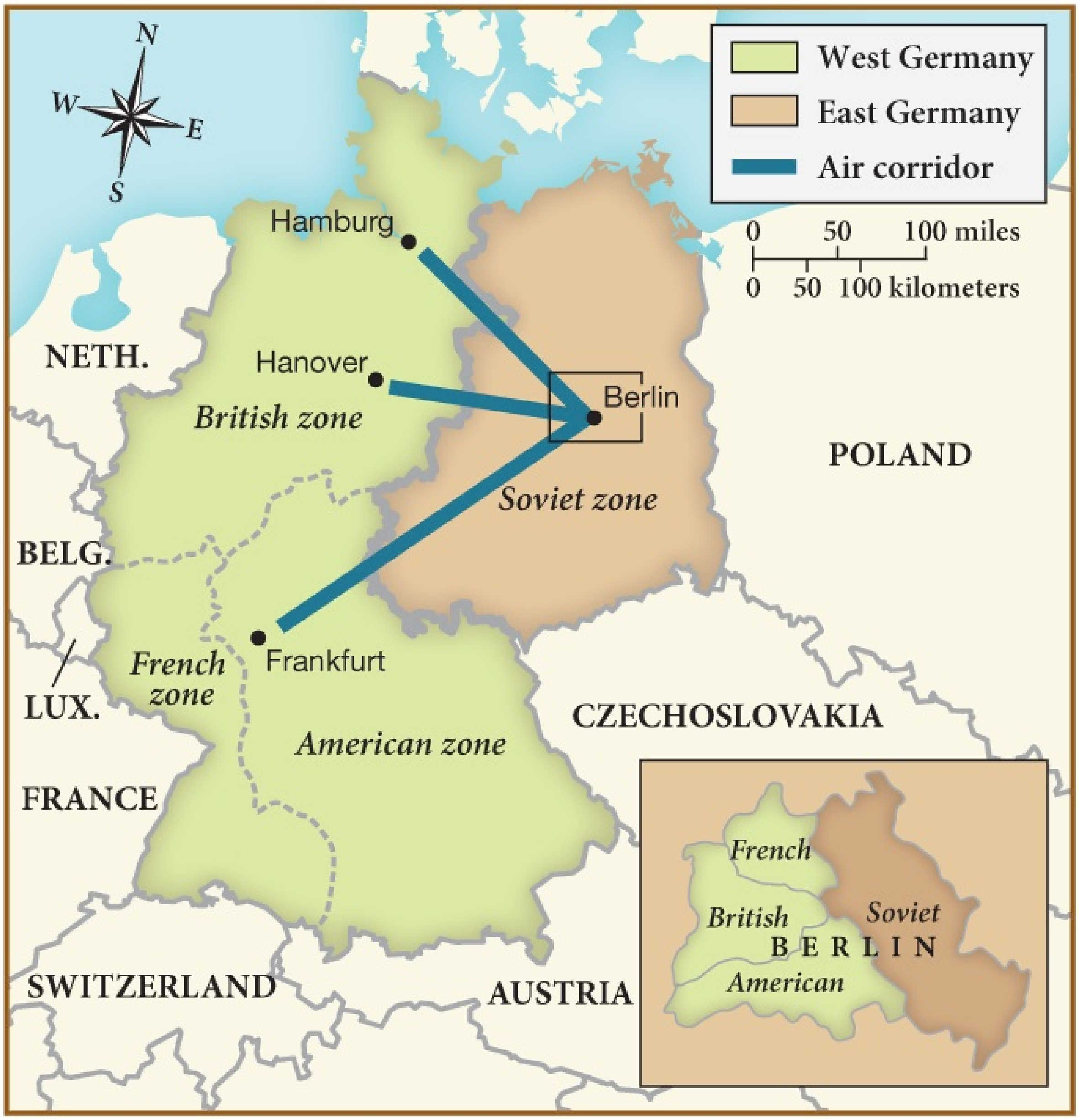
Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

The land is bound by: Austria, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, Albania, and the Adriatic Sea and Italy across the Sea. The republics include Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Serbia. Serbia included two independent provinces within itself: Vojvodina in the north and Kosovo in the south. Belgrade, Serbia is marked on the map.

Return to Yugoslavia after the Revolution

Extended description for Map 27.2 Divided Germany and the Berlin Airlift, 1946–1949



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

West Germany was the much larger country, and included Hamburg, Hanover, and Frankfurt as the major cities. It was divided into three regions, controlled by the British (northwest), French (southwest), and the American zone (southeast).

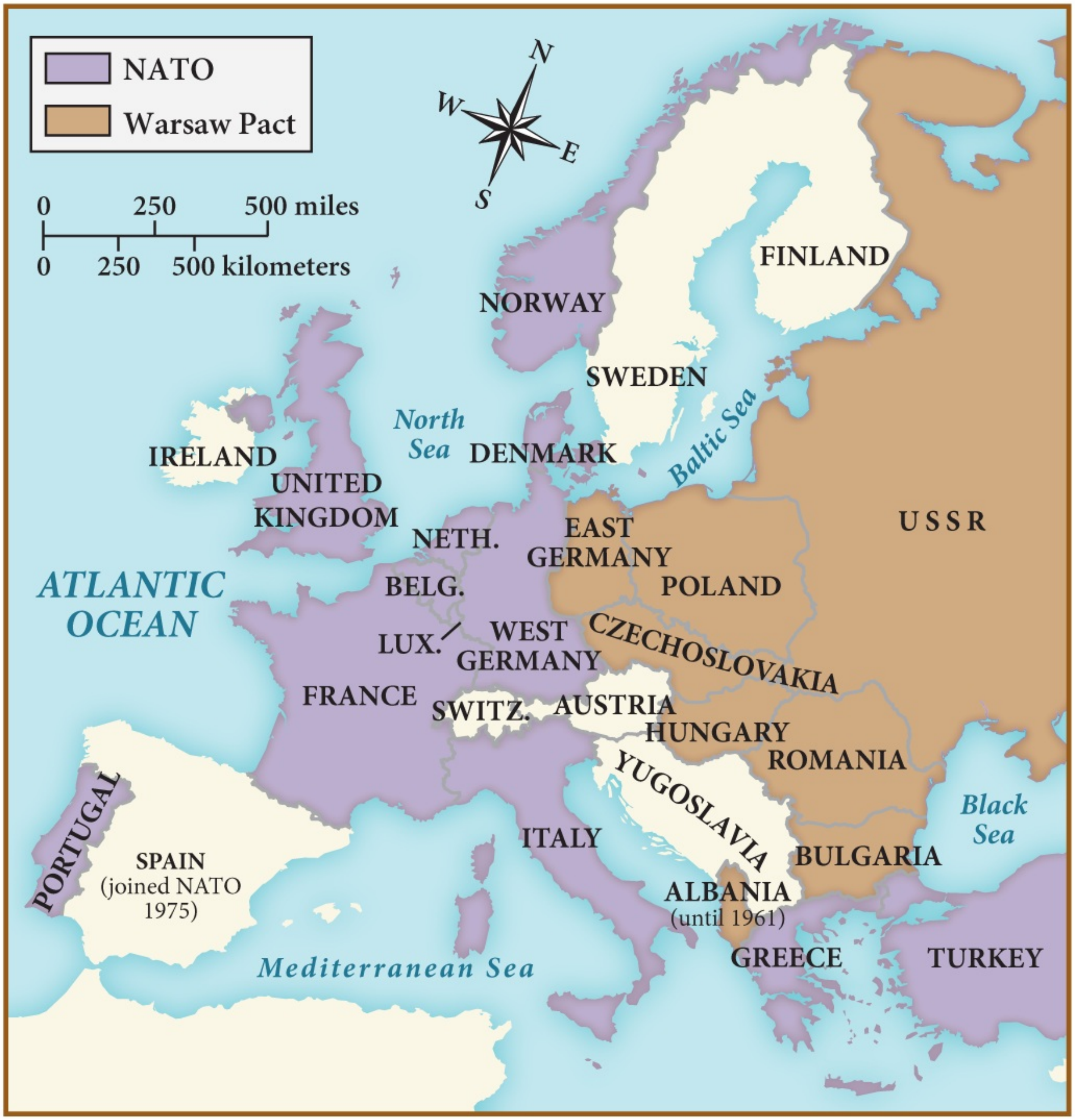
East Germany was controlled solely by the USSR, and Berlin, a divided city, lay in the center.

Air drop paths to and from Berlin included flight paths from Hamburg southeast to Berlin, Hanover east to Berlin, and Frankfurt northeast to Berlin.

Berlin was divided into East and West Berlin. The Soviet Union controlled East Berlin, and the French controlled the northwest section; the British the central section; and the Americans the southwest portion.

Return to Map 27.2 Divided Germany and the Berlin Airlift, 1946–1949

Extended description for Map 27.3 European NATO Members and the Warsaw Pact in the 1950s



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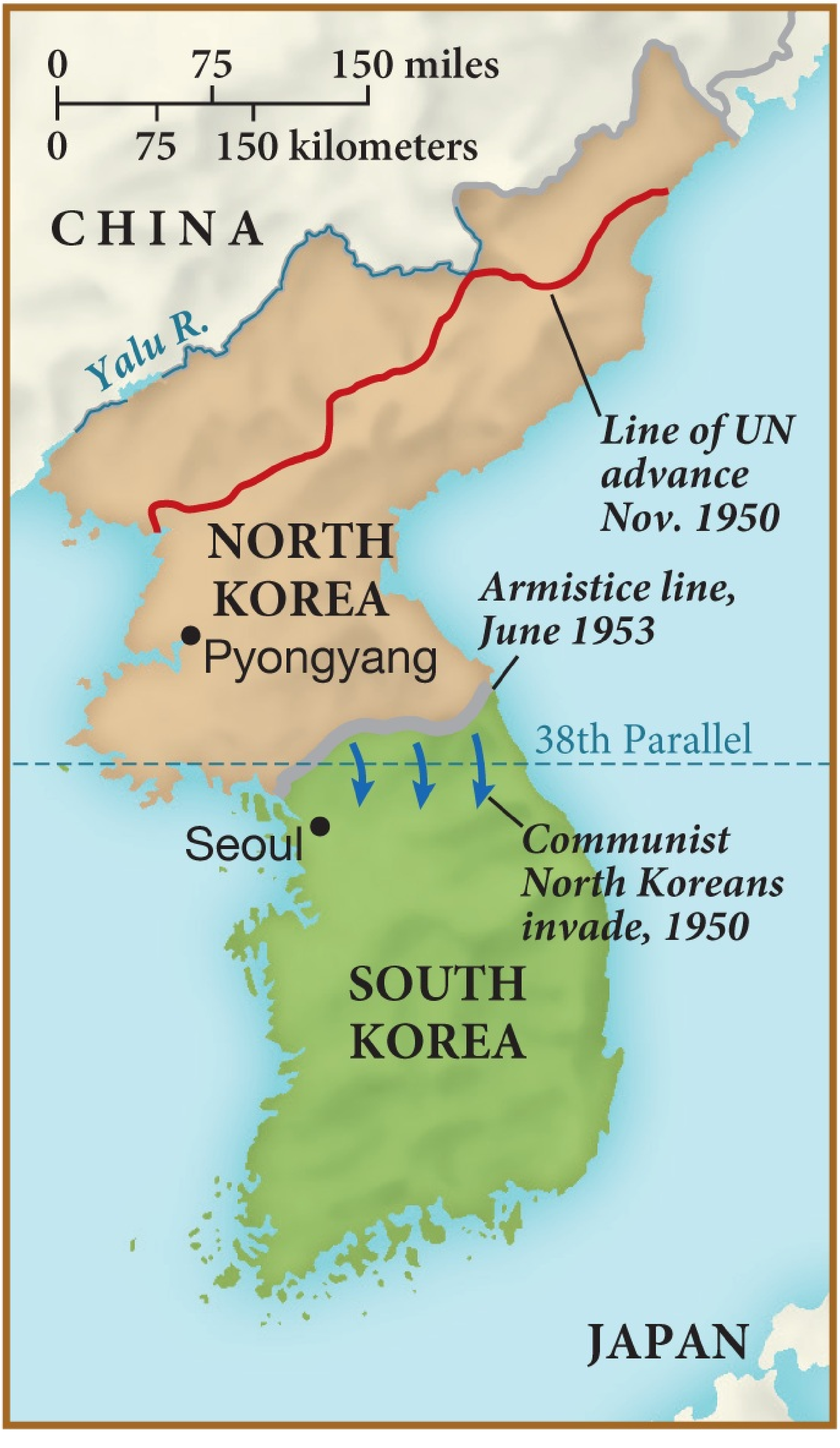
NATO members include Portugal, Northern Ireland, United Kingdom, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, France, West Germany, Italy, Greece, and Turkey.

The Warsaw Pact includes the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania (until 1961).

Return to Map 27.3 European NATO Members and the Warsaw Pact in the 1950s

Extended description for The Korean War, 1950–1953



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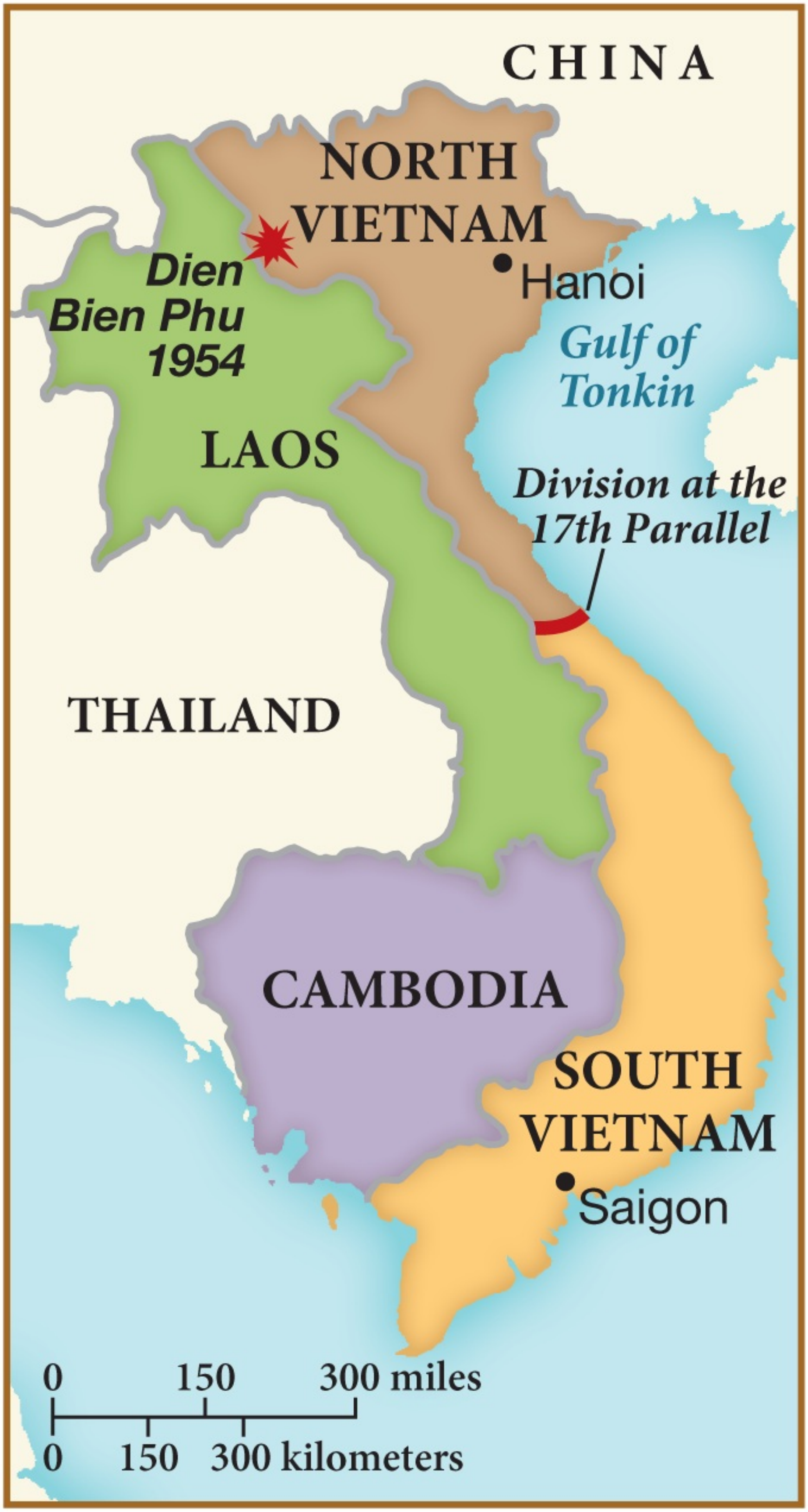
The map shows North Korea and Pyongyang in the north. A line labeled U.N. advance, November 1950, runs near the Chinese border and parallel to it. Pyongyang is on the cental west coast of North Korea.

South Korea and its capital Seoul occupy the southern half of the peninsula. Communist North Koreans invade South Korea in 1950, after which the armistice line was drawn roughly along the 38th Parallel between North and South Korea in June 1953.

The map shows China to the north of North Korea across the Yalu River and Japan to the south of South Korea.

Return to The Korean War, 1950–1953

Extended description for Indochina, 1954



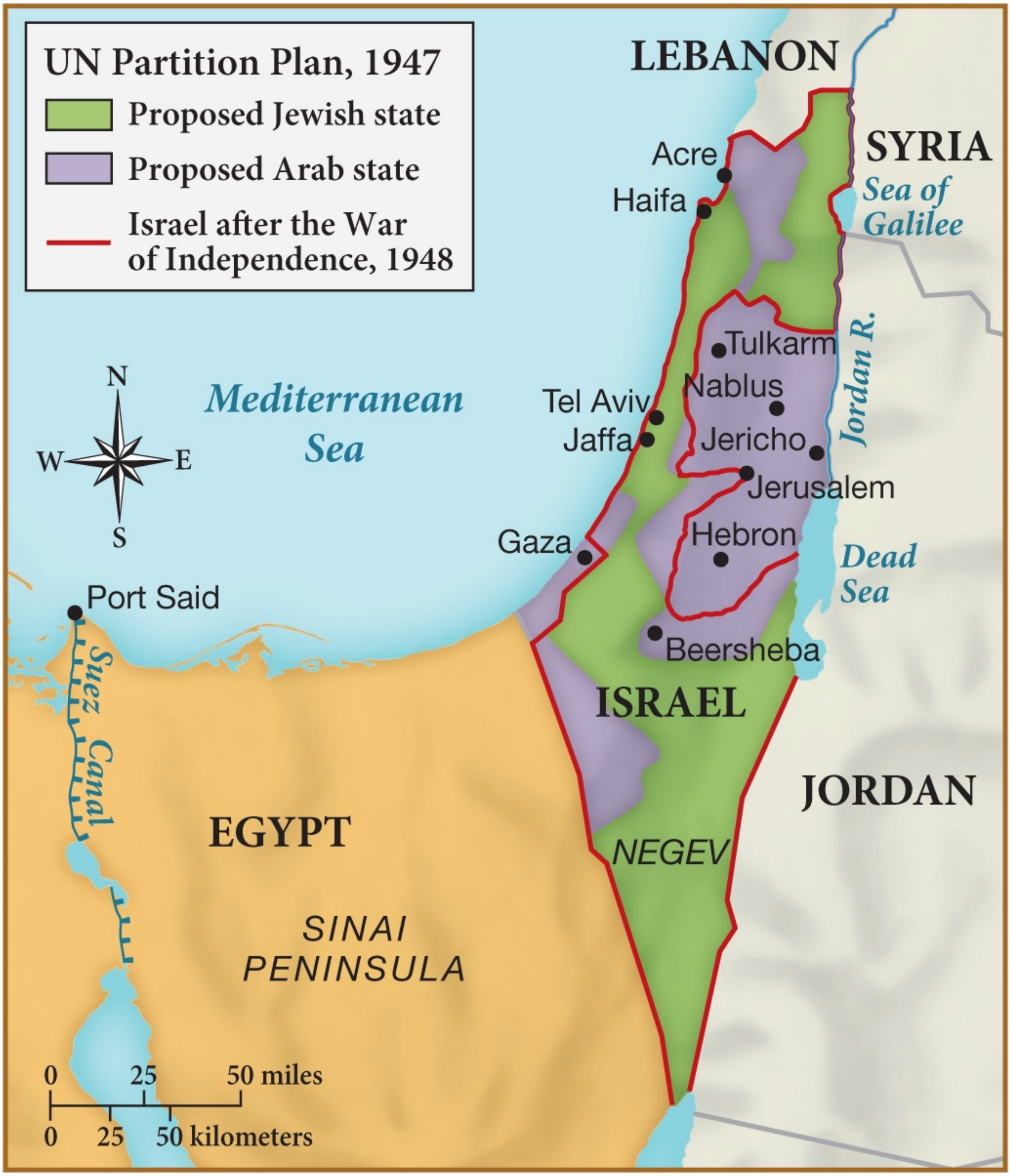
Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

The region is divided into Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. Vietnam is at the east and Laos and Cambodia are between Thailand and Vietnam. Laos lies to the north of Cambodia. A division at the 17th parallel splits Vietnam into North Vietnam and South Vietnam. Saigon, Capital of South Vietnam and Hanoi, Capital of North Vietnam are marked. A mass protest event is marked at Dien Bien Phu, 1954, in North Vietnam.

Return to Indochina, 1954

Extended description for Map 27.4 The Partition of Palestine and the Creation of Israel, 1947–1948



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

U.N. Partition Plan, 1947

Proposed Jewish state

-The area included the cities of Tel Aviv and Jaffa on the coast of the Mediterranean (central coast), and Haifa to the north. It also included the Negev desert to the south, and the north-south corridor from Haifa to the Gaza strip

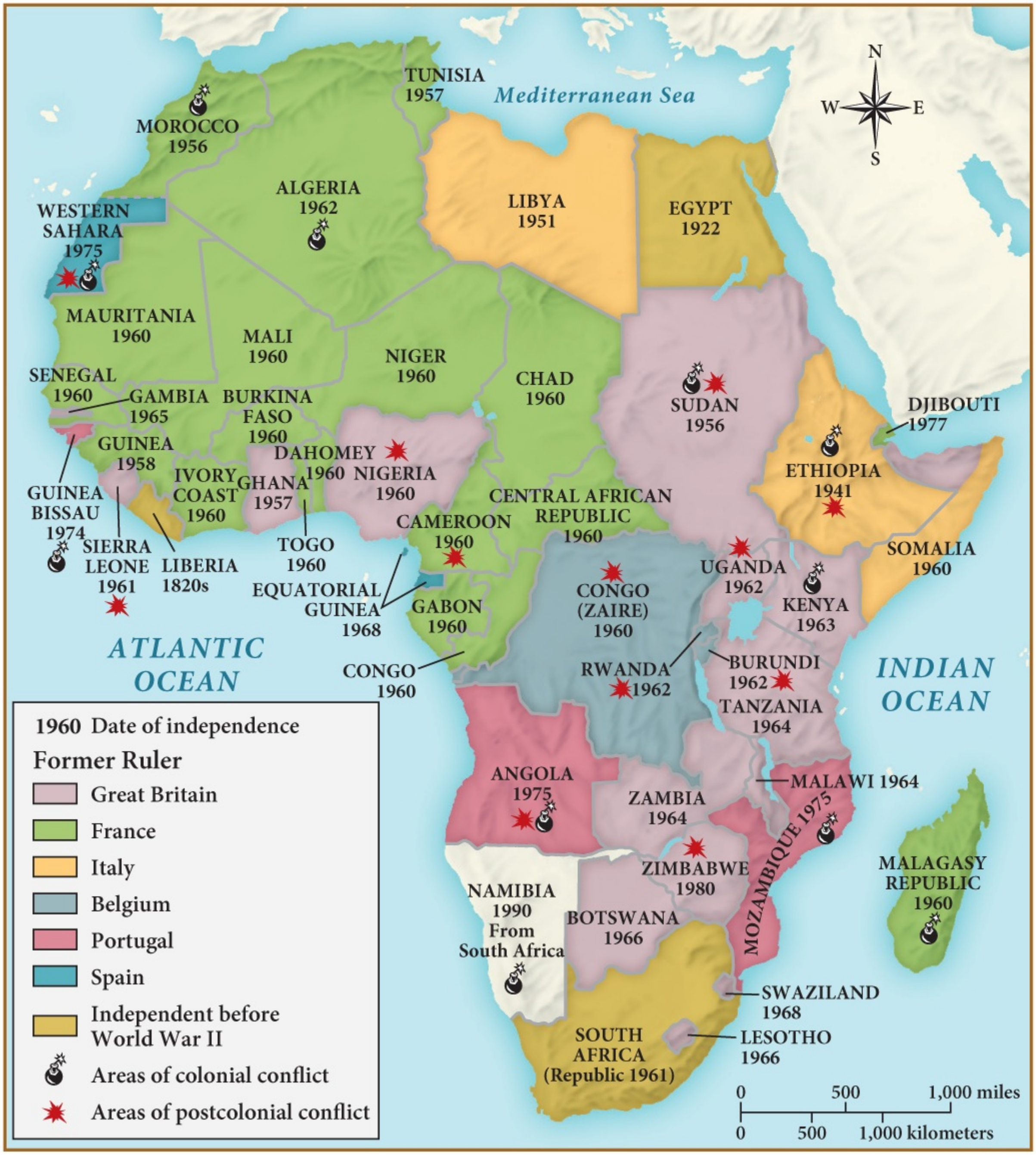
Proposed Arab state

-The area included the cities of Hebron, Beersheba, Jerusalem, Jericho, Nablus, and Tulkarm; the Gaza strip along the Mediterranean Sea and south along the border with Egypt to the Negev desert. There was also a small section of Israel to the north, east and south of Acre.

Israel after the War of Independence, 1948 includes Haifa, Tel Aviv, Jaffa, Israel, Negev, Acre, Gaza, Beersheba, Jerusalem, Hebron, Nablus, Tulkarm.

Return to Map 27.4 The Partition of Palestine and the Creation of Israel, 1947–1948

Extended description for Map 27.5 The Decolonization of Africa, 1951–1990



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The data from the map are as follows.

Former Rulers, and the Date of Independence

Great Britain:

-Sierra Leone - 1961, area of postcolonial conflict

-Ghana - 1957

-Nigeria - 1960, area of postcolonial conflict

-Sudan - 1956, area of colonial and postcolonial conflict

-Uganda - 1962, area of postcolonial conflict

-Kenya - 1963, area of colonial conflict

-Tanzania - 1964

-Zambia - 1964

-Zimbabwe - 1980, area of postcolonial conflict

-Botswana - 1966

-Swaziland - 1968

-Lesotho - 1966

France:

-Morocco - 1956, area of colonial conflict

-Algeria - 1962, area of colonial conflict

-Mauritania - 1960

-Mali - 1960

-Niger - 1960

-Chad - 1960

-Senegal - 1960

-Gambia - 1965

-Guinea - 1958

-Ivory Coast - 1960

-Burkina Faso - 1960

-Dahomey - 1960

-Cameroon - 1960, area of postcolonial conflict

-Central African Republic - 1960

-Gabon - 1960

-Congo - 1960

-Djibouti - 1977

-Malagasy Republic - 1960, area of colonial conflict

Italy:

-Libya, 1951

-Somalia, 1960

Belgium:

-Congo (Zaire) 1960, area of postcolonial conflict

-Rwanda, 1962, area of postcolonial conflict

-Burundi - 1962, area of postcolonial conflict

Portugal:

-Angola, 1975, area of colonial and postcolonial conflict

-Mozambique, 1975, area of colonial conflict

Spain:

-Western Sahara, 1975, area of colonial and postcolonial conflict

Independent before World War II

-South Africa (Republic 1961)

-Namibia, 1990, from South Africa

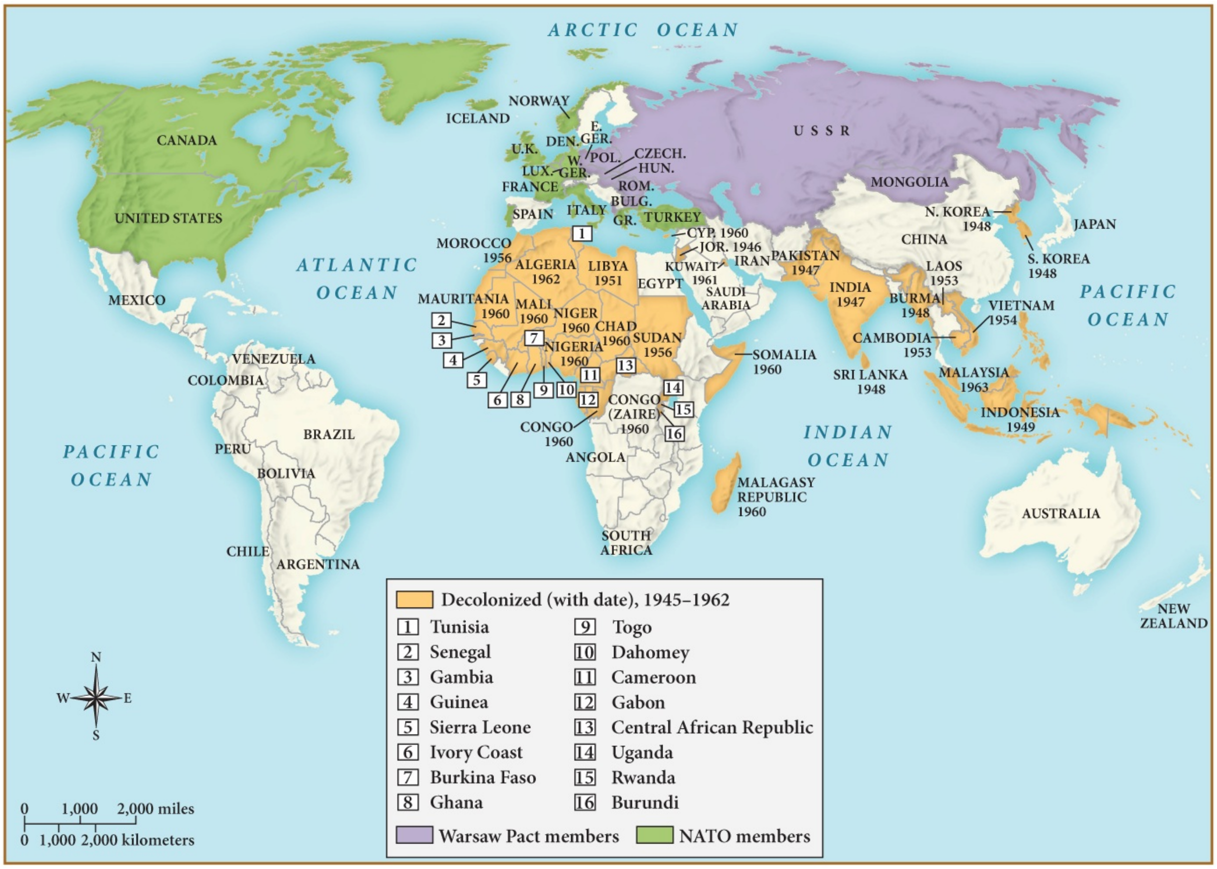
-Ethiopia, 1941, areas of colonial and postcolonial conflict

-Egypt, 1922

-Liberia, 1820s

Return to Map 27.5 The Decolonization of Africa, 1951–1990

Extended description for Mapping The West: The Cold War World, c. 1960



Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

Decolonized - with date, 1945–1962:

-Sierra Leone - 1961

-Ghana - 1957

-Nigeria - 1960

-Sudan - 1956

-Uganda - 1963

-Morocco - 1956

-Algeria - 1962

-Mauritania - 1960

-Mali - 1960

-Niger - 1960

-Chad - 1960

-Senegal - 1960

-Gambia - 1965

-Guinea - 1958

-Ivory Coast - 1960

-Burkina Faso - 1960

-Dahomey - 1960

-Cameroon - 1960

-Central African Republic - 1960

-Gabon - 1960

-Congo - 1960

-Malagasy Republic - 1960

-Ghana - 1957

-Libya, 1951

-Somalia, 1960

-Congo (Zaire) - 1960

-Rwanda, 1962

-Burundi - 1962

-Cyprus - 1960

-Jordan - 1946

-Kuwait - 1961

-Pakistan - 1947

-India - 1947

-Burma - 1948

-Sri Lanka - 1948

-Cambodia - 1953

-Malaysia - 1963

-Vietnam - 1954

-Indonesia - 1949

-South Korea - 1948

-Laos - 1953

NATO Members:

-Canada

-United States

-Greenland

-Iceland

-Norway

-United Kingdom

-Denmark

-Luxembourg

-France

-West Germany

-Portugal

-Italy

-Turkey

Warsaw Pact

-USSR

-East Germany

-Poland

-Czechoslovakia

-Hungary

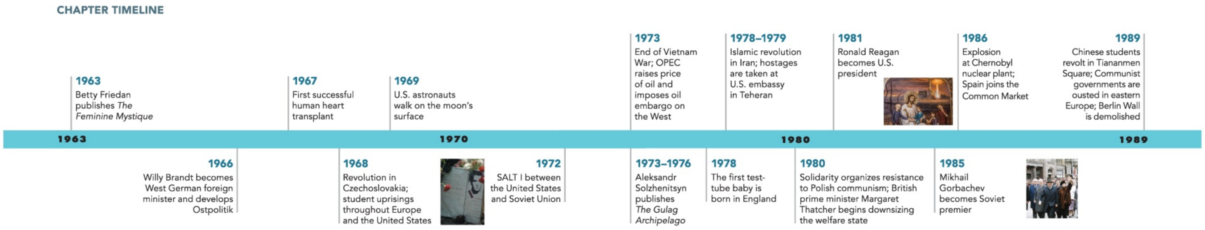
-Romania

-Bulgaria

-Mongolia

Return to Mapping The West: The Cold War World, c. 1960

Extended description for a timeline of events between 1963 and 1989


CHAPTER TIMELINE
1963
Betty Friedan publishes *The Feminine Mystique*
1967
First successful human heart transplant
1969
U.S. astronauts walk on the moon's surface
1973
End of Vietnam War; OPEC raises price of oil and imposes oil embargo on the West
1978–1979
Islamic revolution in Iran; hostages are taken at U.S. embassy in Teheran
1981
Ronald Reagan becomes U.S. president
1986
Explosion at Chernobyl nuclear plant; Spain joins the Common Market
1989
Chinese students revolt in Tiananmen Square; Communist governments are ousted in eastern Europe; Berlin Wall is demolished
1963
1970
1980
1989
1966
Willy Brandt becomes West German foreign minister and develops Ostpolitik
1968
Revolution in Czechoslovakia; student uprisings throughout Europe and the United States
1972
SALT I between the United States and Soviet Union
1973–1976
Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn publishes *The Gulag Archipelago*
1978
The first test-tube baby is born in England
1980
Solidarity organizes resistance to Polish communism; British prime minister Margaret Thatcher begins downsizing the welfare state
1985
Mikhail Gorbachev becomes Soviet premier

Marc Garanger/Getty Images; NurPhoto/Getty Images; Sovfoto/Universal Images Group/Shutterstock

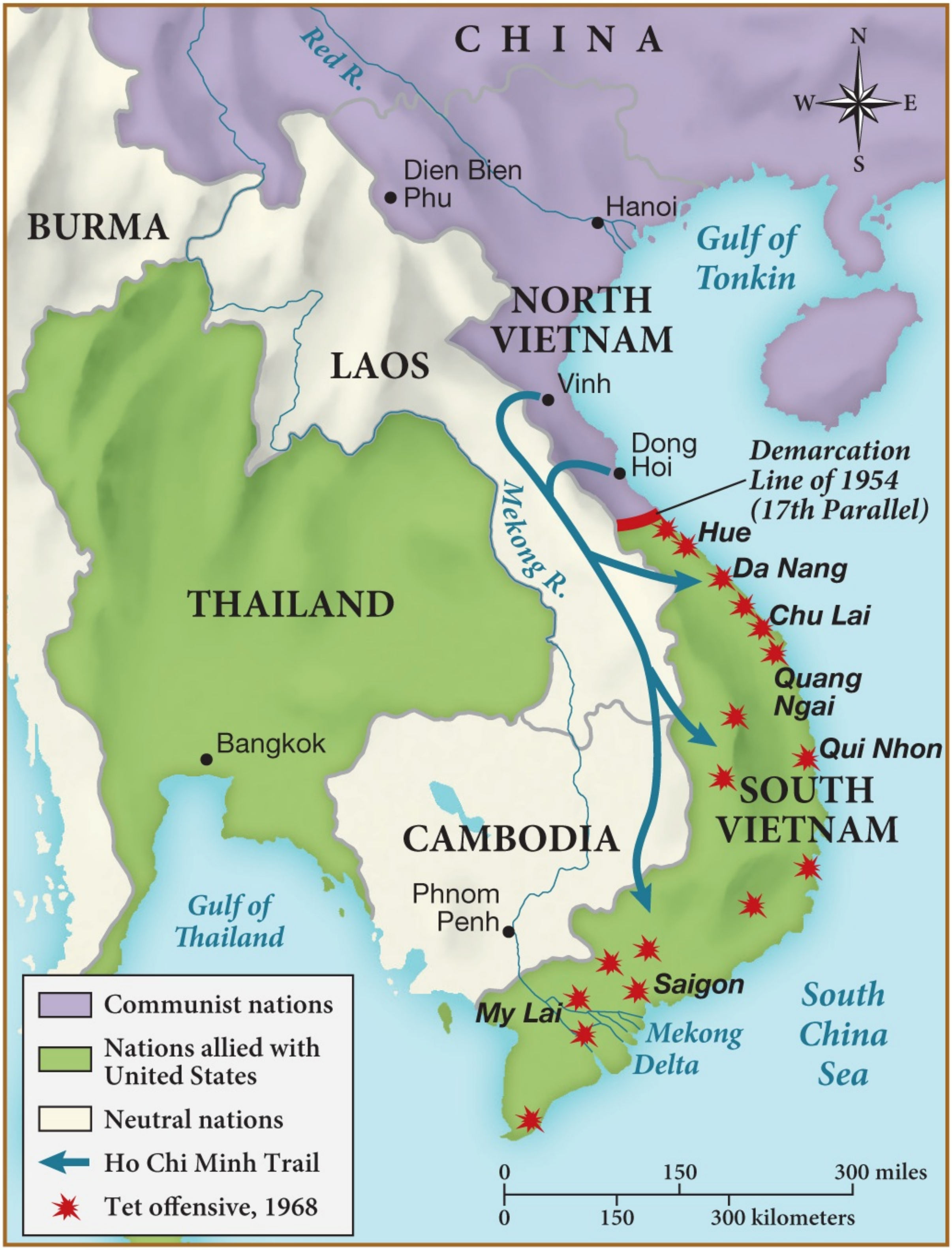
The events from the timeline are as follows.

1963: Betty Friedan publishes italic The Feminine Mystique end italic. 1966: Willy Brandt becomes West German foreign minister and develops Ostpolitik. 1967: First successful human heart transplant. 1968: Revolution in Czechoslovakia; student uprisings throughout Europe and the United States. 1969: US astronauts walk on the moon's surface. 1972: SALT One between the United States and Soviet Union. 1973: End of Vietnam War; O P E C raises price of oil and imposes oil embargo on the West. 1973 through 1976: Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn publishes italic The Gulag Archipelago end italic. 1978: The first test tube baby is born in England. 1978 and 1979: Islamic revolution in Iran; hostages are taken at US embassy in Teheran. 1980: Solidarity organizes resistance to Polish communism; British prime minister Margaret Thatcher begins downsizing the welfare state. 1981: Ronald Reagan becomes US president. 1985: Mikhail Gorbachev becomes Soviet premier. 1986: Explosion at Chernobyl nuclear plant; Spain joins the Common Market. 1989: Chinese students revolt in Tiananmen Square; Communist governments are ousted in eastern Europe; Berlin Wall is demolished

Return to a timeline of events between 1963 and 1989

Extended description for Map 28.1 The Vietnam War, 1954–1975

The data from the map are as follows.



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The data from the map are as follows.

Communist nations

-Thailand

-South Vietnam

Nations allied with United States

-North Vietnam

-China

Neutral nations

-Laos

-Cambodia

-Burma

The Demarcation Line of 1954 between North and South Vietnam was at the seventeenth Parallel.

Battles took place in South Vietnam:

Named cities/battles:

-Hue

-Da Nang

-Chu Lai

-Quang Ngai

-Qui Nhon

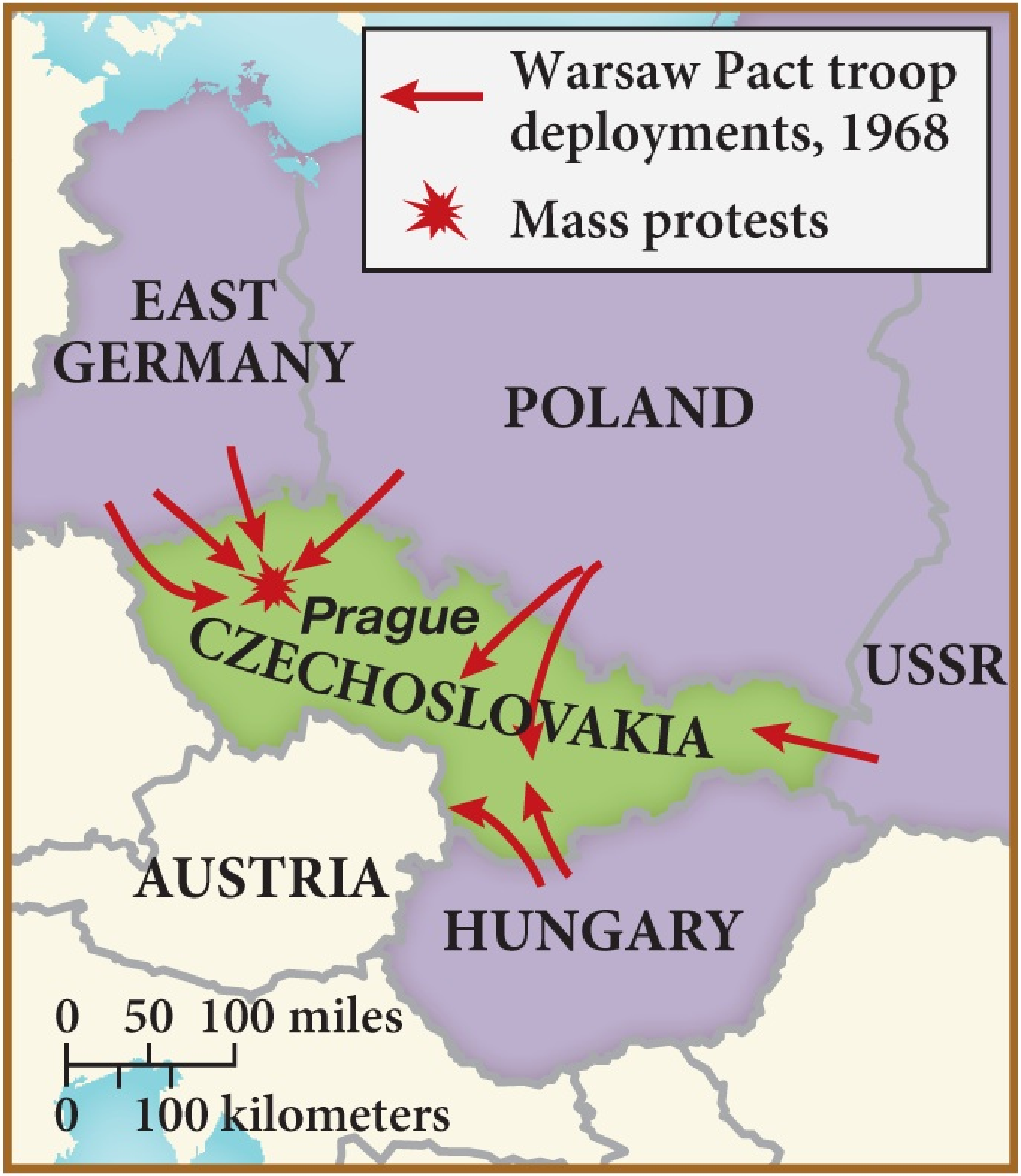
-Saigon

-My Lai

The Ho Chi Minh Trail ran from Vinh and Dong Hoi in North Vietnam to Da Nang and Saigon, as well as the central western South Vietnam.

Return to Map 28.1 The Vietnam War, 1954–1975

Extended description for Prague Spring, 1968



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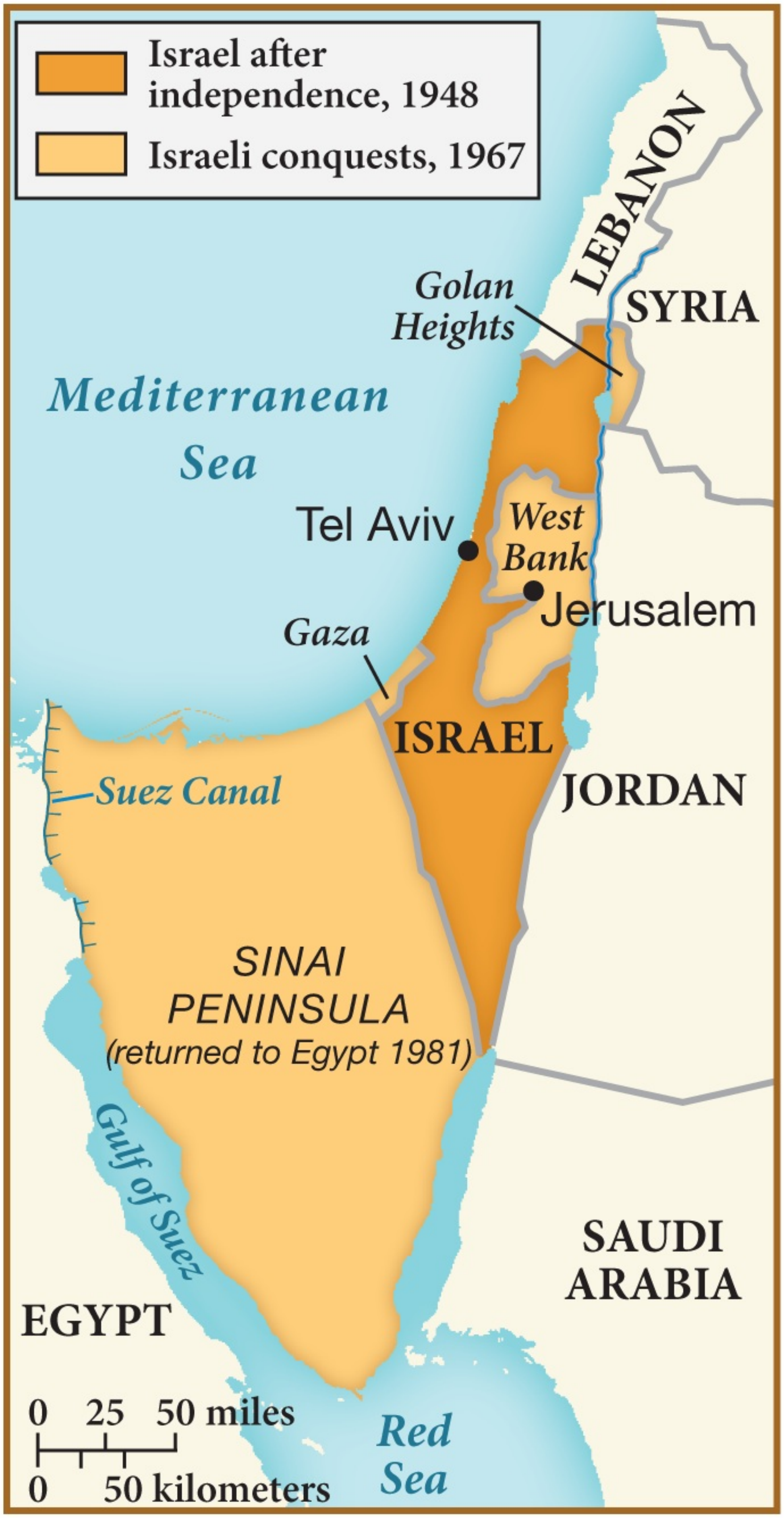
Warsaw Pact troop deployments in 1968 entered Czechoslovakia from East Germany to the northwest, advancing to Prague; from Poland on the north to Prague and central Czechoslovakia; from Hungary on the south to south central Czechoslovakia; and from the USSR on the east to eastern Czechoslovakia. Mass protests occurred in Prague.

Return to Prague Spring, 1968

Extended description for Israel after the Six-Day War, 1967



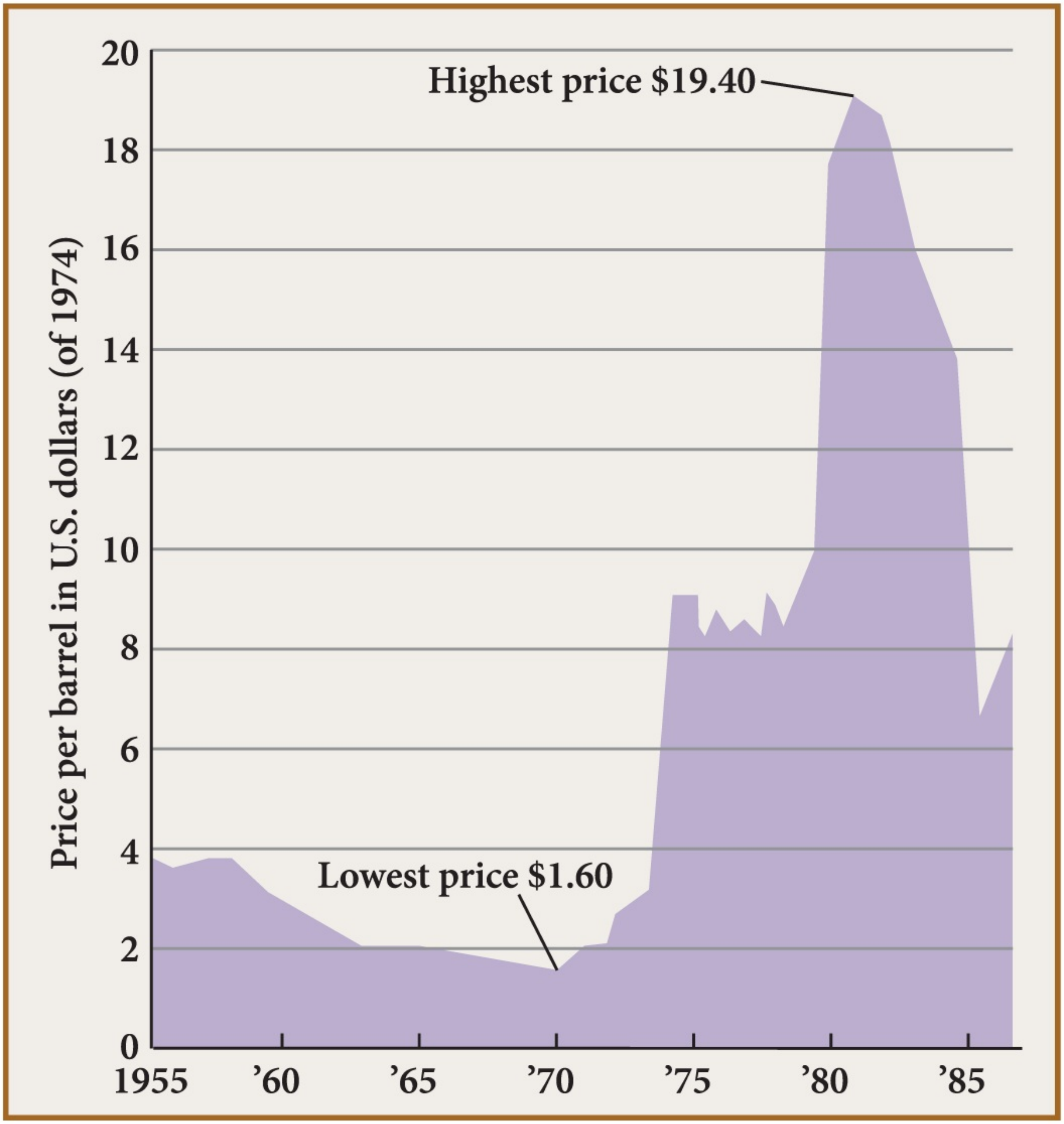
Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 7e, © 2022 Bedford/St. Martin's

The data from the map are as follows.

Israel is bound by Sinai Peninsula to the south west, Jordan to the east, Syria and Lebanon to the north, and the Mediterranean Sea to the west. Gaza and Sinai Peninsula of Egypt, West bank of Jordan, and Golan Heights of Syria were conquered by Israel in 1967. Gaza is marked to the north east of Sinai Peninsula on Israel border. West bank of Jordan, including Jerusalem, is marked to the east of Israel. Golan Heights of Syria is marked to the north east of Israel. Of these, Sinai Peninsula was returned to Egypt in 1981.

Return to Israel after the Six-Day War, 1967

Extended description for Figure 28.1 Fluctuating Oil Prices, 1955–1985



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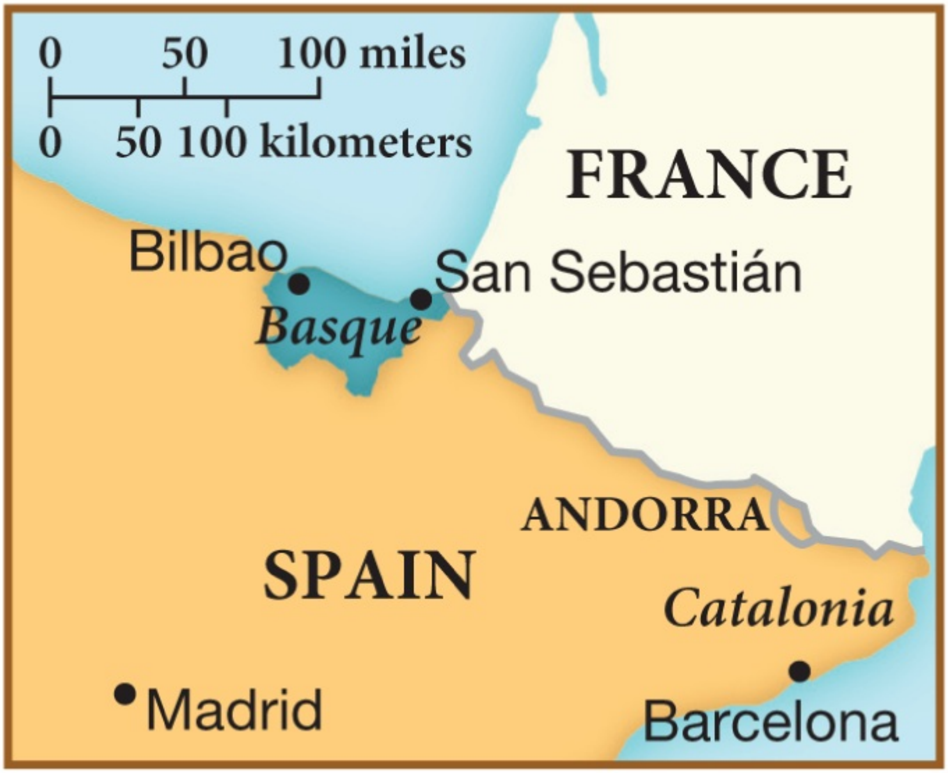
The horizontal axis of the graph represents years from 1955 to past 1985 in increments of 5 years. The vertical axis represents price per barrel in US dollars (of 1974) and ranges from 0 to 20 in increments of 2. The approximate data from the graph are as follows.

The curve for oil prices starts at 3.8 dollars in 1955, drops to 3 dollars in 1960, 2 dollars in 1965 and 1 dollar 60 cents in 1970 (lowest price). The curve then rises sharply and reaches 9 dollars in 1975, plateaus for a few years, then peaks sharply at 19 dollars 40 cents in 1980 (highest price), then decreased sharply to ends at 7 dollars in 1985 and 8 dollars in 1986. The area under the curve is shaded.

Return to Figure 28.1 Fluctuating Oil Prices, 1955–1985

Extended description for Nationalist Movements of the 1970s



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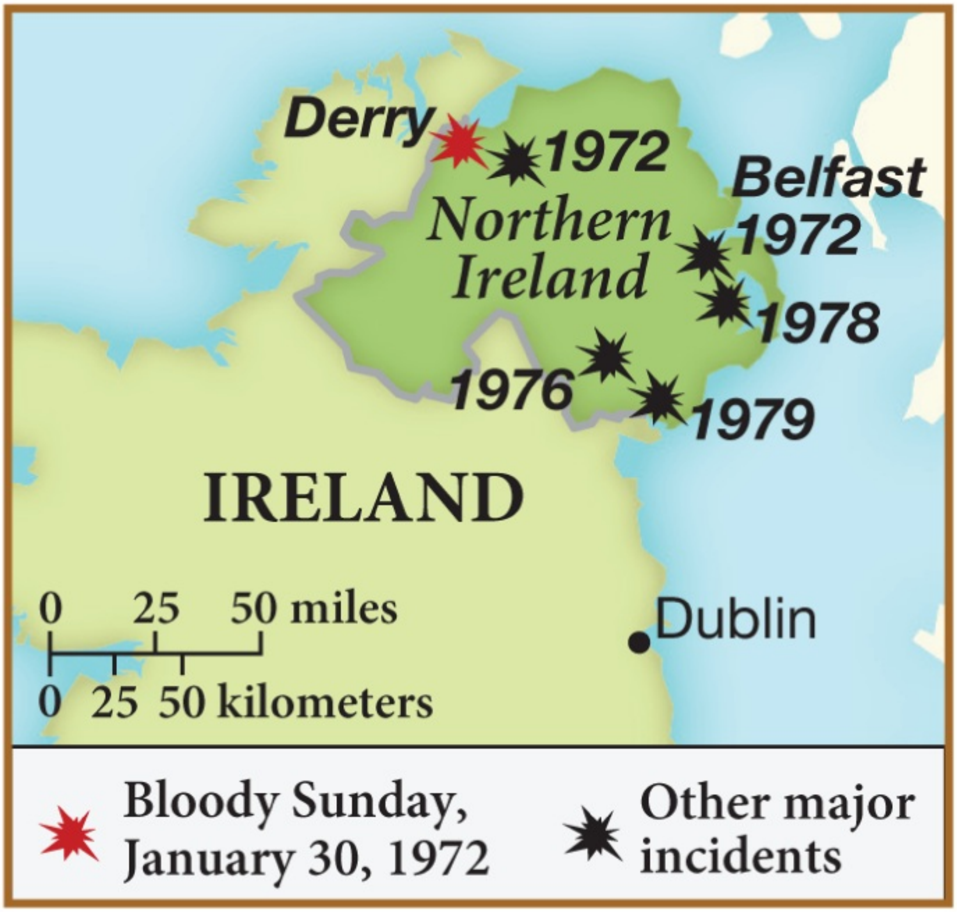
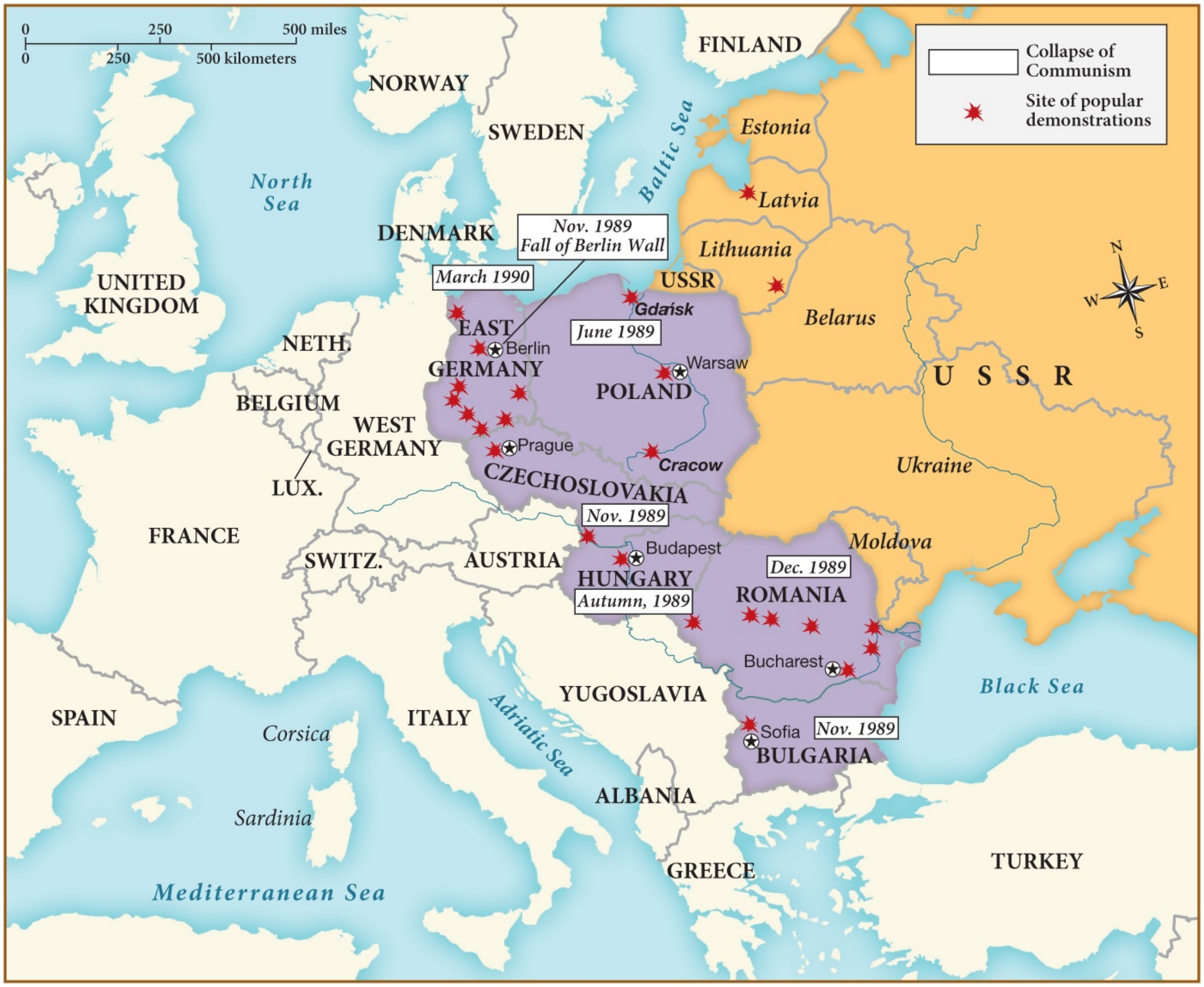


The first map shows northern Spain. Andorra is a small region bordering on France. The region of Catalonia, in the north-east of Spain, contains the city of Barcelona. The Basque region on the northern coast, shown in a different color, contains Bilbao and San Sebastian. In the second map, the major nationalist movements are marked as follows. Bloody Sunday January 30, 1972, Derry; 1972, Belfast; 1972 (near Derry), 1978 (to the south of Belfast), 1979 (south-western region), and 1976 (southern region).

Return to a Nationalist Movements of the 1970s

Extended description for Mapping The West: The Collapse of Communism in Europe, 1989–1990



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The data from the map are as follows.

The following countries were no longer under Communist control, with dates, after the Fall of the Berlin Wall in November of 1989:

-East Germany (March 1990)

-Poland (June 1989)

-Czechoslovakia (November 1989)

-Hungary (Autumn 1989)

-Romania (December 1989)

-Bulgaria (November 1989)

Sites of popular demonstrations:

-Gdansk

-Warsaw

-Cracow

-Bucharest

-Budapest

-Sofia (Bulgaria)

-Prague

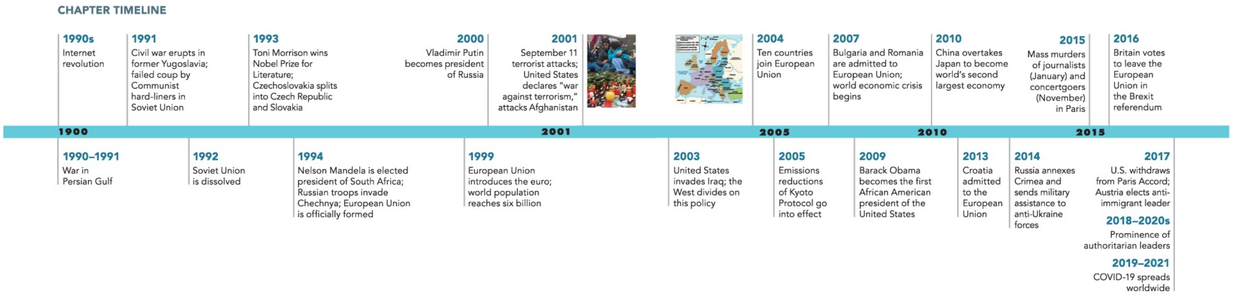
-Berlin

-Latvia

-Lithuania

Return to Mapping The West: The Collapse of Communism in Europe, 1989–1990

Extended description for a timeline of events between 1990 and 2021


CHAPTER TIMELINE
1990s Internet revolution
1991 Civil war erupts in former Yugoslavia; failed coup by Communist hard-liners in Soviet Union
1993 Toni Morrison wins Nobel Prize for Literature; Czechoslovakia splits into Czech Republic and Slovakia
2000 Vladimir Putin becomes president of Russia
2001 September 11 terrorist attacks; United States declares "war against terrorism," attacks Afghanistan
2004 Ten countries join European Union
2007 Bulgaria and Romania are admitted to European Union; world economic crisis begins
2010 China overtakes Japan to become world's second largest economy
2015 Mass murders of journalists (January) and concertgoers (November) in Paris
2016 Britain votes to leave the European Union in the Brexit referendum
1900
2001
2005
2010
2015
1990–1991 War in Persian Gulf
1992 Soviet Union is dissolved
1994 Nelson Mandela is elected president of South Africa; Russian troops invade Chechnya; European Union is officially formed
1999 European Union introduces the euro; world population reaches six billion
2003 United States invades Iraq; the West divides on this policy
2005 Emissions reductions of Kyoto Protocol go into effect
2009 Barack Obama becomes the first African American president of the United States
2013 Croatia admitted to the European Union
2014 Russia annexes Crimea and sends military assistance to anti-Ukraine forces
2017 U.S. withdraws from Paris Accord; Austria elects anti-immigrant leader
2018–2020s Prominence of authoritarian leaders
2019–2021 COVID-19 spreads worldwide

Sean Gallup/Getty Images

The events from the timeline are as follows.

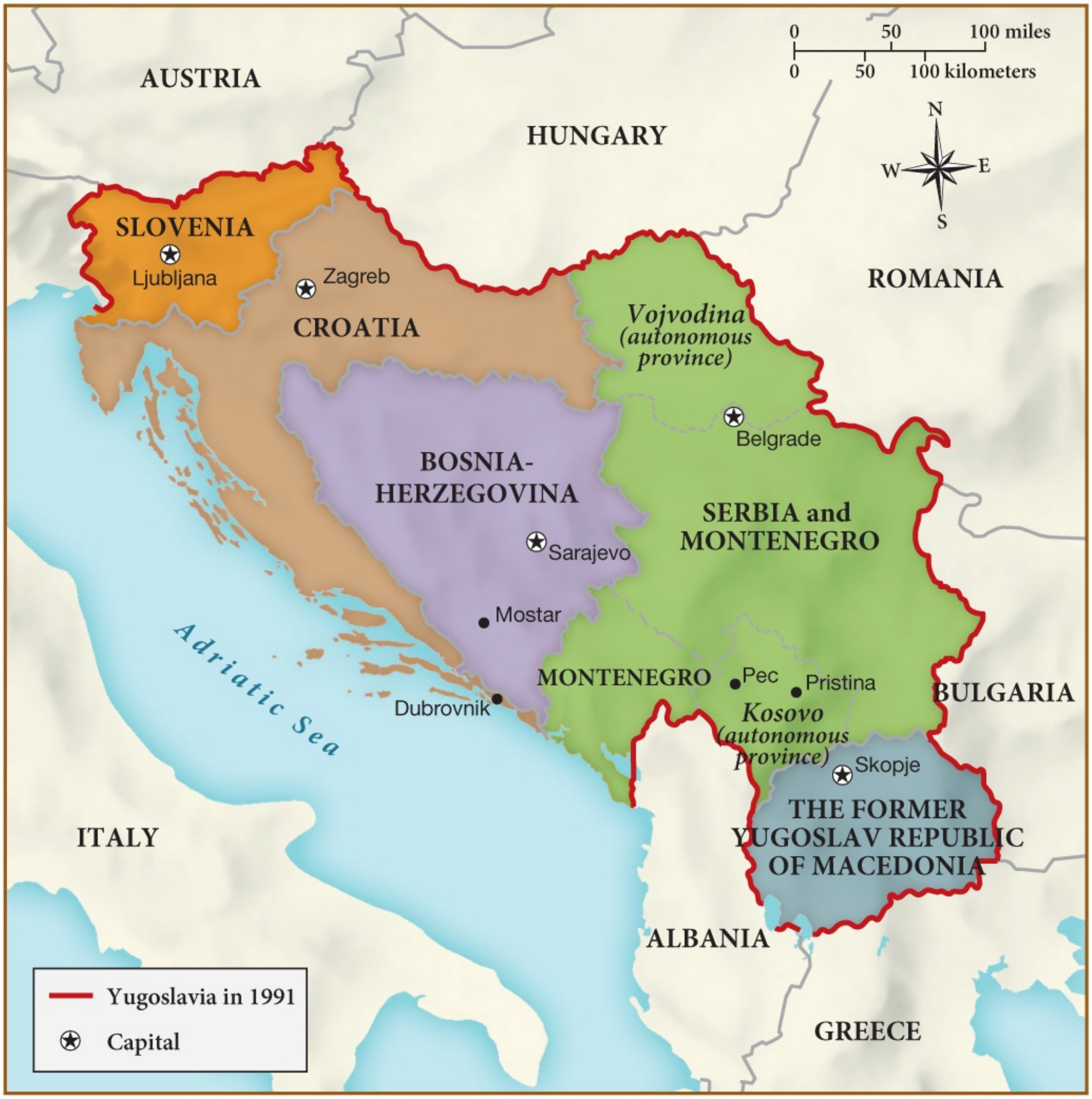
1990s: Internet revolution. 1991: Civil war erupts in former Yugoslavia; failed coup by Communist hard-liners in Soviet Union. 1990 and 1991: War in Persian Gulf. 1992: Soviet Union is dissolved. 1993: Toni Morrison wins Nobel Prize for Literature; Czechoslovakia splits into Czech Republic and Slovakia. 1990 and 1991: War in Persian Gulf. 1992: Soviet Union is dissolved. 1994: Nelson Mandela is elected president of South Africa; Russian troops invade Chechnya; European Union is officially formed. 1999: European Union introduces the euro; world population reaches six billion. 2000: Vladimir Putin becomes president of Russia. 2001: September 11: terrorist attacks; United States declares "war against terrorism," attacks Afghanistan. 2003: United States invades Iraq; the West divides on this policy. 2004: Ten countries join European Union. 2005: Emissions reductions of Kyoto Protocol go into effect. 2007: Bulgaria and Romania are admitted to European Union; world economic crisis begins. 2009: Barack Obama becomes the first African American president of the United States. 2010: China overtakes Japan to become world's second largest economy. 2013: Croatia admitted to the European

Union. 2014: Russia annexes Crimea and sends military assistance to anti-Ukraine forces. 2015: Mass murders of journalists (January) and concertgoers (November) in Paris 2016. Britain votes to leave the European Union in the Brexit referendum. 2017: US withdraws from Paris Accord; Austria elects anti-immigrant leader. 2018 through 2020s: Prominence of authoritarian leaders. 2019 and 2021: COVID-19 spreads worldwide.

A horizontal bar between the timeline reads, “2005, 2010, and 2015.”

Return to a timeline of events between 1990 and 2021

Extended description for Map 29.1 The Former Yugoslavia, c. 2000



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The map shows the country breaking up into 8 regions in 1991:

-Slovenia

-Croatia

-Bosnia-Herzegovina

-Vojvodina (autonomous province)

-Serbia and Montenegro

-Montenegro

-Kosovo (autonomous province)

-The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

Regions with corresponding capitals are as follows.

-Slovenia: Ljubljana

-Croatia: Zagreb

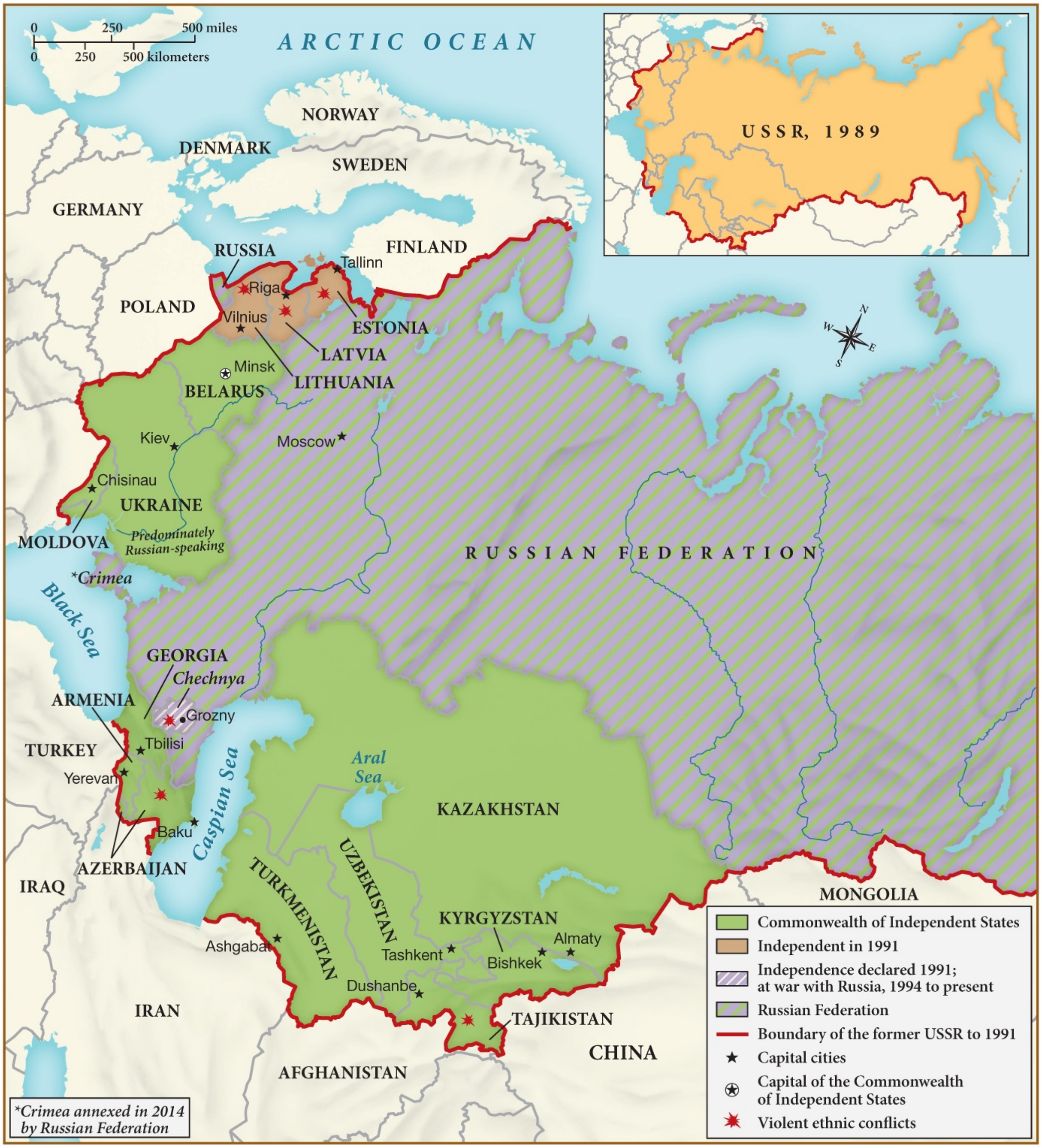
-Bosnia-Herzegovina: Sarajevo

-Serbia and Montenegro: Belgrade

-The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia: Skopje

Return to Map 29.1 The Former Yugoslavia, c. 2000

Extended description for Map 29.2 Countries of the Former Soviet Union, c. 2021



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The data from the map are as follows.

Commonwealth of Independent States with capital cities

-Belarus, Minsk (also the capital of Independent States)

-Ukraine, Kiev

-Moldova, Chisinau

-Georgia, Tbilisi

-Armenia, Yerevan

-Azerbaijan, Baku

-Kazakhstan, Almaty

-Uzbekistan, Tashkent

-Kyrgyzstan, Bishkek

-Turkmenistan, Ashgabat

-Tajikistan, Dushanbe

Independent in 1991 with capital cities

-Estonia, Tallinn

-Latvia, Riga

-Lithuania, Vilnius

Independence declared 1991; at war with Russia, 1994 to present (light blue and medium blue diagonal stripes), with capital cities

-Chechnya, Grozny

Violent ethnic conflicts:

-Tajikistan

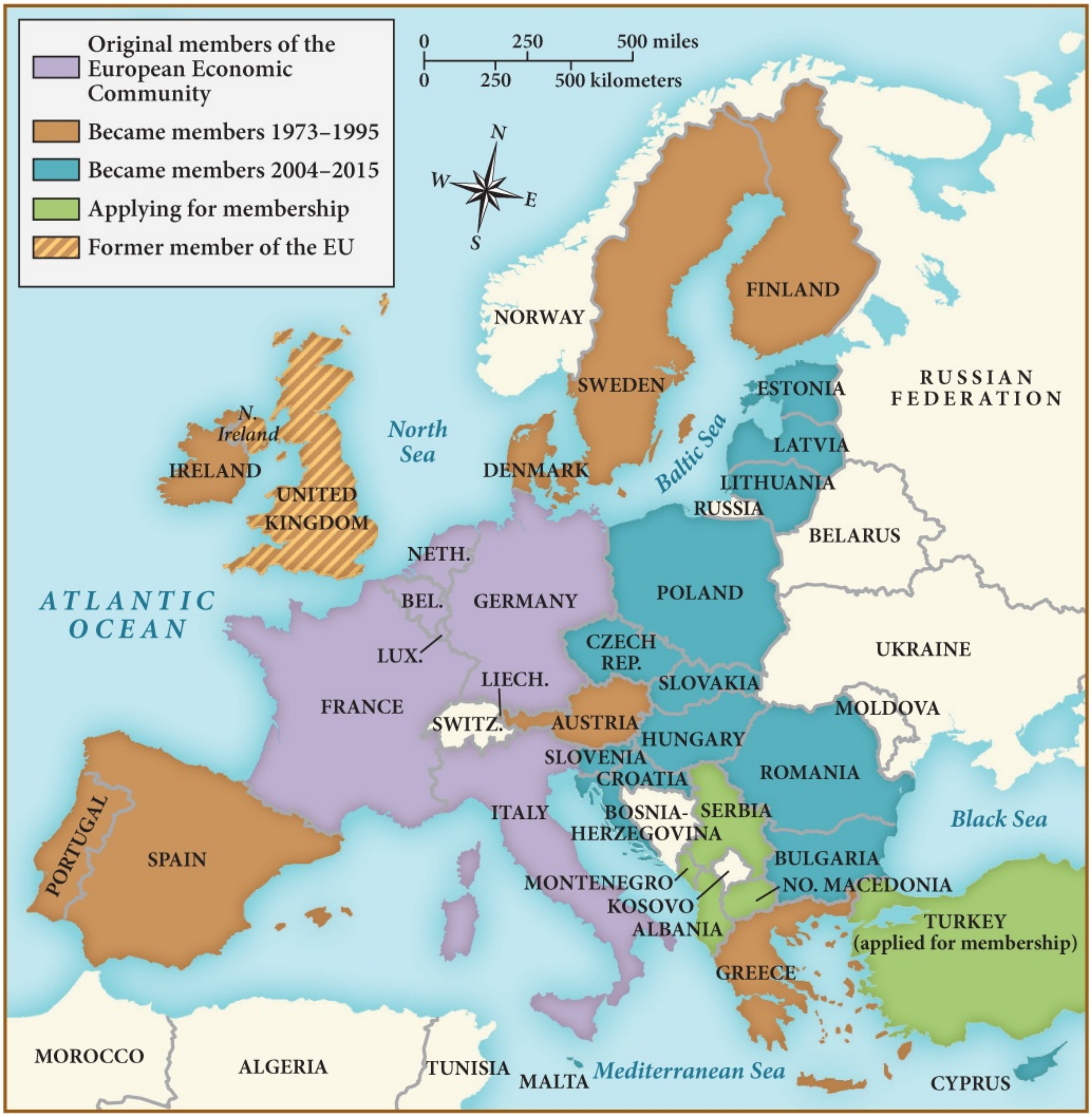
-Chechnya

-Lithuania

A map inset shows the original boundaries of the USSR in 1989.

Return to Map 29.2 Countries of the Former Soviet Union, c. 2021

Extended description for Map 29.3 The European Union in 2021



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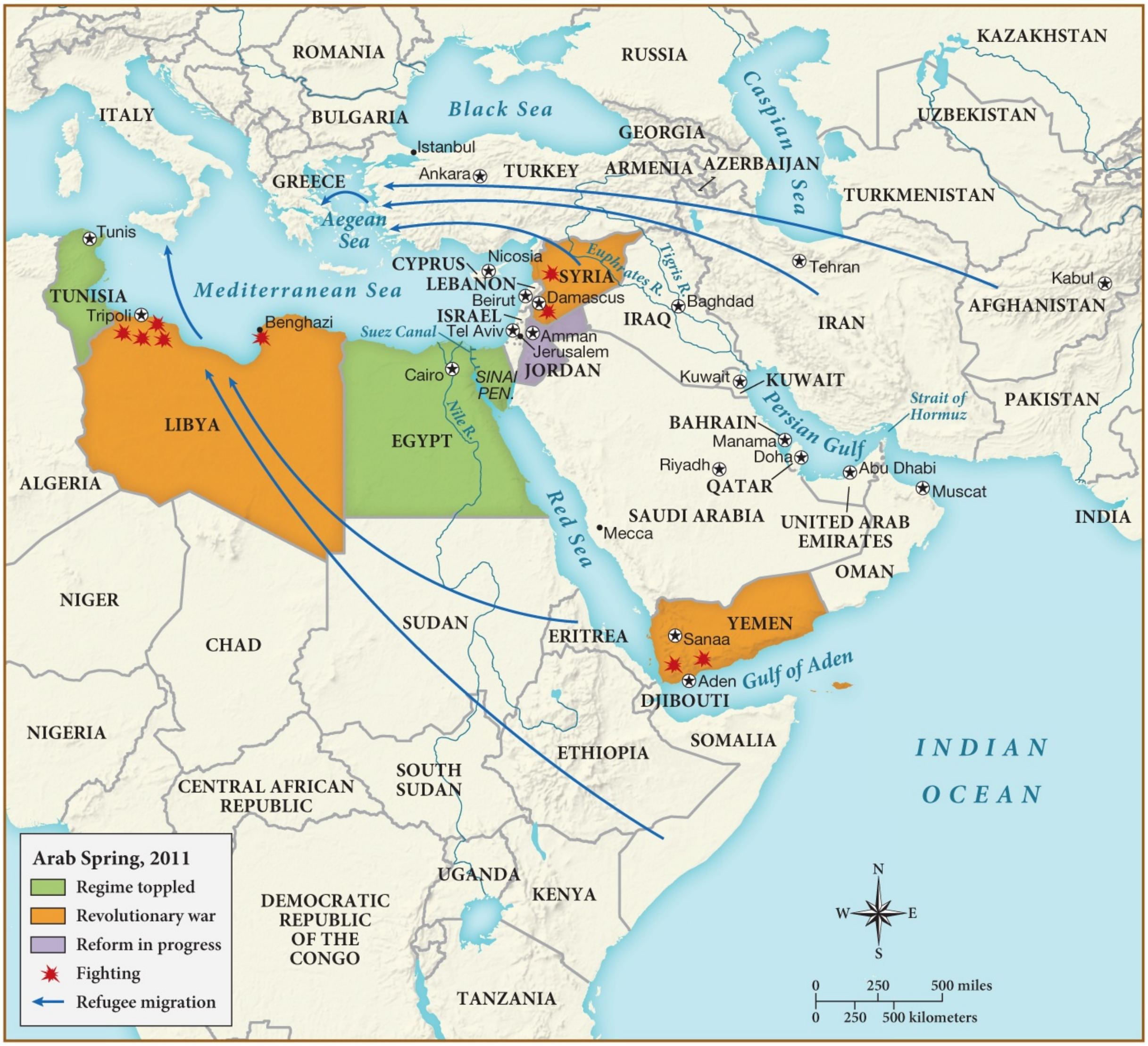
Original members of the European Economic Community include the Netherlands, Belarus, France, Luxemburg, Liechtenstein, and Italy. The following countries became members from 1973 to 1995: Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Greece, and Austria. The following became members from 2004 to 2015: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia, Romania, Bulgaria, Cyprus, and Herzegovina. Countries applying for membership include Montenegro, Albania, North Macedonia, Bosnia-Serbia, and Turkey (applied for membership). Former members of the EU are North Ireland and the United Kingdom.

Return to Map 29.3 The European Union in 2021

Extended description for Map 29.4 The Middle East in the Twenty-First Century



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The data from the map are as follows.

Regions with regime toppled are as follows. Tunisia, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt, Cairo, and Sinai Peninsula.

Regions involved in revolutionary war are as follows. Libya, Benghazi, Tripoli, Syria, Damascus, Yemen, Sanaa, Aden.

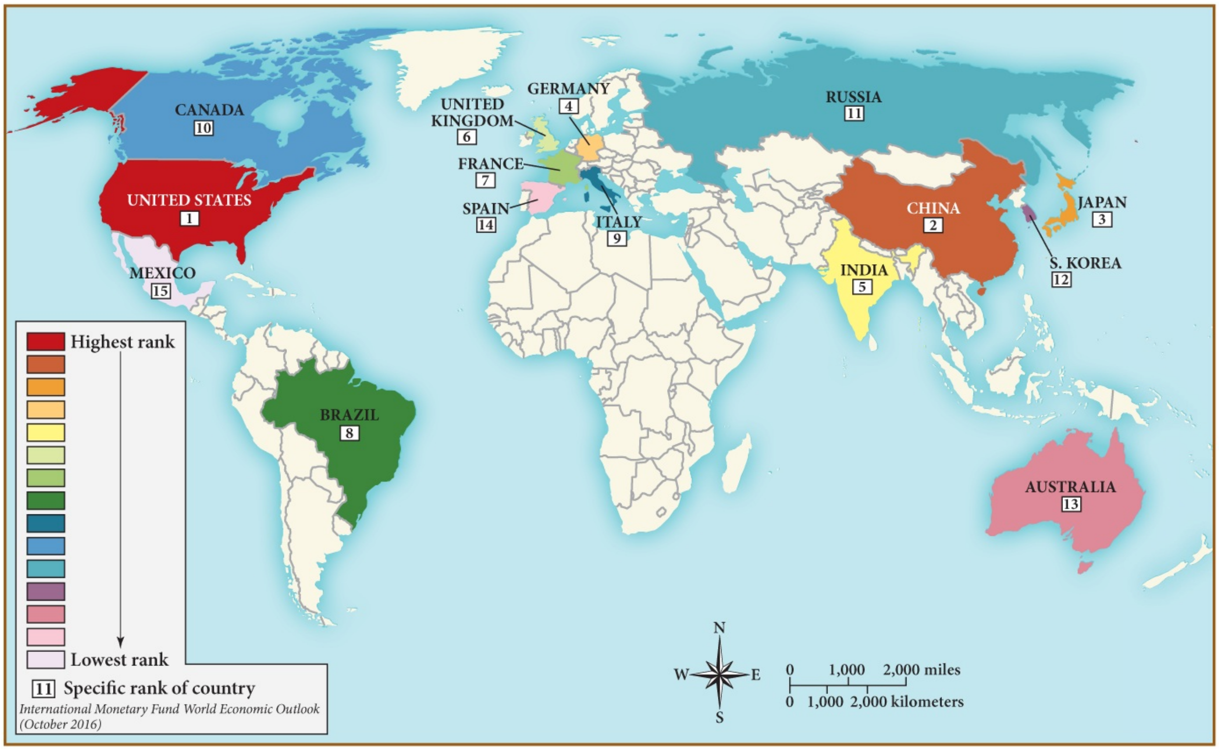
Reform is in progress in Jordan and Amman.

Fighting countries include Tripoli, Benghazi, Syria, Damascus, Sanaa, and Aden.

Refugee migration takes place Somalia to Italy passing through Libya; Eritrea to Libya; Syria to Aegean Sea and then Greece; Iran to Aegean Sea and then Greece; Afghanistan to Greece.

Return to Map 29.4 The Middle East in the Twenty-First Century

Extended description for Mapping The West: The World’s Top Fifteen Economies as of 2021



International Monetary Fund World Economic Outlook (October 2016)

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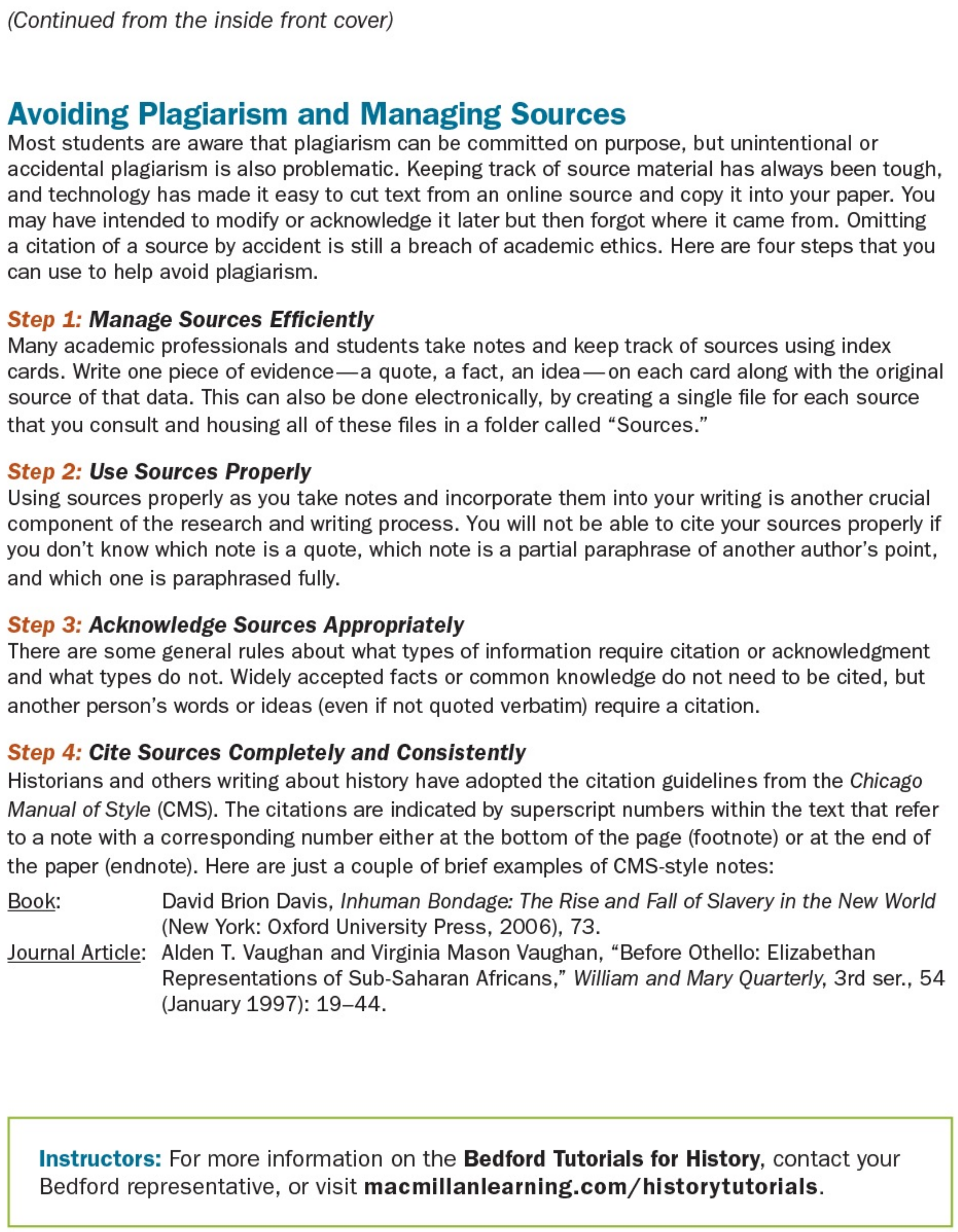
The data for countries from highest to lowest rank are as follows: United States, 1 (highest rank); China, 2; Japan, 3; Germany, 4; India, 5; United Kingdom, 6, France, 7; Brazil, 8; Italy, 9; Canada, 10; Russia, 11; South Korea, 12; Australia, 13; Spain, 14; Mexico, 15 (lowest rank).

Return to Mapping The West: The World’s Top Fifteen Economies as of 2021

Extended description for Inside Back Cover



(Continued from the inside front cover)

Avoiding Plagiarism and Managing Sources

Most students are aware that plagiarism can be committed on purpose, but unintentional or accidental plagiarism is also problematic. Keeping track of source material has always been tough, and technology has made it easy to cut text from an online source and copy it into your paper. You may have intended to modify or acknowledge it later but then forgot where it came from. Omitting a citation of a source by accident is still a breach of academic ethics. Here are four steps that you can use to help avoid plagiarism.

Step 1: Manage Sources Efficiently

Many academic professionals and students take notes and keep track of sources using index cards. Write one piece of evidence—a quote, a fact, an idea—on each card along with the original source of that data. This can also be done electronically, by creating a single file for each source that you consult and housing all of these files in a folder called "Sources."

Step 2: Use Sources Properly

Using sources properly as you take notes and incorporate them into your writing is another crucial component of the research and writing process. You will not be able to cite your sources properly if you don't know which note is a quote, which note is a partial paraphrase of another author's point, and which one is paraphrased fully.

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There are some general rules about what types of information require citation or acknowledgment and what types do not. Widely accepted facts or common knowledge do not need to be cited, but another person's words or ideas (even if not quoted verbatim) require a citation.

Step 4: Cite Sources Completely and Consistently

Historians and others writing about history have adopted the citation guidelines from the *Chicago Manual of Style* (CMS). The citations are indicated by superscript numbers within the text that refer to a note with a corresponding number either at the bottom of the page (footnote) or at the end of the paper (endnote). Here are just a couple of brief examples of CMS-style notes:

Book: David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 73.

Journal Article: Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan, "Before Othello: Elizabethan Representations of Sub-Saharan Africans," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 54 (January 1997): 19–44.

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The text reads as follows.

(Continued from the inside front cover)

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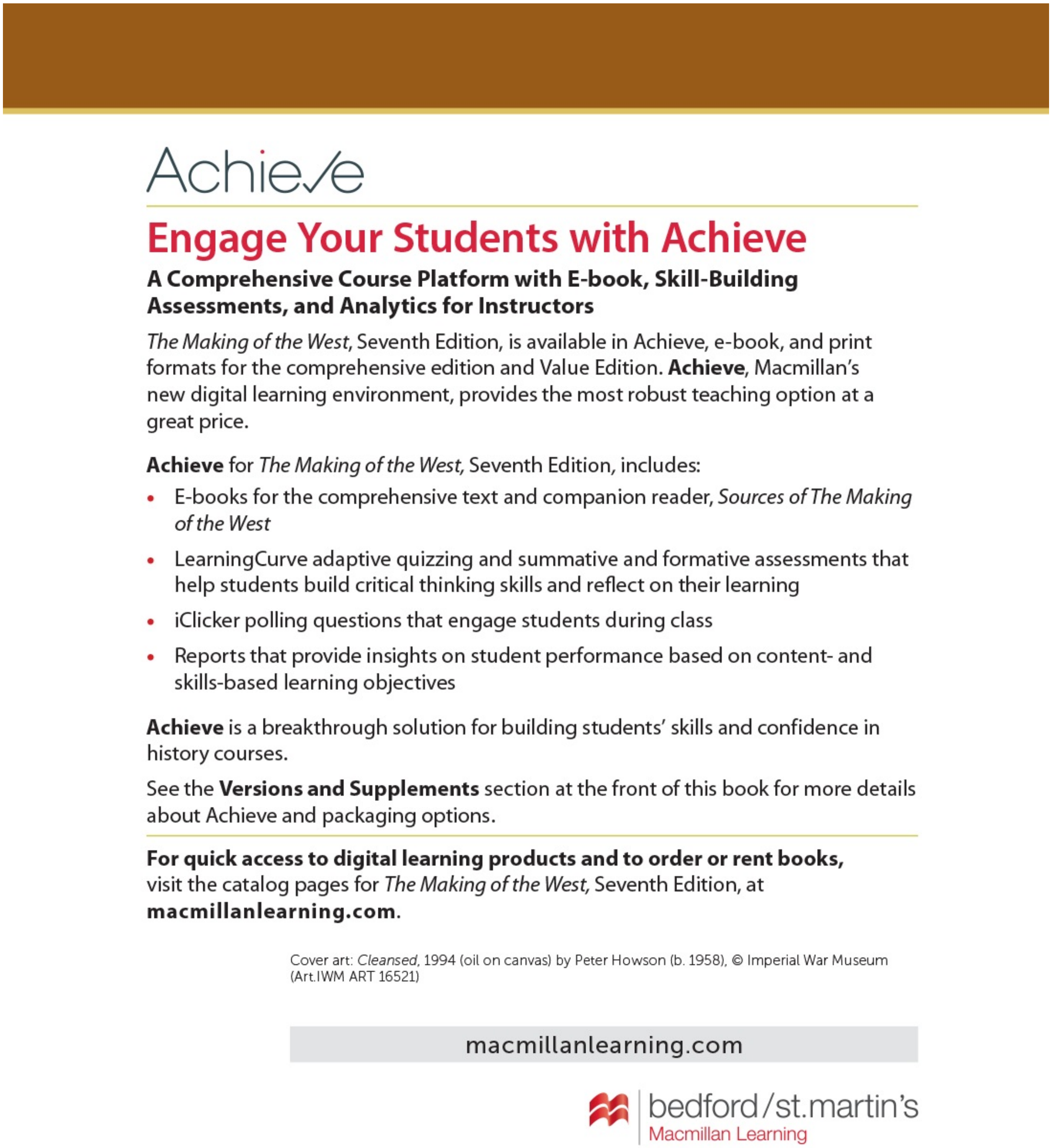

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